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**A REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS  
AT HOME AND ABROAD**

**FOR THE YEAR**

**1926**

**EDITED BY**

**M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.**

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# MR. BALDWIN'S SECOND CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 7, 1924.)

## CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Leader of the House of Commons</i>	}	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>		
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>		The Earl of Balfour.
<i>Lord Privy Seal, and Leader of the House of Lords</i>	}	Viscount Cave.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>		
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>		The Marquess of Salisbury.
<i>Home</i>		Mr. Winston Churchill.
<i>Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)</i>	}	Sir William Joynson-Hicks.
<i>Dominions and Colonies</i>		
<i>War</i>		Sir Austen Chamberlain.
<i>India</i>		Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery.
<i>Air</i>		Sir L. Worthington-Evans.
<i>Scotland</i>		The Earl of Birkenhead.
<i>Presidents :—</i>		Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Board of Trade</i>		Sir J. Gilmour.
<i>Board of Education</i>		
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>		Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister.
<i>Minister of Health</i>		Lord Eustace Percy.
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>		Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
<i>Minister of Labour</i>		Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Attorney-General</i>		Hon. Walter Guinness.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>		Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	}	Sir D. M. Hogg.
		Viscount Peel.
		Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

## MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

Minister of Pensions	Major G. C. Tryon.
Postmaster-General	Sir William Mitchell-Thomson.
Minister of Transport	Lt.-Col. W. Ashley.
Solicitor-General	Sir Thomas Inskip.
Paymaster-General	The Duke of Sutherland.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	Earl Stanhope.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Mr. Ronald McNeill.
Financial Secretary to the War Office	} Captain H. D. King.
Secretary for Mines	
Under-Secretaries of State :—	
Air	Sir Philip Sassoon.
Colonies	Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.
Dominion Affairs	{ The Earl of Clarendon ( <i>till Dec. 12</i> ). Lord Lovat ( <i>from Dec. 12</i> ).
Foreign	
Home	Captain Douglas Hacking.
India	Earl Winterton.
Scotland	Major Walter Elliot Elliot ( <i>from July 27</i> ).
War	The Earl of Onslow.

*Parliamentary Secretaries :—*

<i>Admiralty</i> . . . .	{ Mr. J. C. C. Davidson ( <i>till Dec. 16</i> ).
	{ Lt.-Col. C. M. Headlam ( <i>from Dec. 16</i> ).
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i> .	Lord Bledisloe.
<i>Education</i> . . . .	The Duchess of Atholl.
<i>Health</i> . . . .	Sir Kingsley Wood.
<i>Labour</i> . . . .	Mr. H. B. Betterton.
<i>Pensions</i> . . . .	Hon. G. F. Stanley.
<i>Post Office</i> . . . .	Viscount Wolmer.
<i>Board of Trade</i> . . . .	Sir R. Burton Chadwick.
<i>Overseas Trade</i> . . . .	Mr. A. M. Samuel.
<i>Transport</i> . . . .	Lt.-Col. J. T. C. Moore-Brabazon.
<i>Treasury</i> . . . .	Commander B. M. Eyres Monsell.

## SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i> . . . .	Sir J. Gilmour.
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i> . .	Major Walter Elliot Elliot ( <i>from July 27</i> ).
<i>Lord-Advocate</i> . . . .	Hon. W. Watson.
<i>Solicitor-General</i> . . . .	Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert.

# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1926.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECONOMY CAMPAIGN.

At the opening of 1926 the political sky in England was, on the whole, clear. At home no political issue of importance was agitating the public mind, and a large majority in Parliament continued to follow the Government with unswerving loyalty. Abroad, Britain was still enjoying the prestige of the Locarno treaties. The friction in which she had become involved with Turkey owing to her acceptance of the reserved mandate over Iraq was the subject of negotiations which were proceeding amicably, and bade fair to be successful. With Russia her relations were neither more nor less strained than they had been since the Conservative Government took office; with other countries they were uniformly friendly.

On the economic horizon, however, lowered a dark and forbidding storm-cloud. A stoppage in the coal-mining industry, spelling disaster for the economic life of the country, had only been averted five months previously by the temporary grant of a subsidy. The truce thus purchased had only four more months to run, and there was still no guarantee that at the end of that time matters would not revert to the position which had arisen in the previous July. In order to prevent such a calamity, the Commission presided over by Sir Herbert Samuel was busily engaged in collecting evidence on conditions in the industry with a view to framing a report and making recommendations for putting the industry on a sound basis. The Government in the meantime was absolved from further responsibility in the matter, and was free to devote its whole attention to other problems.

Of these, the one with which it was for the time being chiefly

preoccupied was that of public finance. Mindful ever of its pledge to its own party, the Government was anxious to reduce the volume of public expenditure, while in order not to disappoint any section of its followers, it was yet loth to desist from any of its vast and manifold commitments, either in the sphere of imperial or of social policy. The only prospect, therefore, not merely of reducing expenditure but of preventing it from rising still further lay in a lynx-eyed supervision of individual items—in making cheese-paring in details take the place of economy in general policy.

With this object in view the Government had, in the latter part of the previous year, appointed two Committees to overhaul public accounts—one, drawn from the Cabinet itself, to deal with the Estimates in general; the other, presided over by Lord Colwyn, to deal with those of the fighting Services in particular. The reports of both Committees were expected before the end of January, but meanwhile two Departments of the Government took the initiative in calling a halt to the growth of expenditure in their own spheres. On January 5 the Board of Education, as the result of its discussions with the local authorities on the notorious Circular 1,371 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 122), issued a memorandum laying down a system of economy for one year by limiting new capital expenditure to cases of necessity, and postponing new services or extensions of old services during the year 1926-27. A couple of days later the Unemployment Grants Committee issued, on behalf of the Government, a circular (dated December 15, 1925) intimating that before they approved of any scheme which might be submitted to them, they would have to satisfy themselves not only that the work was in all respects a suitable one of public utility, put in hand expressly for the purpose of relieving unemployment, but also that it would not otherwise be undertaken for a considerable period (ordinarily five years), and that the unemployment sought to be relieved was exceptional. In accordance with this intimation a number of local authorities were informed that schemes of public works which they had in hand for the relief of unemployment would not be supported by the Government. This decision was received with surprise in many places, and the Newcastle-on-Tyne City Council, which had projected an ambitious scheme of improvements, passed a resolution of protest against the Circular.

An authoritative exposition of the Government's views on the financial position was given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before the Leeds Chamber of Commerce on January 20, when the reports of the two Economy Committees were already in the hands of the Government. Mr. Churchill began by saying that the country, Parliament, and the Press would have an opportunity quite early in the new session of showing whether they were in earnest about economy. The Government, said Mr.

Churchill, had been engaged for several months in making a detailed survey of the whole of its expenditure, with a view to curbing increases and effecting reductions; but, he added, it was not likely to be very successful in producing positive decreases. The ever-growing complexity of modern civilisation, and the standard of administrative efficiency expected by the public added to the cost of every service, and created the need of new services, or of improvements on existing services. There was thus a vast upward tide which had to be stemmed before there could be any net reduction in expenditure. As a result of the labours of the Cabinet Committee, he hoped to be able to do this without any addition to direct or indirect taxation. When Parliament met, an Economy Bill would be laid before the House of Commons providing for economies in the whole field of expenditure, and demanding sacrifices from every Department without exception. The Government was endeavouring to curb expenditure all round in every branch of administrative activity, and every part of its proposals, therefore, held together, and all must be judged as a whole.

Mr. Churchill's remarks on the need for economy were underlined a few days afterwards by the Prime Minister in a speech delivered before the London branch of the National Union of Conservative Associations. They had, said Mr. Baldwin, reached a critical point in their financial progress. Any further advance along the road of collective social service must depend on the improvement of their economic position. They would need the stoutest support of all their friends when their proposals were laid before Parliament. He warned them that unless great economies were secured, an increase of taxation, either that year or next year, whatever Government was in power, would be inevitable. He wanted them to be under no illusions as to the difficulty of effecting economies, even under favourable conditions. It was obvious that substantial economies must, to-day, mean sacrifices; not necessarily of luxuries alone, but of things which they had perhaps regarded almost in the category of necessities.

While manfully struggling against the "rising tide" of the debtor side of the public ledger, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to secure a small but welcome addition to the creditor side. On January 6 an Italian deputation, headed by Count Volpi, visited London in order to effect, if possible, a funding of the Italian debt to England. Negotiations with the Treasury officials were opened the next day, and continued for about three weeks. On January 27 an agreement was signed by Mr. Churchill and Count Volpi by which Italy agreed to pay Great Britain roughly 4,500,000*l.* sterling yearly for sixty years in liquidation of her war debt. As the debt amounted to 610,840,000*l.*, this represented a very considerable sacrifice on England's part. In

view, however, of the Government's known desire to cultivate the friendship of Italy, it was generally held in England that Mr. Churchill had made as good a bargain as could be reasonably expected.

Italy's friendship was particularly important to England at this juncture in view of possible complications with Turkey over the Mosul settlement. The Foreign Minister had also done his share in this matter. At the end of December Sir Austen Chamberlain had gone to Rapallo, ostensibly for a holiday; but Signor Mussolini took the opportunity of visiting Rapallo while he was there, and a long conversation, admittedly of a political character, took place between the two statesmen on December 29. An official communiqué stated that the conversation had ranged over the most important events of recent international politics, and had "shown the opportuneness of continuing that efficacious collaboration now established between the two countries with the object of harmonising the various interests and with the aim of consolidating European peace."

There could be little doubt that the sphere in which the interests of Great Britain and Italy chiefly required to be "harmonised" was the Near East; and the assurance of Italy's friendship certainly placed England in a firmer position for dealing with Turkey. The conversations which Mr. Baldwin had inaugurated on December 22 with Ahmed Ferad Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in London, for the purpose of concluding a friendly agreement on the Mosul boundary, were continued on January 5. The Turkish Government showed itself not unfavourable to the negotiations, and it was arranged that Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador to Turkey, should proceed to Angora to discuss matters with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. The new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, providing for an extension of the British mandate for a period of twenty-five years, if necessary, was signed shortly afterwards (January 12) in Baghdad without any protest being made by Turkey.

Before closing their hearing of evidence, the Coal Commission, on January 12 and 14, heard statements, first from the Mining Association of the owners, and then from the Miners' Federation, of their plans for settling the troubles of the coal-fields. The former, in their memorandum of evidence, submitted that the unrest in the mining industry was the result of a deliberately planned attempt by the miners' leaders to prevent the reconstruction of the industry under private enterprise. Their concrete proposals, as summed up by the Chairman, were that the miners should work an additional hour without any direct extra remuneration, that wages would have to be reduced by amounts varying from a small sum in South Wales, to 5s. and 6s. a week in some of the more important districts, and over 15s. in other districts, and that wages should be fixed by district and not

national agreements. The Miners' Federation, on their side, put forward a scheme, which was officially endorsed by the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party, for the transformation of the industry from a coal-extracting into a coal-utilising industry on a basis of national ownership. It suggested that coal should be used in the first place for manufacturing electrical power on a very large scale and for producing by-products, so that the industry should not be so entirely dependent as at present on the export trade. For securing the maximum of efficiency there should be a Power and Transport Commission, consisting of six experts and a chairman, to determine the larger questions of policy in these matters, and a National Coal and Power Production Council to work in conjunction with the Power Council and to a certain extent under its direction. There would also be Provincial Councils, Pit and Works' Committees, and a Consumers' Council, which would consider wages questions conjointly with the Coal Production Council.

The great discrepancy between the views of the opposing parties did not augur well for a peaceful settlement of their differences. The uncompromising attitude of the Mining Association made a painful impression even on many who, in principle, were supporters of private enterprise and opposed to nationalisation; and an attempt to create a better atmosphere was made by a prominent coal-owner, Lord Londonderry, who, "speaking," as he said, "on behalf of himself and many others," repudiated the theory that the prosperity of the mining industry depended on reducing wages or increasing hours of work. Another prominent coal-owner, Lord Henry Bentinck, also pointed out that the demand for forcing the status of the British miner down to the level of the Continental was an effective barrier to any discussion. Lord Londonderry even put forward certain alternative suggestions for reforming the industry, but these, on examination, were found to be too vague to provide a basis for discussion, and neither owners nor miners withdrew from the positions they had taken up.

While the regular payment of the subsidy—amounting on an average to about 3,000,000*l.* a month—was securing peace in the coal-fields, the danger of a strike on the railways was narrowly averted. The National Wages Board, after considering for several months the claims and counterclaims of the railway managers and workers, finally, in January, made an award which, while leaving untouched the pay of the men actually employed, reduced the wages of new entrants and of youths promoted to senior grades. The companies declared themselves intensely dissatisfied with the Board's decision, but loyally accepted it. The delegate conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, on January 21, rejected the award by a large majority, and asked the managers to reopen negotiations; the latter, however, refused, on the ground that no

new point had been raised which had not already been considered by the Board, and announced their intention of putting the award into force. The delegates of the N.U.R. thereupon met again (Jan. 25) to consider the alternative of accepting the award or declaring a strike. After a long discussion they decided in favour of acceptance by a small majority—41 votes against 36—and the new scale of wages came into force without further incident.

In the course of the vacation—on January 15—Mr. Baldwin's position as leader of the Conservative Party was confirmed by a representative gathering at Birmingham which made him the recipient of more than fifty addresses of congratulation and appreciation from political organisations in the West Midlands. The Prime Minister, in acknowledging the presentation, took the opportunity of giving an outline of the new electricity scheme which the Government intended shortly to lay before Parliament. The leaders of the other parties received no such marks of confidence from their followers; on the contrary, they rather lost ground during the vacation. A distinct fissure appeared in the Labour Party, while the Liberal Party became still further a prey to disintegration.

The National Council of the Independent Labour Party decided unanimously, on January 11, to raise the question of a united political front with the Russian Communist Party at the next meeting of the Second International. In view of Mr. MacDonald's known opinions on the Russian International and his efforts to exorcise the spirit of Communism from the British Labour Party, this step was a distinct flouting of his authority, and marked the beginning of a breach between him and the I.L.P. which widened rapidly. That body soon afterwards drafted a programme which it entitled "Socialism in our Time," and of which the basic proposal was a living wage for all. Mr. MacDonald criticised the scheme as Utopian, and refused to consider it as a practical programme for the Labour Party. A controversy of some asperity ensued between him and the defenders of the scheme, and the genuineness of his Socialism was called in question. He further showed his disapproval of the I.L.P. policy by declining to attend its annual conference on April 4 and 5.

The Liberal Party, rent as it was by internal dissensions, was still further weakened by the defection, on January 25, of Sir Alfred Mond, one of its ablest debaters on economic subjects, and one of Mr. Lloyd George's most trusty associates. Sir Alfred gave as his reason for going over to the Unionist Party the fact that the National Liberal Association had reintroduced on the agenda of the forthcoming Liberal Land Convention a motion reviving the policy of land nationalisation as first advocated in the Land Report and after he had secured its elimination from



Liberal policy. Other Liberals who shared Sir Alfred's sentiments preferred to wait till the Convention should have been held. There was no closing up of the ranks among those who remained, and when the party met before the opening of Parliament to elect a sessional chairman, only seventeen members voted for Mr. Lloyd George, while seven opposed him and eighteen were absent or abstained.

Owing to the dissensions of the Opposition, the opening of the new session on February 2 found the Conservative Party in a stronger position than ever. As, however, this party also contained two elements—the "old" and the "new"—which differed widely in their views on social legislation, the Government's programme on this subject was somewhat vague. The King's Speech opened with a reference to the British Ambassador's visit to Angora, and announced that Great Britain would send a Minister to represent her on the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament which would shortly be held at Geneva, and that invitations were being issued to the Governments of Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy to attend a conference in London to consider the possibility of securing an effective international agreement for regulating hours of labour. Among new Bills to be introduced, the place of honour was given to those dealing with Economy and Electricity. Bills were also mentioned for extending the powers of County Councils to provide small holdings, and for the marking of imported goods, while a vague promise was given to deal with the slum evil.

The debate on the Address, which lasted four days, did not reveal any dissatisfaction with the Government in the Conservative ranks. The chief objection of the Labour Party to the Government's programme was voiced in an amendment complaining that it was not calculated substantially to reduce unemployment or stimulate industry, and calling for "a fundamental reorganisation of industry on the lines of public ownership and democratic control of the essential services." Mr. Snowden, who moved the amendment, charged the Government, amid Ministerial disclaimers, with having broken its election pledges in failing to remedy unemployment, but while severely criticising the Government's shortcomings, he said little on the remedy proposed by Labour. His speech contained an unexpected compliment to Mr. Lloyd George's land policy, and was construed by many as an overture to the Liberals. In the course of the debate, however, a younger Labour speaker, Mr. Dalton, insisted on the orthodox Socialist definition of "essential services" to include transport and power, electric supply, coal-mining, and banking; and Mr. Lloyd George regretfully found that this was more than he could swallow. The proposed Labour remedy for unemployment was pooh-poohed by Unionist members, and the motion was defeated by a large majority.

The second amendment to the Address, moved by Sir J. Simon on behalf of the Liberal Party, expressed regret that the King's Speech contained no reference to educational policy calculated to remove the widespread dismay created by the issue of Circular 1,371 and Memorandum 44 by the Board of Education, particularly the proposal to substitute block grants for percentage grants. The mover charged the Government with having put forward the circular in November not in the interests of education, but merely in order to reduce expenditure. Lord Percy did not deny the imputation directly, but tried to prove that the substitution of the block for the percentage grant could be made in such a way as to reduce expenditure without checking progress. Mr. Trevelyan, the Labour ex-Minister of Education, admitted that the Minister might possibly be right, but pointed out that the opinion of local authorities was strongly against the block grant system, and Mr. Fisher, the Liberal ex-Minister, while not claiming that the percentage system was the last word in educational progress, maintained that it had given a feeling of security to the teaching profession which might be destroyed by its removal. One or two Unionist members were bold enough to say openly that the country was spending more on education than it could afford, and had no right to do so, and the amendment was eventually defeated by 284 votes to 135.

The Address having been carried, the House proceeded to the examination of a number of Supplementary Estimates, which were scrutinised with unusual care in the new zeal for economy. The keenest debate took place upon the provision of 200,000*l.* for the erection of steel houses in Scotland. Speaking in Stirling on January 26, the Prime Minister had informed his audience that the Government had made all arrangements with the Scottish National Housing Company to erect 2,000 steel houses on selected sites in order to assist in remedying the appalling house shortage in Scotland. After long deliberation, the Labour Party had decided to swallow its objections to steel houses, in view of the urgent need for houses of any kind; but many of its members could not stomach the fact that half the contract had been given to Lord Weir, a notorious enemy of trade unionism. When the Vote was asked for on February 11, Mr. MacDonald pleaded with the Government to enforce on Lord Weir a fair wage contract, while some of his followers vented their indignation against that gentleman in no measured terms. The edge of their attack, however, was blunted by one of their own colleagues, Mr. Rosslyn Mitchell, who pointed out that the men actually engaged on the Weir houses were highly satisfied with their job, and who supported the Government unreservedly in its action. In the end the Vote was agreed to without a division.

This was not the last which the Government heard on the subject. On February 25, a deputation of Scottish Labour

members, introduced by Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson, waited on the Secretary for Scotland to obtain from him an assurance that a fair wages clause should be embodied in the contract with Messrs. Weir. Sir John Gilmour informed them that this would be done. They were still, however, not satisfied, and when the Vote came up again on the Report stage on March 3 they found cause for objection in the fact that Lord Weir, when he employed engineers to do building jobs in his steel houses, such as the erection of doors, paid them at engineers' rates, and not at builders' rates, which were substantially higher. A division was this time taken on the Vote, and 124 members voted against it.

Another Supplementary Estimate which provoked great searchings of heart, especially among Unionist members, was one of 50,000*l.* a year for four years for providing sports grounds for the Civil Service. The incongruity of such a proposal with the Government's professed zeal for economy struck the public with amazement. On February 19 a deputation of nearly 100 Unionist members waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to protest against the grant, not on its merits, but as being inopportune and inconsistent with the policy of national economy. Mr. Churchill defended the grant as being in accordance with the policy of making the State a good employer, and also with the practice of the State in regard to the Fighting Services. He also pointed out that the proposal had been made more than a year ago by the Prime Minister and himself without arousing any adverse criticism. Further protests were made in the course of the next few days from various sources, including the Civil Service itself, and the Government at length judged it prudent to bow to the storm. An announcement issued on February 26 pointed out that the bulk of the proposed grant would have been expended for the benefit of the Post Office servants, workmen in the dock-yards and the Arsenal, and officials in the Revenue and Prison Services, whose position was not different in principle from that of soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the Fighting Services. The provision from State funds of recreation for the Army and Air Force had been recognised by successive Governments as being in accord with sound public policy, and the proposal to extend the principle to the non-military services of the Crown was one to which the Government adhered; but in view of the financial exigencies of the present juncture the Government had decided to postpone definite proposals to a more prosperous period in national affairs.

Another matter which brought Unionist members up in arms against the Government was the reported intention of Mr. Churchill to "raid" the surplus of the Road Fund, amounting to about 17,000,000*l.*, for purposes other than the maintenance of roads. Questioned in the House of Commons on the matter, Mr. Churchill

gave a somewhat evasive reply, and on February 17 a Unionist member formally moved that the surplus of the Road Fund should not be diverted from its original purpose. If the roads, he said, were perfect, the petrol tax should be reduced. He was supported by Labour members, who thought that the money should be used for employing the unemployed on the roads. Mr. Churchill, in reply, deprecated the taking of a vote by the House on the strength of newspaper reports of the Government's intentions, and he asked them to wait for his Budget statement. The matter thereupon lapsed.

The Government had no difficulty, on February 16, in securing a Supplementary Estimate of 303,000*l.* for the Ministry of Agriculture. This was equivalent to an endorsement of the agricultural policy which it had set forth in a White Paper issued on February 2. According to this document, there was a wide measure of agreement that a national agricultural policy should aim at securing two objects—that the land should yield its maximum of food to the nation, and that it should furnish a reasonable livelihood to the maximum number of people. Unlike the Liberal and Labour Parties, however, the Government did not contemplate any radical changes with a view to securing these objects, but suggested only a few improvements in detail in existing conditions. It was against subsidies, save as a purely temporary expedient, or to start a new industry like beet-sugar. It promised to draw up a scheme for short-term credit, and undertook to maintain the Agricultural Wages Regulation Act, and referred sympathetically to small holdings, forestry, and research. The only definite measures to which it pledged itself were the provision of 1,000,000*l.* for drainage spread over five years, and a Merchandise Marks Bill, for the marking of imported agricultural produce. A cash-on-delivery system for postal packages was mentioned as being under consideration, and was actually brought into operation by the Post Office on March 29.

A Vote for an increase in the Customs staff (February 17) gave a number of members an opportunity of ventilating their grievances against the silk duties, the collection of which had caused enormous inconvenience to travellers and traders, owing to the great number of imported articles which contained silk in minute quantities and the determination of the Customs officials to let nothing escape toll. Mr. McNeill explained that things were becoming better, it being now the practice to divide silk-containing articles into large categories, and to levy a flat rate on each; the public also was becoming better acquainted with the Customs procedure, and finding it more tolerable.

Strong opposition was offered by the Labour Party to Mr. Churchill's motion on February 22 for confirming an agreement to pay 650,000*l.* in the current year, and 875,000*l.* in four subsequent years in aid of the Northern Ireland Unemployment

Insurance Fund. The Chancellor pointed out that, owing to the prevalence of unemployment in Ulster's staple industries, linen and shipbuilding, this sum was considerably less than the British taxpayer would have had to find had the Ulster fund remained amalgamated with the general British fund. Mr. Snowden, who characterised the Constabulary grant of the previous year as a camouflaged unemployment grant, asked whether the Government had any more presents up its sleeve for Ulster, and moved that the sums proposed should be furnished as a loan and not as a gift. Mr. Churchill denied that the Government was contemplating any further gifts to Ulster, and pointed out that there was little hope of recovering money from a body already so heavily in debt as the Ulster Unemployment Fund; and the motion was eventually passed in its original form by a substantial majority.

The decision of the Government to restrict its grants in aid of unemployment relief works was, as anticipated, soon found to press hardly on the local authorities, and efforts were made by them to procure its reversal. On February 19, deputations representative of the Association of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales and of the larger local authorities in Scotland waited on the Prime Minister to urge the withdrawal of the circular letter issued by the Unemployment Grants Committee, under date of December 15, modifying the conditions under which grants could be sanctioned, and called his attention to the burden thrown upon the local authorities by the heavy unemployment. The Prime Minister, in reply, explained the general reasons which had made it necessary to issue the circular of December 15, and emphasised the importance, from the point of view of the absorption of the unemployed, of utilising for the ordinary requirements and development of industry as much as possible of the limited amount of capital available in the country. He made it plain that the circular of December 15 could not be withdrawn, but at the same time undertook to see what could be done for the furtherance of schemes that had been prepared in response to the circular issued by the Unemployment Grants Committee in March, 1925. The policy of the circular was strongly criticised by the Opposition in one of the debates on the Supplementary Estimates a few days later, but received the approval of the majority.

An interesting debate took place on February 12 on a private member's Bill to rescind the Act which required a member of Parliament to seek re-election if appointed to a Ministerial post nine months or more after a General Election. Mr. Clayton, the mover, recommended this step on the ground that it would enable the Prime Minister to choose colleagues on their merits and not on their majorities, and that new Ministers would be spared a great deal of expense and loss of time and constituencies a great deal of inconvenience. A further argument adduced in favour of the Bill was that under most of the Dominion Constitutions Ministers

were entirely exempt from the necessity of re-election. The chief argument adduced against the Bill was that it would lessen the authority of the House and the electorate; if a Minister resigned on a difference with his colleagues, a by-election was at present a valuable referendum on a single issue. The Prime Minister, while leaving the decision to the free vote of the House, stated that he personally would support the Bill. The application of the present Act, he said, was partial, and the quinquennial Act lessened the need for interim appeals. The head of the Government could, of course, avoid an election by a Cabinet reshuffle; but he might have to pass over men who held doubtful seats, although the very fact that they had won them implied special ability. The second reading was passed by 143 votes to 74. The Bill passed its final reading in the House of Commons on June 11, when it was officially supported by the Home Secretary, in spite of the objections of a number of Conservatives, who thought that a change affecting the Constitution should not be made without consulting the electorate.

On February 16 a motion was adopted unanimously instructing the Government to confine its placing of contracts, save in exceptional circumstances, to firms on the King's National Roll. It was stated that in spite of several years' effort by special committees there were still 31,000 unemployed disabled Service men, and still a number of public authorities which had not joined the Roll. It was thought that this motion, which only made statutory the actual practice of all Governments since 1921, would materially assist the work of the King's Roll Committee, and it was pointed out that the action of the House in the previous year in throwing out a private Bill because the promoting company was not on the Roll had proved most salutary.

On February 18 the Colonial Secretary asked the House of Commons to approve the Treaty which had just been signed between Great Britain and Iraq. The terms of the Treaty, according to Mr. Amery, fulfilled the stipulations laid down by the League of Nations, and did not exceed or run counter to the general policy announced by the Prime Minister and accepted by the House. The British expenditure in Iraq, he pointed out, would be under 4,000,000*l.* in the ensuing year, and part of this would be spent on an Air Force unit which would have to be maintained in any case. Mr. MacDonald, in moving the rejection of the Treaty, was in the awkward position of having to criticise the Government for obeying a decision of the League of Nations. He tried to remove blame from the League on to the Government by asserting that the former would never have come to such a decision had not the British Government previously announced its willingness to accept it. Mr. MacDonald was severely taken to task by subsequent speakers on the Unionist side, especially

Sir A. Chamberlain, for undermining the authority of the League by casting aspersions on the character of the Council. Mr. Hilton Young, a Liberal who shortly afterwards joined the Conservatives, and who had been for a time financial adviser to the Iraq Government, warmly defended the extension of the mandate, asserting that there was being evolved in Iraq what he would suggest was the pattern example of the future British Empire in the East—an Empire based on confidence, affection, and honour. One or two of the Unionist members who had previously advocated British withdrawal from Mesopotamia confessed themselves to have been converted by recent events to support of the Government policy. Labour members again brought up the charge that the Government was out to secure the oil of Mosul, and, in order to dispose of it once for all, Sir A. Chamberlain informed the House that in March of the previous year the Turkish Government had proposed to him that Turkey should have as much as it desired of the vilayet of Mosul, and that a British company, approved by His Majesty's Government, should have the exploitation of all the oil. The Government, however, had replied that they were trustees and mandatories for Iraq, and could not bargain away the interests of that country for concessions. The motion for accepting the Treaty was eventually carried by 260 votes to 116.

On February 20 the Board of Trade issued as a White Paper the report presented to it by the Food Council on the subject of short weight and measure. The inquiries which the Council had been carrying on for some months previously had shown that the giving of short weight and measure was exceedingly prevalent in the sale of food-stuffs, and, as wilful fraud was difficult to prove, the public obtained little protection from the Weights and Measures Act. The Council, after consulting the traders in detail, found that there was agreement as to the necessity of further protection for the consumer and on the principle that the giving of short weight and measure should be made a penal offence, and it put forward certain proposals for remedying the evil to which it hoped that legislative effect would soon be given.

The Service Estimates were by this time ready, and on February 25 the House of Commons went into Committee of Supply on the Air Estimates. Prior to the debate the Prime Minister was asked whether the Government had any intention of uniting the three arms of the Service under a single direction. He replied that the Government intended to pursue the organisation of Imperial Defence on the existing basis, and that there was no question of doing away with a separate Air Arm and Air Ministry. They were convinced that the way to secure the higher co-ordination of their defence machinery, which was essential both for efficiency and economy, lay not in the abolition of any of the established arms of the Forces, but in combined action by all three through the machinery of the Committee of Imperial

Defence and the agency of the recently constituted Committee of Chiefs of Staff.

The Secretary of State for Air, Sir S. Hoare, in introducing the motion to go into Committee, gave a comprehensive survey of the position of military and civil aviation in the Empire. There was, he said, a reduction of 350,000*l.* on the cost of defence in Iraq and Palestine, the result partly of the flying visit paid by himself and the Secretary for the Colonies to the Near East in the previous spring, but still more of the efficiency of the Air Command and the Civil Administration in those parts. For the purposes of home defence they had now 25 squadrons, against 3 squadrons three years ago, and at the end of the financial year there would be 28. They were in the position of being the second greatest air power in the world, leaving out of account the air force of Russia, of which he had no official knowledge. Even so, they were in an inferiority of somewhat less than one to two as compared with their nearest neighbour. While the programme of home defence, accepted by Government after Government, remained intact, he had come to the conclusion that the Treaties of Locarno, and the new atmosphere of international concord which they created, justified them in proceeding more slowly with the completion of their programme than they would otherwise have done. The Air Staff and the Air Force did not altogether regret the slowing down, as it gave them a breathing space for more intensive training, which substantially added to the quality and the fighting strength of the force. Care had been taken that in spite of the slowing down, the aircraft industry, which depended wholly on Government orders, should not unduly suffer. Long-distance flights within the Empire were becoming a frequent feature of military aviation, and on the civil side they were hoping to make a definite start with the aeroplane route to India in the course of the year, while the two airships designed by the Government would probably be flying regularly between London and distant parts of the Empire before the present Parliament had run its course. Lastly, in order to develop an "air sense" among the public at large, they had within the last year made the experiment of creating auxiliary and special reserve squadrons at various great industrial centres.

The Government statement was received by the House in a very critical mood. The first speaker, a Labour member, Mr. Attlee, made the complaint that the Minister's speech "contained no echo of the Locarno spirit," and the sentiment was repeated in various forms by a large number of subsequent speakers, most of them from the Unionist benches. Genuine disappointment, in fact, was evinced by the House that the Government's statement held out no prospect of disarmament. On the question of the co-ordination of the Services, also, the Premier's statement did not give satisfaction, and from all sides the Government was



urged, in the interests of economy and efficiency, to institute a single Ministry of Defence. The Air Minister, in reply, said that he would convey to the Prime Minister the arguments put forward on behalf of a Ministry of Defence and the fact that they were urged by members in every quarter of the House. He pointed out, however, that before they had a centralised Ministry of Defence, they must have a greater community of feeling between the Services themselves.

In the debate on the Report stage of the Air Estimates on March 8, Unionist members again showed themselves highly critical of various items in the Government's handling of the Air Force. The Air Minister declared himself in sympathy with members who wished to have before them a single Defence Ministry Estimate, and expressed his hope, and that of the Prime Minister, that the question would be raised again at a subsequent stage, when he could deal with it more fully. The question of disarmament, he stated, was being seriously considered by the Air Staff and himself, and they were in communication with Lord Cecil, who would represent the Government on the Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations. It might, he admitted, be the case that an Air Force, however efficient, could never make it impossible for an attacking force to penetrate to these shores, but he was sure that, provided their expansion programme was carried out and they had an Air Force of the size contemplated, they might look forward to making it very risky for a foreign Power to attack this country. The House finally agreed to an Air Force Estimate of 16,000,000*l.*, as against 15,513,000*l.* in the previous year.

In introducing the Naval Estimates on March 11, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Bridgeman, triumphantly rebutted the reproach levelled against that body by Mr. Snowden in a debate in the previous year that it was "the most arrogant of all the great public Departments," and that no reliance could be placed on its pledges. Not only, he said, had the Admiralty fulfilled its undertaking, given in the previous July, to effect savings equivalent to the cost of new construction in 1925, but it had much more than fulfilled a similar promise with regard to 1926. In spite of an expenditure of some 5,000,000*l.* on new construction, the Estimates showed a reduction of nearly 2,500,000*l.* This result had been brought about by a number of economies in various fields, the majority of which, he thought, would not have been possible without the fixed building programme. Knowing what replacements to expect in the next five years, the Admiralty had found it much easier to make economical arrangements with regard to the existing fleet, and to take risks which would not otherwise be justified. He had to admit that the economies did, to a certain extent, affect Fleet efficiency and the preparedness of the Fleet, and that they had taken risks which

they certainly would not have taken in times of danger or when the country was more affluent. With regard to Singapore, he informed the House that the position was the same as in 1925; the cost this year would be 225,000*l.*, of which only 95,000*l.* would fall upon Great Britain, the rest being provided by Hong-Kong. He thanked the Dominions for their contributions to naval defence, but at the same time hinted that an increase would be welcome. He congratulated the Indian Navy on the decision recently taken to reconstruct the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, and stated that India would continue to contribute 100,000*l.* a year to the expenses of the Royal Navy in Indian waters. As a final refutation of the charge of extravagance, he pointed out that the figure of 58,100,000*l.*, which he had given as the Estimate of the year, would, if stated in pre-war value of money, amount only to 34,712,000*l.*, whereas the expenditure for 1914 had been 51,000,000*l.* There was, therefore, in reality a reduction of 33½ per cent., and if the non-effective Services were left out, the reduction would be found to amount to 38·36 per cent.

In the course of the debate which followed, a number of members refused to accept the Minister's statement that the Admiralty was really economising, and maintained that it merely gave the appearance of doing so by postponing payments. A motion calling on the Government to bring about a policy of disarmament through the League of Nations was defeated by 196 votes to 113. Mr. Lansbury moved to reduce the fighting strength of the Navy by 100,000 men, calling attention to the "Peace Letter" which had recently been signed by tens of thousands of people throughout the country, pledging them to take no part in any war. The bulk of the Labour members, in accordance with the declared policy of their Party, either opposed the motion or abstained from voting, and Mr. Lansbury found only 19 supporters. The various Navy Votes were then agreed to.

The Army Estimates for 1926-27, which were introduced by the Minister for War on March 15, amounted to 42,500,000*l.*, a reduction of 2,000,000*l.* on the current year for not quite the same number of men (159,400). The Minister pointed out that if present-day cost of living and retired pay were taken into account, expenditure on the Army was now really less than before the war. The manoeuvres of the previous autumn, he stated, had been an unqualified success in everything except the weather, and had given the higher command an experience which it urgently required. They had also thrown considerable light on problems of mechanicalisation, a matter in which, as he was advised, this country was already ahead of all others. For the efficiency of the Army, it was necessary that manoeuvres should be held at frequent intervals; the results more than repaid the cost. Recruiting,

according to the Minister, had been satisfactory, and at one time they had to restrict enlistments in order not to exceed the authorised establishment. The rejections, however, on physical and medical grounds, were still very high—52,200 out of 89,277, or about 58 per cent., almost exactly the same proportion as in the previous year. The strength of the Territorial Army had also increased, but the new Air Force units attached to the Army had reached only 30 per cent. of their establishment.

While the Service Estimates were under consideration, a disquieting change had taken place in the international situation, for which the British Foreign Secretary, along with the whole Government, was not without responsibility. Some weeks before the date fixed for the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva in March, it was reported that France intended at the meeting to propose Poland for a permanent seat on the Council. After the Locarno Conference it had been generally understood that the next Council meeting was to be solely for the purpose of admitting Germany to a permanent seat on the Council, and this new proposal of France came as a great shock to public opinion in England. To the general surprise and disappointment, Sir A. Chamberlain, on February 23, made a speech at Birmingham which conveyed the impression that he had already arranged with M. Briand to support Poland's claim. Public opposition to the scheme found expression in letters to the Press, in questions in Parliament, and in representations to the Premier from the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, which included members of all three parties. It was voiced most effectively by Lord Grey in a speech which he made at Newcastle on February 26. Lord Grey urged that the British, French, and German Governments should meet at Geneva without having tied themselves by any declarations beforehand, and pointed out that the important thing was that the discussion on the admission of other nations as permanent members of the Council should begin after Germany had taken her seat, so that she herself could be a party to the discussion.

In order to allay the anxiety felt in all quarters of the House of Commons as to the course he intended to pursue at Geneva, Sir A. Chamberlain, on March 1, explained his attitude to a very fully attended meeting of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, which included most of the members of the House. Sir E. Hume-Williams, who presided, explained that the resolution unanimously adopted by the Committee a week before against any increase in the permanent membership of the Council at the present time, apart from the admission of Germany, had been passed because the Committee believed that changes of great moment affecting the future of the League were under consideration on which the Government as a whole would have to take a vital decision. At the same time he disclaimed

all intention of casting any sort of reflection on the Foreign Secretary.

Sir A. Chamberlain said that the differences which existed regarding this matter were differences not of principle but as to the method by which the end common to all supporters of the League should be attained. He appealed for some latitude for the man who was to conduct the negotiations, and who, by the nature of the case, was bound to be in closer touch with all the Governments concerned than the men outside the Cabinet could be. It was out of question for him, as a member of the League Council, to adopt the attitude of a dictator. If he was to secure the adoption of the course he believed to be best, he must secure it by persuasion. To the suggestion that any State should be brought on to the Council as a counterpoise to Germany, he declared himself immovably opposed; but he thought there was sound argument for increasing the permanent membership on other grounds. Observing that nothing had impressed him more since he had gone to the Foreign Office than the immense part personal relations and influences played in the conduct of international affairs, the Foreign Minister contended that if on great questions the British representative were required to define his attitude unequivocally beforehand, delegates of other Governments would be forced into the same position, and paralysis would result. The door should be kept open for conciliatory negotiations, and he asked that he might not be expected to go to Geneva with his hands so tied that he could put nothing into the common stock of thought and action, and contribute nothing to a solution.

There was no discussion on the Foreign Minister's statement, but while many of the Conservative members present declared themselves reassured by it, Labour members expressed the opinion that it rendered inevitable a Parliamentary discussion before the Minister left for Geneva. The Parliamentary Labour Party at its next weekly meeting decided to press for an opportunity to debate the question, and in response to their request, the Prime Minister set aside March 4 for a discussion.

The debate on that day was opened by Sir A. Chamberlain with a long statement showing that the question of reconstituting the Council of the League of Nations was no new one and that he could not prevent it from being raised. While indulging in a number of pious sentiments about preserving the results of Locarno and not dividing the League into camps of opposing forces, on the real question at issue he said nothing until he was suddenly brought face to face with it by a question from Mr. MacDonald, whether he could declare outright that no claim for admission to the Council could be considered in March. His reply was that he was not prepared to say "no" under any circumstances whatever. If the whole Council voted for a par-

ticular admission, Britain would not oppose it. He went on to appeal to the House not to tie his hands before he left for Geneva, pointing out that the representatives of other nations also had refused to bind themselves before they started on their journey, and had reserved to themselves liberty of negotiation and discussion.

The Leader of the Opposition immediately brushed aside the Foreign Secretary's sophistries with very little ceremony. He pointed out that what was causing disquiet in the country was not the fact that there had been an uprising on the part of certain countries with claims for seats on the Council, but the encouragement given to those countries by the connivance of the British Government. The Foreign Secretary's plea for a "free hand" was a little disingenuous, as it was currently reported that he had actually pledged himself to Spain, Poland, or Brazil. His policy was not in accordance with the Locarno spirit, which demanded that Germany should be admitted to the Council before any other claim was considered. The composition of the Council might require revision; but this was not the moment to begin.

Mr. Lloyd George followed with a strong personal appeal to Sir A. Chamberlain to subordinate his own personal opinion to the undoubted will, not only of the House, but of the whole country. Never before, he said, in his recollection had the public so taken the conduct of affairs out of the hands of the Foreign Office. Seeing that France and Italy, and Japan also, though less emphatically, had declared their intention of voting for Poland's inclusion in the Council, it was idle for the Foreign Secretary to talk of seeing what could be done by discussion and consultation. In order to safeguard Britain's good faith, it was incumbent on him to vote against any other addition to the members of the Council than that of Germany. If he did not do so, Locarno would have been in vain. But if he went to Geneva expressing the undoubted opinion of his countrymen on this subject, he would show that British opinion meant to have a square deal with Germany, and that this country was going to pursue her traditional policy of fair play in Europe.

From the Unionist side the Marquis of Hartington, as one who had been present at the original passing of the Covenant of the League, added his opinion that the British representative ought to make it absolutely clear that he was not prepared to go outside the purpose for which the meeting was convened, which was the election of Germany and of Germany only. The Foreign Secretary found an unexpected but somewhat embarrassing supporter in Sir A. Mond, who startled the House by accusing it of having been captured by pro-German propaganda. The Prime Minister made a defence of his colleague which was not calculated to reassure those who wondered what had become of the "Locarno spirit." He associated the Government entirely with the views

of the Foreign Secretary. Sir A. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil would go to Geneva first and foremost in order to see that Germany obtained a seat on the League Council. But apart from that, they would have to consider the wishes and the public opinion of other countries. The Foreign Secretary had tried to prevent any other question being raised at the forthcoming meeting, but it had not been in his power to do so. He submitted that they would not have helped matters had they said two or three months previously that they, for their part, would not consider any other subject than the admission of Germany, and thought that a definite statement of that nature would have prejudiced the object they had in view, namely, the free and unconditional entrance of Germany into the Council of the League. The Government, in sending Sir A. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil, was sure that they would deserve the confidence of the country no less than of the Government.

Mr. Baldwin's specious appeal failed to convince the Opposition. Mr. J. H. Thomas asked why no word had been said about the Dominion point of view, in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister of Australia had said a few days before that as far as Australian policy was concerned he was not going to trust it to British statesmen. The Labour Party regretted the necessity of a division, because they felt that foreign politics, and especially the question of the League, should be kept out of the party arena. But the reply and the general attitude of the Government were such as to render it imperative for the Labour Party at least to free itself from all responsibility. A division was accordingly challenged on the issue that at the forthcoming meeting of the League the entry of Germany should be the only matter for consideration. The motion was lost by 224 votes to 124, the smallness of the majority showing that many Unionist members still harboured misgivings.

The general presentiment that Sir Austen Chamberlain's going to Geneva with a "free hand" boded no good either for his own country or for the League of Nations was amply verified by the event. The credit which England might have won by making a firm stand against the demands of France and Italy was secured by Sweden, and Sir Austen's complaisance towards those two Powers merely contributed to defeat the primary object of his attendance at the meeting, the acceptance of Germany into the Council. His diplomacy was the subject of bitter comment in the Press of all parties, and as after Locarno he had been the most belauded, so now he became for a time the best-abused man in Great Britain. Sir Austen himself described the failure of the conference as a "tragedy," and made what amends he could for his share in it by arranging with France and Germany that the Locarno understanding should remain in force, in spite of Germany's still being outside of the League.

Sir A. Chamberlain, on his return to London, contrary to custom, abstained from making any statement in Parliament on his work at Geneva, but the Opposition was not to be baulked of its say, and on March 23 Mr. Lloyd George opened a debate on the subject in a speech in which the delinquencies of the Foreign Secretary were painted in strong colours. The precise complaint against him was that the negotiations had failed because they were preceded by a secret agreement to which he was a party. Mr. George quoted the words of the American Senator Borah : " The situation, as he saw it, was dominated by the fact that those who had charge of the programme at Locarno entered into a secret agreement, and that they were practically intriguing against those for whom they were professing friendship." He condemned the cavalier way in which Sir Austen had treated M. Uden, the Swedish delegate, who, in the opinion of the vast majority in this country, had represented the public opinion of England as well as of his own country. He drew a gloomy picture of the position to which the League had been reduced, and begged the Government to concentrate on saving it and making it a council-chamber of the covenant of peace among nations.

Mr. Chamberlain's reply was remarkable chiefly for the bland way in which he ignored the precise matter of complaint against him. The Germans, he admitted, had been misled, but no one was in the least to blame for misleading them. In applying for admission to the League the Germans had not troubled to rule out conditions which they thought could not possibly be contemplated. The other Powers, in accepting Germany's application, had assumed that nothing was in her mind save the conditions she actually mentioned. Both sides were within their rights, and there was a misunderstanding. Further, it would have been a piece of arrogance on his part to tell other nations that they had no right to have their claim discussed, and they certainly would not have listened to him. So far from showing penitence for his work at Geneva, he claimed positive credit for it, on the ground that it had prevented any breach being made in the work of reconciliation commenced at Locarno. He concluded his speech with a remarkable piece of self-laudation for his services in the cause of international peace and in maintaining the prestige of Great Britain during the fifteen months that he had been Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

As in the previous debate on the League, so now it fell to Mr. MacDonald to bring the Foreign Minister back to reality. He was reluctant, he said, to disturb the laurels which that gentleman had placed on his own head, but if he imagined that the name and influence of Great Britain were higher than at any period since the war, he was evidently unacquainted with the Press and public opinion of other nations. The self-complacency of the honourable gentleman really drew a little too liberally on their generosity.

Mr. MacDonald showed with great clearness how Sir A. Chamberlain had mishandled the situation by giving encouragement, however indirectly, to claims which conflicted with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Locarno arrangement. He did not believe that his conduct was the result of an intrigue; it was just a blunder. The effect, however, had been to lower the prestige of the League of Nations in the eyes of the world, and he appealed to the House to see that the September negotiations were not vitiated by an agreement made behind closed doors.

The most remarkable feature of the debate which followed was the way in which Unionist members, ignoring both their own views previously expressed and the facts of the situation, rallied to the support of the Foreign Secretary, taking him at his own valuation, and showering on him compliments for saving the Locarno agreement and even strengthening the League of Nations. The Prime Minister, who closed the debate, adopted the same tone, and tossed aside the criticisms of the Opposition with a certain flippancy which did not well accord with the seriousness of the subject. He closed by expressing to the House the confidence which he and the Government felt in the Foreign Secretary, and called on the Unionist Party to show that they shared the view of the Government. The appeal was not lost on them, and the motion of censure was defeated by 325 votes to 136. The Foreign Secretary was restored to the good graces of his party, and nothing more was heard of the suggestion which had been freely mooted a few days before, that he should be transferred to another post.

On March 8 the Premier maintained the precedent of several foregoing years by asking the House for a considerable share of the private members' time left up to Easter. He read out a formidable list of the items which the Government desired to get through before Easter, and pointed out that he was asking for considerably less than had been taken by the present Leader of the Opposition when he was in office. Mr. MacDonald said that his party would divide against the motion, in order to impress on the Government that this could not be an annual affair, and he expressed the hope that before next year some arrangement would have been made between parties which would obviate the necessity of moving a similar resolution in 1927. Mr. Baldwin, in reply, remarked that there were only two ways of avoiding the congestion of business in the Easter Session—either by meeting for the new session early in the winter, or by bringing the financial year into accordance with the calendar year. He would, he said, be glad to take counsel with the leaders of other parties on the subject, as it was always his desire to make the progress of business as easy as possible for private members. The motion was carried by 220 votes to 97.

As the result of an exchange of views carried on between Mr.



Churchill and M. Doumer, the French Minister of Finance, it was arranged that the latter, if he succeeded in obtaining the passage of his Finance Bill through the Chamber, should come to London in the first week in March to resume negotiations concerning the French debt to Britain. The arrangement fell through because M. Doumer had been defeated and resigned before the date fixed. [See under France.] On March 11, Mr. Churchill informed Mr. Snowden, in answer to a question, that he had taken steps to resume the negotiations with M. Doumer's successor, M. Raoul Péret. He further stated that the Government regarded the agreement made with M. Caillaux in August, 1925, as binding on both parties. On March 24 Mr. Snowden raised the whole question of Britain's war debt policy, which he characterised as being generous to others at the expense of the British taxpayer. Mr. Churchill affirmed that it was the incessant and insistent demands of the United States which had forced England to abandon a policy of cancellation in general for one of cancelling out in their own particular case. They still adhered to the Balfour Note in principle, but they had to take account both of their debtors' capacity to pay and of their own bargaining power, which was only proportionate to the value which those debtors set on their own world credit. Russia, he thought, was beginning to realise the need of world credit, and he promised her not less favourable treatment than other debtors, should she offer to pay. The Italian settlement followed the expert reckoning that Italy's capacity was one-third that of France. As for France, M. Péret had promised to regard the provisional Caillaux agreement, for an annual payment of 12,500,000*l.* as the basis of renewed negotiations, but three points were still outstanding—what elasticity of payment should be allowed if the exchanges were affected, what lesser instalments should be paid during the partial moratorium up to 1930, and whether the payments should depend on France's receipts from Germany wholly, partially, or not at all. Mr. Churchill concluded by drawing attention to the fact that the United States was at present receiving as much as Germany was paying, and that when all settlements were made, she would be receiving directly, or through Britain, 60 per cent. of German reparations.

On March 15 the Boilermakers' Society, following the example set by the National Union of Railwaymen a few months earlier, decided not to join the projected Industrial Alliance. In all the other unions concerned, however, majorities were obtained for joining the Alliance. By the end of March the following seven unions had undertaken to affiliate and to amend their rules so as to permit the Alliance to call a strike over their heads, and to make a financial levy in aid of any strike movement: the Miners' Federation, the Transport and General Workers, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Workers' Union, the Iron and Steel Trades

Confederation, the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Electrical Trades Union. The aggregate membership of these unions was about 1,600,000, but in all of them only a minority voted on the proposal to join the Alliance.

The formation of the Alliance caused little stir in the Labour world. For purposes of united action the mass of trade unionists continued to look to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, which had combined their forces in the previous July. It was to a sub-committee of this body that the Miners' Federation turned for a promise of help in the struggle which was seen to be impending, and with which it kept in close touch during the sittings of the Royal Commission and afterwards. In the industrial struggles which took place later in the year the Alliance was never heard of, while the Trade Union Council played a part similar to that of the previous year.

During March, the Labour Party, through the medium of private members' Bills, attempted, without success, to secure legislation on matters in which it was closely interested. On March 5 it reintroduced in the House of Commons the proposal which it had made twelve months previously, to set up a National Employment and Development Board, which would include all Ministers who were in charge of Departments, with the Minister of Labour at their head. Two weeks later it revived another of its old proposals in the shape of a Bill for controlling profits in building materials (March 19). Labour speakers accused dealers of unduly forcing up the price of these materials. The charge was denied by Unionist members, and both sides adduced masses of figures in support of their contentions. The Minister urged that the proposals were untimely at a moment when the house-building situation was for the first time satisfactory, when production of materials was vastly increased, and when the bargain of 1924 was being kept. He thought that publicity such as that afforded by the Building Materials Committee was the best check on profiteering. Mr. Wheatley contended that the threat of the powers which the Bill conferred was necessary to bring the profiteers to reason, but it was eventually thrown out by 196 votes to 98.

Another proposal brought forward by the Labour Party, though it failed to be carried, had at least the effect of forcing the Government's hand. After announcing its intention, in its early days of office, of bringing in a Bill for Factory Law reform, the Government had so far unaccountably failed to insert the matter in its legislative programme. In order to remedy the omission Miss Ellen Wilkinson, on March 26, moved as a private member's Bill the measure prepared by Mr. Henderson when Home Secretary in the Labour Government. In moving the rejection of the Bill, Captain Macmillan, from the Unionist side, merely pleaded for delay, and called for the printing of a Factories

Bill for circulation in the current session, and for its passage in the following year. The Home Secretary apologised for the delay on the ground of grievous legislative pressure, and promised solemnly on the part of the Government to introduce his Bill in the current session and make it one of the principal measures of the next. It would, he said, contain nineteen-twentieths of Mr. Henderson's proposals, but not those relating to night baking. Unionist members accepted his assurance, and the motion was defeated by 184 votes to 109.

More ambitious than his colleagues, Mr. Maxton had given notice of a Bill for nationalising the Bank of England. Objection, however, was raised to this on the ground that it conflicted with the Standing Orders of the House in that it affected private interests. The matter was referred to a Select Committee, and this body, on March 14, decided that the Standing Orders ought not to be dispensed with, so that Mr. Maxton was not able to bring forward his Bill.

In accordance with the announcement contained in the King's Speech, invitations were sent in February to the Ministers of Labour of Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy, and to M. A. Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, to attend a conference in London on March 15 for the purpose of settling difficulties of interpretation of the Washington Eight-Hours Day Convention. The invitation was duly accepted by all the parties, and the conference sat in London from March 15 to 19. At its close the Minister of Labour, Sir A. Steel-Maitland, who had presided at most of the meetings, said that Great Britain had decided to call the conference because it desired to see how far it was possible to secure agreement among the principal industrial States as to the principles on which there could be based an international agreement for the regulation of the hours of labour. In particular, the British Government felt it necessary to examine the difficulties surrounding the Washington Convention, and to examine to what extent it would be practicable to ensure uniformity of interpretation, combined with assurances as to effective operation and enforcement. He felt that the conference had been able greatly to advance the consideration of the whole question of hours of labour from the international standpoint, and he undertook to submit its conclusions to his Government.

In the next session, on April 30, the Labour Party in the House of Commons revived the Bill which it had introduced when in office, to give effect, so far as England was concerned, to the eight-hours rule laid down in the Washington Labour Convention of 1919. The Government spokesman did not directly oppose the Bill, but stated that it was advisable to take further time for reflexion and for examining the intentions of other countries, and the debate was finally adjourned without a vote being taken on the Bill.

The text of the Government's anxiously-awaited Economy Bill was published on March 11, and was found to contain provisions for effecting a saving of 8 to 10 millions in the ensuing financial year, and 7 to 9 millions in the year after. Mr. Churchill, in moving the second reading on March 16, explained and defended the proposals in detail. The first was to reduce the State contribution to health insurance from two-ninths to one-seventh for men and one-fifth for women. This step was justified by the speaker on a number of grounds. First, there was the passage into law of the Widows and Old Age Pensions at Sixty-Five Bill of the previous year, which as from the beginning of 1928 would take off from the Health Insurance Fund all contributors between 65 and 70, the period when sickness benefits were at a maximum. This relieved the Fund of a sum which was actuarially computed at 37,000,000*l.* The second ground was the rise in the rate of interest since the war, as a result of which the regular income from the investments of the Fund was being increased by nearly 2,000,000*l.* a year, and this money free of tax. The same cause operated to the detriment of the State, which had to pay higher interest on its loans. Thirdly, in the past fourteen years the State had allowed some 24,000,000*l.* to enure to the benefit of the Fund from unforeseen advantages. The Fund was in an exceedingly prosperous condition, and a Royal Commission which had just examined its working had reported that, after providing for large additional benefits, it would still have a surplus of 2,000,000*l.* per annum. The Government had therefore decided that the State contribution to national health insurance could, in justice and prudence, be reduced as provided in the Bill, without prejudicing in any degree the solvency of any part of the system or of any individual society.

The second field in which economy was to be effected was that of unemployment insurance. Mr. Churchill admitted that there was an apparent inconsistency in legislating to reduce the State grant to the Unemployed Insurance Fund only nine months after they had legislated to increase it (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 55), but circumstances had changed in the interval. In July, when they passed their Bill, they had contemplated an average live register for the ensuing twelve months of 1,300,000, but in fact at the worst period the register had been only 1,150,000, and the Fund had practically balanced. On the assumption that there would be no great industrial catastrophe, and on the basis of elaborate mathematical calculations, they estimated for an average live register for 1926 of 1,030,000, and they thought that on that basis a reduction of the Exchequer contribution to unemployment insurance from 6½*d.* per week to 6*d.* (instead of an increase to 8*d.* as originally intended) could prudently and properly be made, without in any way affecting the solvency of the Fund or the amount of the benefits. The employers, however,

would not for the present receive the reduction in their contribution which they were expecting.

Leaving aside the other items of the Bill (the chief of which was a proposal to transfer to the Government 1,100,000*l.* from the Army, Navy, and Air Force Insurance Fund), Mr. Churchill proceeded to deal with the question why greater economies had not been effected, and in answer treated the House to what was, in effect, a preliminary Budget statement, containing an ingenious and novel analysis of the national expenditure with a view to finding possible economies. Taking as his starting-point the figure of 800,000,000*l.* to which the public seemed to have become accustomed during the past two or three years, he found there were four classes of demands which had to be met from this sum. The first consisted of what he called obligatory demands for interest on the National Debt and Pensions. The sum required for these purposes was now 476,000,000*l.*, as against 43,000,000*l.* before the war. The second class consisted of grants made by the Exchequer to local authorities on the percentage system for education, health services, housing, and similar purposes. These required to-day about 90,000,000*l.* a year. Thirdly, there were the two great State services for promoting communications, the Post Office and the Road Fund, which, between them, absorbed about 67,000,000*l.* Reduction of the expenditure under these three heads was out of the question—under the first, because it was an obligation of honour ; under the second, because it was necessary for the mental, moral, and physical welfare of the people ; and under the third, because it produced a more than corresponding revenue. Thus, if the 800,000,000*l.* figure was not to be exceeded, there was left a sum of about 165,000,000*l.* out of which to provide for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, for the Civil Service, the tax-gathering department, the National Insurance Fund, Judges, Civil List—all those matters around which the battle of expenditure and economy had usually been fought. Mr. Churchill took great credit to himself and his colleagues for having brought the estimated expenditure on these items for the forthcoming year to within 3,000,000*l.* of this limit, the excess being allowed for the coal subsidy during April.

The rejection of the Bill was immediately moved by Mr. Snowden. He was followed by Sir J. Simon, who condemned the reduction of the Government's contribution to health insurance as a deliberate attempt to go back on a Parliamentary pledge, and other proposals in the Bill as unfair to employers of labour and to the education authorities. Unionist members received with regret, but with resignation, the information that there was little prospect of reducing the annual expenditure below 800,000,000*l.* Constructive proposals were singularly lacking in the debate, and after Mr. Neville Chamberlain had made a spirited defence of the proposal relating to health insurance the second reading was carried by 322 votes to 142.

The Government had intended to get the Economy Bill through its Committee stage before the House rose for the Easter recess, but the pertinacity of the Opposition in moving amendments made this impossible. When the discussion opened on March 31, an attempt was first made to induce the Government to postpone the clause reducing the State contribution to health insurance in order that an opportunity should be given to the millions of insured persons to make their voices heard at their Easter conferences. It was admitted by the Government that the Consultative Council of the approved societies had expressed disapproval of the clause, but the motion for postponement was, nevertheless, heavily defeated. Mr. Thomas then moved that the clause should not come into operation earlier than six months after the summoning of a new Parliament, in order that the constituencies might have an opportunity of passing judgment on it. He read extracts from speeches upon the original insurance proposals in order to show that pledges as to increased benefits had actually been given, and warned the Government against doing anything which might destroy the belief that Parliamentary bargains would assuredly be kept. This plea was strongly reinforced by Mr. Lloyd George, who humorously remarked that in robbing the hen-roosts in his 1909 Budget he had gone to the well-feathered and well-defended nests, whereas this Government was robbing the few eggs from the backyard of the sick workman. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in reply, said that he could never understand exactly what was the bargain which the Government was now supposed to be breaking. He had read over and over the original speech of Mr. Lloyd George in introducing the Health Insurance Act, but was unable to pin him down to any definition of the terms of the contract which he asserted was made. The Government was not raiding the surpluses of the approved societies, and he denied that it was committing any breach of faith. The Unionist majority rallied, as usual, to the Government and defeated the motion, but the Opposition kept the debate going all night, and prevented the Committee stage from being concluded before Easter.

The second reading of the Government's Electricity Bill was moved on March 29 by the Minister of Transport, Colonel Ashley. He began by calling attention to the backwardness of Great Britain in electrical development. It might be said that only about one-third of Great Britain was reasonably well supplied with electricity. Practically over all the rest of the country there were small undertakings incapable of generating at a sufficiently low price to encourage large-scale consumption. In consequence, the consumption per head in Great Britain was only 118 units—a very low figure in comparison with many other countries. There was no question that reorganisation was necessary in order to enable them to produce power as cheaply as any of their com-

mercial competitors. Cheapness was largely a matter of big generating stations. In order to promote the creation of these, the Bill proposed the formation of an Electricity Board, to be nominated by the Minister of Transport, with a capital of 25,000,000*l.*, which the Government would guarantee as to capital and interest. The Board would in no sense be a Government Department; it would be purely a private company, but it would be authorised to buy up all the existing plants, which it would then standardise at a cost of about 8,000,000*l.*, which sum also was to be raised by a loan to be guaranteed by the State. The task of generating electricity would still be left in the hands of the private undertaker, but the Board would see that a uniform price was charged to the consumer. In this way it was thought that the Bill would promote the public interest while maintaining private initiative. The Minister in the course of his speech acknowledged the Government's debt to Mr. Lloyd George's book, "*Coal and Power*," from which it had derived many useful suggestions.

The Bill was opposed by the Labour Party and by a section of the Conservatives for opposite reasons—by the former because it did not go far enough in the direction of nationalisation, by the latter because it went too far. Mr. Graham moved its rejection on the ground that it "failed to provide for the co-ordination of the production of coal and its by-products with electrical generation, created cumbrous machinery, strengthened and extended the hold of profit-making companies over an indispensable public service, continued the limitation of municipal undertakings in confined and uneconomical areas of distribution, and afforded to consumers in company areas no adequate protection against excessive charges for light and power." The idea of a transition from a district to a national organisation was, he said, a sound one; but the Government's scheme of State intervention presented an administrative and economic bedlam. Conservative members were no less severe in denouncing the scheme from their point of view, as containing the evils of nationalisation without its possible compensations. The Bill duly passed its second reading, and was then referred to a Standing Committee, from which it did not emerge till the end of the Summer Session.

On the eve of the adjournment (April 1), Mr. Ponsonby raised the subject of disarmament, with the special purpose of ascertaining from the Government its intentions regarding the forthcoming conference of the League of Nations Committee on the subject. He was informed by Mr. Locker-Lampson, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that the instructions to Lord Cecil, the British delegate to the conference, had not yet been framed, but the policy of the Government was quite clear. They were ready to assist whole-heartedly in any international steps leading to a general measure of disarmament, and Lord Cecil would certainly go to

Geneva prepared to urge some definite scheme of disarmament. In regard to the Navy, he reminded the House that they must do nothing to endanger their power of being able to protect their trade routes, but he hoped that submarines would be included in the principle of limitation in future. The size of the British Army was not regulated by the size of the army of any other country, but was only large enough to suffice for the duties it had to carry out, but here, too, the Government was anxious to co-operate in any general scheme of limitation. Finally, in regard to the Air Force, while it was true that development programmes were being carried out, the Government would welcome any scheme of limitation which would result in a measure of equality being established between their own Air Force and that of any other country. The Under-Secretary's statement made a good impression, and procured from so stalwart a Socialist as Mr. Dalton the commendation of being "moderately satisfactory."

Affairs in China were the subject of questions in Parliament on various occasions during this session. On February 11 Sir A. Chamberlain stated that the Government were giving careful and constant attention to the serious problems arising out of the anti-British strike and boycott in South China. From the way in which negotiations between Hong-Kong and Canton had broken down, it was clear that the Government of Canton was, for the time being, under influences so blindly anti-British that it was not open to reason. In the rest of China, however, the British attitude of patience and conciliation was bearing fruit in the slow but steady restoration of friendship and goodwill between the British and Chinese peoples. Asked whether the Government would consider the question of appointing a special representative to confer with the Government of Canton, Sir Austen said that he did not think any good purpose would be served by such a step. In answer to a further question he stated that compensation had been offered by the Hong-Kong administration to those whose relatives had been killed in the Shanghai riots in the previous May, but had been refused on the ground that the Foreign Ministry had not been consulted; still, he thought that the ill-feeling caused by the incident of May 30 was gradually dying down.

On March 31 Sir A. Chamberlain further informed the House of Commons that the instructions sent to His Majesty's Minister at Peking were that armed force should only be used in the last resort for safeguarding the security of foreigners. It was not, he said, the intention of the Government to advocate any action by the Powers to stop the civil war, as this would involve a reversal of their agreed policy of non-intervention in China's domestic affairs, and would entail the use of armed force. Asked whether some check could not be put on the importation of arms by sea, the Minister answered that he did not feel inclined to take any



active steps unless the check could be applied to all countries, by land as well as by sea. He also denied that the British in any way assisted the soldiers of Marshal Chang Tso-lin to occupy Tientsin.

The financial year 1925-26 ended on April 1 with a deficit of 14,038,658*l.* The revenue for the year amounted to 812,061,658*l.*, or about 11,000,000*l.* more than the estimate and over 12,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year. Super-tax, in spite of the reduction, produced 5,000,000*l.* more than the estimate and 6,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year; but income tax was 3,000,000*l.* below the estimate and 14,000,000*l.* below the previous year. The chief gain was under the heading of special receipts, which, aided by a windfall of 2,000,000*l.* on account of the Italian debt, were nearly 7,000,000*l.* more than the estimate and 10,000,000*l.* more than in the preceding year. Customs, with the aid of the silk tax, produced 4,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year. Expenditure amounted to 826,099,778*l.*—nearly 30,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year, and slightly more than the final estimate, even when swollen by some 26,000,000*l.* of supplementary estimates. The Sinking Fund, in accordance with the decision of three years previously, took 5,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year, and the Fighting Services cost nearly 5,000,000*l.* more. But the heaviest item on the debit side was the quite unforeseen coal subsidy of 19,000,000*l.*, which turned what would otherwise have been a surplus into a deficit. The Floating Debt had been reduced during the year by 37,899,000*l.* from 742,195,000*l.* to 704,296,000*l.*

Contrary to general anticipation, the Liberal Party came through the session very little changed. The defection of Sir Alfred Mond was not followed by any "landslide," and only two Liberal members—one of them Mr. Hilton Young, who was regarded as a financial expert—imitated his example. The Liberal Land Conference, which was held in London on February 17 and 18, neither ended nor mended the party, but left it much as it was before, neither more nor less divided, even on questions of land policy. A programme was indeed worked out, but only a minority of those present voted for it, and it failed to satisfy the genuine agriculturists in the Liberal ranks. Mr. Lloyd George's Land Organisation continued to work independently of the Liberal headquarters and to impede the progress of the Liberal Million Fund. It roused little enthusiasm in the country, and at by-elections which took place during the session Liberal candidates fared disastrously.

In his restless endeavours to improve his political position, Mr. Lloyd George, in the early part of this session, turned to another expedient which met with even less success. Just before Parliament met in January he made a speech at Carnarvon in which, going back on his former views, he declared that the

Liberal Party made a mistake in 1924 in putting Labour into office. This did not prevent him from sending out feelers shortly afterwards for a *rapprochement* between the Liberal and Labour parties in preparation for the next election. His gestures received a guarded acknowledgment from Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Spoor, one of the Labour Whips, wrote an article in the Press openly advocating Liberal-Labour collaboration. The idea, however, did not find favour with the rank and file of the two parties, and was soon officially repudiated by Lord Oxford on one side and Mr. Henderson on the other. Mr. Spoor paid the penalty for his Liberal leanings by forfeiting official support for his Parliamentary candidature. At the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party on April 5 a protest was raised by some speakers against this piece of "heresy hunting," but the action of the Labour Party Executive was upheld by a large majority.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE GENERAL STRIKE.

WHILE the Chancellor of the Exchequer was seeking to obtain Parliament's consent to his schemes for reducing public expenditure, the Prime Minister was again engaged in an endeavour to avert from the nation the economic catastrophe of a stoppage in the coal-fields. On March 10, after labours extending over a period of five months, the Coal Commission had presented to him its Report, thereby transferring to him once more the responsibility for dealing with the situation. The Report, in addition to a mass of well-digested statistical information, contained an able statement of the problems of the industry, and definite and far-reaching proposals for dealing with them.

The Commission first recommended that there should be no extension of the coal subsidy beyond the period for which it was already authorised, *i.e.*, beyond April 30. It condemned not only the general subsidy, but also subsidies limited to collieries on the margin of profitability or to the exporting branch of the trade. It next pointed out that if, in the coming May, proceeds and costs remained near their present levels and the subsidy stopped, the results would be disastrous; a large proportion of collieries would be compelled to close, and hundreds of thousands of miners would be thrown out of work, while the best collieries would remain at work and get for their coal higher prices which would intensify the depression in the iron and steel trades and in shipbuilding and cause the loss of export markets. The gap between proceeds and costs could, in the near future, be filled in one of two ways—either by a sudden contraction of the industry to much smaller dimen-

sions, or by an immediate lowering of the cost of production. Some contraction of the industry was probably inevitable, but in any case the second way of filling the gap could not be avoided, as the costs of production with present hours and wages were excessive. The Commission was therefore of opinion that the minimum percentage addition to basic wage rates provided for by the 1924 agreement needed to be revised, subject to the position of the worst-paid men being, as at present, safeguarded by subsistence allowances. It advised that the general principles of wage agreements should be laid down nationally, and that, as the first step towards the making of a new agreement, the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation should meet nationally. The Commission was of opinion that the standard length of the working day should remain unaltered.

The Commission gave prominence to the recommendation that "revision of the minimum percentage should depend upon acceptance by all parties of such measures of reorganisation as will secure to the industry a new lease of prosperity leading to higher wages." The scheme put forward by the miners for reorganisation was subjected in the Report to detailed examination, and the conclusion was reached that it was unworkable and did not offer a good prospect of a clear economic and social gain. The Commission believed that the legitimate demand for large changes in the organisation and improvements in the efficiency of the industry, and for an expansion of the miners' influence over the conditions that governed his working life, could be met without embarking on an operation so vast and so hazardous as nationalisation. As alternative means it suggested the acquisition by the State of the ownership of coal by purchase where it had a national value, and by a declaration of State ownership in the case of unproved coal or coal at deep levels which had at present no market value; the amalgamation of many of the present small units of production, by legislation where necessary; promotion of a closer connexion between mining and the allied industries, and the establishment of a National Fuel and Power Committee to survey the heat, power, and light requirements of the country; extension of provision for research by the industry with the support of the State; and the formation of co-operative selling agencies, especially for the export trade. The Report concluded by saying that the way to prosperity in the mining industry lay along three chief lines of advance—the greater application of science to the mining and using of coal; larger units for production and distribution; and fuller partnership between employers and employed. "In all three respects progress must come mainly from within the industry. The State can help materially in various ways, but the future depends primarily on the leadership and the general level of opinion among the mine-owners and miners of Great Britain."

Desiring that the Report should be as widely read as possible,

the Government instructed the Stationery Office to issue it at a price of one shilling, instead of the five which would have been charged ordinarily for a document of such dimensions. The demand was so great that the first issue was exhausted almost immediately, and after a brief delay a reprint was published, this time at a price of sixpence, which also found a ready sale.

On the same day on which the Report appeared, the Prime Minister, replying to a question in Parliament, stated that he had asked members of the Cabinet to examine the Report with the greatest care and sense of responsibility, with a view to arriving at definite conclusions with regard to the numerous questions in which Government action was involved. A little later in the same day he met the heads of the Mining Association and of the Miners' Federation at No. 10 Downing Street, thanked them for the reticence which they had so far shown, and begged them to give their most earnest consideration and study to the Report and not to jump to conclusions on it. The Industrial Committee of the Trade Union Congress also, along with the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation, held a meeting on the same day at which it unanimously decided that the best interests of all parties would be served by giving adequate time to all concerned to study the Report before coming to any definite conclusions, and re-affirmed its view that public expression of personal views on the Report by members of the Labour movement was highly undesirable.

As a result of these appeals and decisions, some little time elapsed before any of the three parties concerned announced its definite attitude towards the proposals contained in the Report. The first to break the silence was the Government. On March 24 the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Mines, again met representatives of the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation at 10 Downing Street, and read to them a statement defining the attitude which the Cabinet had finally adopted on the Report, after numerous meetings and discussions. The statement ran as follows: "The Government have considered with great care the Report and conclusions of the Royal Commission. The conclusions reached by the Commission do not in all respects accord with the views held by the Government, and some of the recommendations contain proposals to which, taken by themselves, the Government are known to be opposed. Nevertheless, in face of the unanimous Report of the Commission and for the sake of a settlement, the Government for their part will be prepared to undertake such measures as may be required of the State to give the recommendations effect, provided that those engaged in this industry—with whom the decision primarily rests—agree to accept the Report and to carry on the industry on the basis of its recommendations." In other words, as the Prime Minister added, the

Government accepted the Report provided the other parties did so.

Mr. Herbert Smith called attention to the fact that the Report was opposed to the prolonging of the subsidy after April 30, and asked if the Government was going to give any further help to the industry after that date. The Premier replied that the subsidy was bound to terminate on April 30. But he recognised that in some districts, if a settlement was to be arrived at, the sacrifice required might be heavy; if therefore an agreement was reached by May 1, he would be willing to consider what temporary assistance might be required to ease the position. If they found that some such temporary assistance—say for three months—was going to save the situation, then he would be prepared to consider departing from the strict ruling of the Commission, and he should regard money spent in that way as spent for the benefit of the industry.

At the suggestion of the miners' representatives, the Prime Minister agreed to circulate a list of the recommendations in the Report that would require Government action. The list contained the following fourteen points: Further Government assistance in the investigation of processes of low-temperature carbonisation; establishment of a National Power and Fuel Council; extension of provision for research; promotion of desirable amalgamations; State purchase of royalties; royalties to contribute to the Welfare Fund; granting of powers to local authorities to engage in the retail sale of coal; measures for securing the adoption of larger mineral wagons on the railways and greater concentration of ownership; profit-sharing schemes; modifications in the law governing hours; transfer of displaced labour; regulations governing the qualifications of mine managers; compulsory pithead baths; and establishment of joint Pit Committees.

The Government's attitude was criticised in many quarters as showing a lack of decision and boldness. "If the changes recommended are good," wrote Mr. MacDonald in the *Forward*, "why should they not be made on their own merits?" Mr. Smith also, after hearing the Premier's statement, had, with his usual outspokenness, put it to him whether he was not adopting a "bargaining position," and whether, having appointed the Commission, he ought not rather to abide by its findings, so far as they called for Government action, irrespective of what the other parties did. Mr. Baldwin could only plead in reply that he would have to get his party to swallow a great many things which they did not like, and he thought the others should do the same. In the light of subsequent developments, this conditional acceptance of the Report came to be viewed by many as a lamentable error on the Government's part, and as being largely responsible for the economic calamities of the next few months.

The Government having announced its decision, representatives of the Mining Association met delegates of the Miners' Federation on March 31 and April 1 to explain to them the coal-owners' attitude. Mr. Williams opened the discussion by asserting that in their willingness to sit down with the miners and carry on negotiations on a national basis, the owners were making a sacrifice of their convictions which he regarded as a great step forward. He then broached the question of longer hours, but disclaimed any intention of making it a bargaining factor. On the question of wages he was more firm, and insisted that they should be settled by districts, and not nationally. A difference arose between the two sides as to the precise interpretation which should be placed on the Commission's findings on this point, but neither side bound itself to accept these unreservedly. On the next day the owners presented a written statement containing their considered view on each of the recommendations of the Commission which affected themselves. For the most part they professed acceptance of the recommendations, but often in terms so vague as to leave room for important reservations. At this meeting they announced a change in their policy with regard to district settlements, stating that they were now agreed that the amounts of the percentages settled in the various districts should be submitted to the National Conference for approval. The miners, however, found on cross-examination that the concession amounted to nothing, and declared it to be opposed to the Report.

The Executive of the Miners' Federation on the same night issued a statement which showed how little the Conference had done to bring the two sides nearer to one another. It pointed out that the owners, as a national body, had refused to disclose their intentions regarding wages, or to intimate what they proposed should be paid to workmen at the beginning of May. The statement further contained the ominous remark that the refusal of the owners to consider the fixation of a national minimum percentage and their insistence on all wages being the concern of the districts themselves had constituted an almost insuperable obstacle to an amicable settlement. Notwithstanding this disappointment, however, the Miners' Federation, it was said, would continue to give the most careful consideration to the recommendations of the Commission, and was earnestly desirous of an equitable settlement.

The next step taken by the Federation hardly accorded with this pious sentiment. On April 9 a Conference of the Federation was held to consider the Report of the Commission and the proposals of the coal-owners, and after full discussion unanimously issued to the districts three recommendations. One was that no assent should be given to any proposal for increasing the length of the working day. The second was that the principle of a national wage agreement with a national minimum should be firmly ad-

hered to ; and the third was that no assent should be given to any proposal to reduce wages, which were already too low. These three recommendations, of which the third was definitely opposed to the Report, thenceforward constituted the settled policy of the miners as a body, and tied the hands of their Executive for a considerable time in subsequent negotiations.

While thus defining its own policy independently, the Miners' Federation did not refuse to send representatives to a meeting of the Industrial Committee of the Trade Union Congress which, on the same day, considered the mining situation. This body passed a resolution which breathed a more conciliatory spirit than that of the Federation. While reaffirming its previous declarations in support of the miners' efforts to obtain an equitable settlement, the Committee expressed the opinion that negotiations between the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation should be continued without delay, in order to obtain a clear understanding with regard to the Report of the Royal Commission and to reduce points of difference to the smallest possible dimensions.

The door having thus been left open for negotiations, on April 21 the owners sent to the Miners' Federation a draft of proposals for a national agreement, and on the next day, at the owners' request, the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation met the Central Committee of the Mining Association for the purpose of discussing the document. The miners found that the owners, while prepared to draft certain general principles to govern a genuine agreement, refused to discuss any minimum percentage to be applied nationally to the coal-fields. They, on their side, made this a *sine qua non* for an agreement. Each side described the attitude of the other as "adamant," and there ensued a complete breakdown in the negotiations.

In the course of the discussion the owners disclosed to the miners the district terms which they had drawn up, and the miners reported them to the Industrial Committee of the Trade Union Congress. This body agreed with the miners that the new wages offered were impossible of acceptance. They accordingly interviewed the Prime Minister, and informed him that the trade union movement would feel bound to support the miners to the end against such drastic reductions as were proposed. Mr. Baldwin thereupon, after having been a mere spectator of events for several days, decided once more to intervene, and invited owners and miners to meet him the next morning (April 22) at the Ministry of Labour.

At the meeting Mr. Baldwin asked each side to restate its position, in the hope, apparently, that some new fact might emerge with which he was not already acquainted. His comment on hearing their statements was that they had tied themselves up into a pretty tight knot, and it was his business to get the knot

untied, or cut, or otherwise disposed of. He accordingly asked each side to appoint a small sub-committee with whom he could talk over matters, and to this they immediately agreed. On April 26, after a blank week-end, he asked the Industrial Committee of the Trade Union Congress to come to his assistance. As a result of his own pressure on the owners, and the pressure of the Industrial Committee on the miners, the two parties were induced to resume negotiations on April 28. The owners had made an important concession by agreeing to come to this discussion "without imposing any limitations or reservations." This statement seemed to imply that they were willing to withdraw their opposition to a national minimum; but in the discussions which took place on April 28 they still refused to commit themselves to this principle, and made proposals with regard to wages and hours which the miners would not for a moment entertain.

In spite of strenuous efforts on the part of the Prime Minister, who was in constant touch with the parties concerned, matters had not advanced any further when, on the next day (April 29), a Conference was held of Trade Union Executives to define the attitude to be taken up by the trade unions affiliated to the Congress in the impending struggle. About a thousand delegates attended, including most of the trade union leaders of the country, and Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson also took part. The Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, Mr. A. Pugh, explained the steps which had been so far taken by the Industrial Committee of the General Council, and called special attention to the recommendation of the Commission, that no sacrifices should be asked of those engaged in the mining industry before it had been definitely agreed between the parties that all practical means for improving its organisation and increasing its efficiency should be adopted as speedily as circumstances allowed. The Conference thereupon, on the motion of Mr. J. H. Thomas, endorsed the efforts of the General Council to secure an honourable settlement, and instructed the Industrial Committee to continue its efforts, declaring its willingness for the negotiations to continue provided that the lock-out notices, as they called the new wage offers which by this time had been posted by the owners for April 30, were not enforced.

On April 30, a few hours before the lock-out notices were due to take effect, the mine-owners at length made some grudging proposals for a national settlement of the problem. The miners, however, refused even to consider these proposals unless the lock-out notices were withdrawn, and they asked the Government to call upon the owners to take this step. This would have entailed the prolongation of the subsidy for the period of the resumed negotiations, and the Government would consent to this only on condition that the miners expressed their willingness to accept a



reduction of wages as recommended in the Report. The miners, through the mouth of Mr. Smith, declared themselves ready to discuss the Report from beginning to end with the mine-owners and the Government, and to abide by the results of the discussion, even if they should involve a reduction of wages, but they would not tie themselves beforehand to the principle of such a reduction. The mine-owners naturally saw in this declaration no reason for withdrawing their notices. Not a single group of miners accepted the new terms, and accordingly as from that day (April 30) there was a complete stoppage of the coal-mining industry throughout the country.

Though war had thus been declared in the coal-fields, the Trade Union Council continued to negotiate with the Government during the whole of the succeeding day (May 1) with a view to finding some basis for a settlement of the dispute. But even while engaged in these negotiations, each of the parties to them took a step which introduced new elements of disquietude into the situation. On May 1 a Royal Proclamation was issued declaring that, in virtue of the threatened cessation of work in coal-mines, a state of emergency existed such as was contemplated in the Emergency Powers Act of 1920. Shortly after two o'clock on the same day the General Council of the Trade Union Congress decided to order a general strike to begin at midnight on Monday, May 3, if the miners' notices had not been withdrawn. In a manifesto issued in the evening of the next day, the Council declared that it had been compelled to "organise united resistance to the attempt to enforce a settlement of the mining problem at the expense of the mine-workers' wages," and laid the whole blame for the breakdown of negotiations on the Government and the mine-owners, on account of their insisting in advance on an acceptance by the miners of reductions in wages.

In threatening to call a general strike, the Trade Union Council acted without the concurrence of the Miners' Executive, who had expected no more of it than that it should lay an embargo on the movement of coal, as it had threatened to do in the previous July. The subsequent course of events seemed to show that, in thus throwing down the gauntlet, the Council was not actuated solely, or even principally, by a desire to help the miners, but was obeying the dictates of a large section of the trade unionist world which had been worked up by the Congress of the previous autumn to a desire to try conclusions with a "capitalist" Government, and thought the mining dispute a suitable occasion. The great majority of the responsible trade union leaders were personally strongly averse to such an extreme course. They thought, no doubt, that the Government would shrink from the challenge, as it had shrunk in the previous July. In this they miscalculated. The truth was that in the Government also there was a section no less eager than the militant trade unionists for a trial of strength,

and these saw to it that the strike menace should be carried out, little as this was desired by those who launched it.

The negotiations which had been adjourned on the night of Saturday, May 1, were resumed on the Sunday evening. They proceeded amicably, and at one point bade fair to be successful. Mr. Baldwin ignored the strike threat and presented a formula which the Trade Union delegates considered promising. While, however, they were discussing it among themselves in another room, the Premier, after consultation with some of his colleagues, completely changed his attitude. About 11.30 P.M. he transmitted to the delegates a letter stating that it had come to his knowledge that strike notices had been sent out and that certain overt acts of insubordination had already been committed, and informing them that negotiations could not be resumed until the strike notices were unconditionally withdrawn. When the delegates came soon after to his room to expostulate, they found that he had already retired, and that they could not see him any more that night. The "act of insubordination" to which the Premier referred turned out to be the refusal of some compositors of the *Daily Mail* to set up in type certain sentences which they considered insulting to the workers—obviously a wholly inadequate excuse for breaking off negotiations.

Up to this point Parliament had not directly concerned itself with the coal dispute. Since resuming its sittings after the Easter recess, it had been occupied chiefly with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Economy Bill and the Budget. The Committee stage of the Economy Bill was resumed immediately after Parliament reassembled, on April 13. The first item to be debated was the proposal to transfer 1,100,000*l.* from the Navy, Army, and Air Insurance Force to the Exchequer. Member after member from the Opposition benches, with great indignation, denounced this step as "robbery," and the Government was challenged to find a single private Conservative member who would speak in favour of it. But, as Mr. Churchill said of his followers in a subsequent debate on the Bill, "their deeds spoke louder than their words," and whatever may have been their opinion on the merits of the proposal, they gave the Government its usual majority.

The other proposals, especially the one to reduce the Government contribution to health insurance, gave rise to protracted debates which more than once were continued through the whole of the night. The tone and manner of Mr. N. Chamberlain, who conducted this stage on behalf of the Government, gave great offence to the Labour members, to whom he seemed unnecessarily dictatorial and insulting, and their exasperation reached a climax when, in the early hours of April 15, he interrupted a speech of Mr. Wheatley to move the closure. In order to show their indignation thirteen Labour members adopted a novel method

of obstruction. At 5.40 A.M. Mr. Thomas moved to report progress, and a division was taken. Having gone into the division lobby, these members refused to pass the tellers, who were thus unable to announce the result of the division. By this device the House was reduced to inaction for a considerable time. At length the Chairman of Committees, Mr. Hope, called in the Speaker, and Mr. Chamberlain moved the suspension of the obstructing members amid great tumult on the part of the Labour Party. The suspension was carried by 163 votes to 76, and the debate was then continued after an interruption of nearly two hours, and went on till nine o'clock in the morning.

When the debate was resumed later in the day, protests were immediately made by certain Labour members, but without avail, against Mr. Hope's occupying the Chair. As the debate proceeded, Labour members repeatedly found occasion to charge the Chairman with unfairness, and at length, after one rather violent application of the closure, Mr. Thomas informed him that he intended, in due course, to ask the House to censure his "partial and biased conduct." Throughout the debate the Liberal and Labour Parties showed unusually close co-operation in opposition, and moved innumerable amendments, but all their efforts to modify the Bill were overborne by the solid, if silent, phalanx of the Government's supporters.

In moving the third reading of the Economy Bill on April 22, Sir Kingsley Wood, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Health, after having heard all the Opposition's objections to the health insurance proposals, repeated the Government's justification, that the approved societies were flourishing and would suffer no harm from the reductions in the Government's contribution. Mr. Lloyd George made another vehement attack on the Bill which greatly delighted the Labour Party as well as his own followers, prophesying that the Government would regret what it was doing when it came to take the verdict of the constituencies. Mr. Churchill answered in a defiant tone. He maintained that in the light of the majority report of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance the Government had a perfect right to act as it had done, and, with scant regard for the feelings of his own followers, pointed out triumphantly that it was spending several millions a year more on education and the social services than its predecessor. Conservative members again loyally supported the Government, and the third reading was carried by 326 votes to 138.

On the day previous to this debate, the House of Commons had considered Mr. Thurtle's "hardy annual" proposal to abolish the death penalty in the Army for cowardice and desertion, brought forward as an amendment to the annual Army and Air Force Bill. The proposal, after a spirited debate, was rejected by almost the same numbers as in the previous year—269 against

123. Other proposals made in the debate on the same Bill were one from the Labour benches, that the military should not be used in connexion with trade disputes, and one from the Conservative side that rigorous measures should be taken to suppress revolutionary propaganda in Great Britain. The former was rejected by 283 votes to 103; the latter, with which the Home Secretary declared himself in sympathy, so far as the Communist Party was concerned, was "talked out."

About this time two Bills dealing with important social problems were introduced by private members, and were adopted with some qualification by the Government as part of its legislative programme. One was a Bill for checking abuses on the part of money-lenders, to which the House of Commons gave a second reading on April 23. A somewhat different Bill with a similar title and purpose had just been passed by the House of Lords. It had been prepared and moved by Lord Carson, who, as he had explained, had been led to take up the matter by the fact that a relative of his own had got into trouble with money-lenders and had come to him for assistance. The Bill now introduced in the House of Commons by Major Glyn was not identical with that of Lord Carson, but contained a number of changes suggested by a committee of members of Parliament presided over by Lord Darling to which it had been submitted for consideration. In its new form it provided that a money-lender must obtain a licence after having first obtained a certificate. The annual fee for a licence would be 15*l*. The Bill prohibited the distribution of money-lenders' circulars unless the would-be borrower first made application for the information contained in them, and advertisements were to be illegal except a short statement in a newspaper which must include the money-lender's real name. The Bill aimed chiefly at checking the malpractices of two classes of money-lenders—the so-called West End sharks, and the slum lenders who charged a penny on a shilling weekly interest to the very poor.

The Home Secretary stated that the Government supported the general provisions of the Bill; the Home Office had, in fact, assisted in framing it. He was glad that a clause originally contained in the Bill empowering the Post Office to open letters had been dropped, as he was strongly opposed to any extension of the power of dealing with private correspondence. The Government, he said, regarded this as a measure that had long been needed, and would do its utmost to assist its passage into law.

The other Bill, called the Judicial Proceedings Bill, had for its object "to regulate the publication of reports of judicial proceedings in such manner as to prevent injury to public morals." The Bill was particularly aimed at reports of divorce proceedings, as given in a certain class of newspapers, especially the Sunday Press. The evil had been pointed out as far back as 1912 by the

Divorce Commission, but since then the Press had failed to reform itself, and the mover of the Bill, Major Kindersley, thought that the time had come to strengthen the law on the lines suggested by the Royal Commission. He accordingly proposed that the publication of all details of divorce and similar proceedings beyond a bare minimum of information should be made illegal. The Home Secretary stated that he had been in touch with the Newspaper Proprietors' Association on the subject, and that body was of opinion that there was no half-way house between reporting cases as at present and having them taken in camera. If that view was correct, the position was serious, as the Government could not think of allowing cases to be tried in camera, as was done in other countries, publicity being an essential safeguard for liberty. The Government, however, was not bound to follow the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, and he therefore recommended the House to support the Bill, and promised to find time for its further stages. In the division only three members voted against the second reading.

On April 26 Mr. Churchill introduced his second Budget in a clear and business-like speech which, unlike that of the previous year, kept closely to the subject in hand, without any digressions or excursions. Reviewing the results of the year just closed, he pointed out that the Customs and Excise returns showed the consuming power of the people to be increasing faster than the population, but not very rapidly nor to such an extent as might have been expected in view of the generally improved conditions. The most marked increase had been in sugar ; owing to the large reduction in the sugar tax effected by Mr. Snowden and exceptionally cheap world prices, the consumption of that commodity had last year for the first time been larger than before the war. Home-grown sugar had played its part in this expansion ; it had cost the Exchequer 2,750,000*l.* in subsidy and a loss of revenue of over 500,000*l.*, but it was expected to produce next year over 130,000 tons. It would seem, remarked the Chancellor, that the immense sums paid by the National Exchequer in social services for the mass of the people had tended to average the effect of good and bad times so far as Customs and Excise revenue was concerned, and they had to look forward to much fewer fluctuations in that revenue than in the past.

The Inland Revenue returns also showed the country to be richer that day than twelve months before. Important sections of the trade of the country were in an extremely prosperous condition, and very large profits had been made in rubber and other important commodities. The basic industries, those which employed the largest number of workpeople, were still in a very depressed condition, but on the whole the dark patches in the picture were less prominent this year than last.

At this point Mr. Churchill warned his hearers that the Revenue

returns were not so satisfactory as appeared on the surface. They might, it was true, expect reparation payments (which this year amounted to over 10,000,000*l.*) and payment of war debts to swell the revenue in future years also, but certain special receipts which had played a large part in their finance would henceforth undergo heavy diminution. He had to count this year on this head alone on 11,000,000*l.* less than was yielded in the previous year ; and this was not counterbalanced by any automatic growth in the yield of income tax. Expenditure, on the other hand, tended to expand automatically as the result of commitments already entered into. There would this year be an increase of this character of some 19,000,000*l.*, of which the chief items were 5,750,000*l.* for the new old-age pensions ; 1,250,000*l.* additional for the original old-age pensions ; 3,250,000*l.* for the new cruiser programme ; 1,100,000*l.* for increased education grants ; 750,000*l.* increase in health and housing grants ; nearly 1,000,000*l.* for increased cost of the beet-sugar subsidy ; 500,000*l.* for Empire marketing ; 370,000*l.* for steel houses ; and 300,000*l.* for war graves. Yet by means of reductions in the national administrative services of 7,000,000*l.*, and by reduction of the floating debt, he hoped to compress the whole of this 19,000,000*l.* of additional expenditure into the total of last year. This result, he thought, justified the time and labour which had been spent on the economy campaign, but it was obvious that further continuous effort was needed, and he was authorised by the Prime Minister to say that the Cabinet Committee on Economy would pursue its work unceasingly, and inculcate upon all branches of the public services the extreme necessity of saving money in every possible way. With this object in view, also, the estimates of the three fighting services would be considered jointly. Nor did the Government intend to renew the Trade Facilities Act, having reached the conclusion that it had exhausted its usefulness.

Mr. Churchill paused at this point to consider the effect on the revenue and the country's trade of the three most contentious provisions of the previous year's Budget—the restoration of the gold standard, the silk duties, and the reimposed McKenna duties. The first of these measures, he held, had produced many solid advantages. The dollar exchange had returned to parity, which meant a great saving on their purchases from the United States and on their war debt to that country. The Bank rate had not risen and there had been no sensational exodus of gold, while the cost of living had declined seven points. Above all, as a result of reckoning in gold, they now stood on a basis of reality. The silk tax had been productive without reducing the profits of the manufacturers or raising the price to the consumer, though he admitted that perhaps the Government had intercepted a reduction which otherwise would have reached the consumer. Similarly with the reimposed McKenna duties : they had produced

substantial revenue without increasing prices or causing unemployment, though in the case of motor cars they might, perhaps, have neutralised some of the effects of a trade expansion due to a change in world habits. An unforeseen effect of the silk and McKenna duties had been to expose a variety of ancient works of art to taxation on being imported into England, and, as this was no part of his purpose, he proposed, as from May 1, to exempt from Customs duties all goods more than 100 years old, except wines and spirits.

At the same time Mr. Churchill announced two more measures which the Government intended to take as a result of the previous year's financial experience. Owing to the wave of dumping which had taken place between the announcement of the silk tax and the McKenna duties and the final passage of the Finance Bill, heavy losses had been caused to the Revenue and great injury and disturbance to the trades concerned. To prevent the recurrence of such trouble in future new duties would apply as from the earliest date practicable after the introduction of a ways and means resolution imposing them, and importers would be required to give security for the duty in the interval between this date and the sanctioning of the duties by Parliament. The other measure related to Imperial Preference. The results which the extended preference given in the previous year had produced were so satisfactory that the Government proposed to apply to all the articles concerned (*i.e.*, chiefly wine, dried fruits, and tobacco) the principle of a ten-years' guarantee given last year to sugar.

Coming to the revenue for the ensuing year, Mr. Churchill caused general surprise by the moderation of his estimate of the yield from the existing sources of revenue. So far from counting on an expansion, he forecasted a decrease of 2,444,000*l.* in tax revenue, and of 4,918,000*l.* in non-tax revenue, the chief drops being in the corporation profits tax and the special receipts. Expenditure having been already placed in the Estimates at 812,600,000*l.*, this left the Chancellor with a prospective deficit of 7,900,000*l.*, unless he opened new sources of revenue. In this pursuit he had recourse to a number of schemes of which he had already given notice, and in which he persisted in spite of the strong remonstrances which had been raised by various influential sections of the public.

The first was a tax on betting. The Government, he said, did not intend to change the law or make anything legal which was at present illegal. He proposed to tax only legal betting by putting a tax of 5 per cent. on every stake made on a racecourse or through a credit bookmaker. The tax would not be imposed before November 1, so that its yield in the first year was not estimated at more than 1,500,000*l.*, but in a full year it would probably produce 6,000,000*l.* The second of the controversial

taxes was a duty on imported wrapping-paper of 16½ per cent. *ad valorem*, estimated to yield 400,000*l.* in the first year and 550,000*l.* in a full year. The third proposal made in defiance of a strong public opposition was to "raid" the Road Fund to the extent of 7,000,000*l.*, after first augmenting its funds by increased taxation on heavy motor traffic which would produce 2,300,000*l.* in a full year. Other new sources of revenue were an extension of the McKenna duties to cover commercial motor vehicles (estimated to produce 350,000*l.*), the reimposition for ten years of the key industry duties which were to expire in August, and the reduction of the time credit to brewers for the payment of the beer duty from three to two months. This, he explained, meant that he would get the duty of thirteen months in twelve, and he estimated the gain at 5,500,000*l.* Finally, on the strength of a promise from the French Minister of Finance, he ventured to add a payment on account of the French Debt of 4,000,000*l.* to his prospective revenue.

The total in this way was brought up to 824,750,000*l.*, giving a surplus of 14,109,000*l.* Of this sum Mr. Churchill proposed to place 10,000,000*l.* to the credit of the Sinking Fund, to make up for the 10,000,000*l.* which he had taken from it in the year just closed to pay for the coal subsidy. (He had, in addition, devoted to the same purpose the surplus of 4,000,000*l.* which Mr. Snowden had left him, and which also should normally have gone into the Sinking Fund, but this he did not propose to replace.) The remaining 4,000,000*l.* he desired to hold in reserve, chiefly to finance the proposals of the Coal Commission.

In conclusion, Mr. Churchill pointed out that all his estimates were based on a peace footing. If a severe and prolonged paralysis of industry should overwhelm the country, he confessed that he would be forced to propose supplementary taxation, both direct and indirect, on a substantial scale. Assuming, however, that the country would not be subjected to this trial, he thought that, owing to the increased yield of taxes and the disappearance of some items of expenditure, next year's Budget could be made to show a surplus of about 23,000,000*l.*

Mr. Churchill had stated towards the end of his speech that the great objective on which his efforts had converged during the preceding six months had been to pay the whole 24,000,000*l.* of the coal subsidy without impairing the 50,000,000*l.* Sinking Fund for the redemption of debt. There was a general consensus of opinion that this was a praiseworthy object, and no item in the Budget met with more general and hearty approval than the raising of the Sinking Fund for 1926-27 to 60,000,000*l.*, in order to replace the deficiency of the previous year. In other respects the Chancellor's finance came in for vigorous criticism. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that in his defence of the restoration of the gold standard he had omitted to state its injurious effect



on exports ; it had undoubtedly helped to restrict coal exports, and so was responsible for the addition of millions to the subsidy. Mr. Snowden called attention to the increase in the debt services of 3,250,000*l.* instead of a promised reduction of 5,000,000*l.* The reason, he held, was that the average rate of interest paid on Treasury bills was 4½ per cent., whereas the banks themselves borrowed at 3 per cent. This showed that national and international finance had a grip on the Government which could not be allowed to continue without bringing financial disaster on the country. He also pointed out that there would have been no need to raid the Sinking Fund of 4,000,000*l.* if part of the super-tax had not been unnecessarily given away in the previous year. Both the Liberal and Labour Parties gave notice that they would strenuously oppose all the Chancellor's new tax proposals.

In the course of the preliminary debate on the Budget resolutions, Sir R. Horne took occasion to make a belated criticism, from the Conservative point of view, of the Chancellor's economy proposals. He described them as "a series of makeshifts by which the contribution of the Exchequer to the social services had been whittled away while the depressed industries of the country had been left to bear a disproportionate share of the burden." That was a record which he thought even the most ardent supporter of the Government could scarcely regard with satisfaction. In his reply to the debate, Mr. Churchill said that criticism had been offered under the five main heads of credit, economy, Road Fund, betting tax, and stabilisation of Imperial Preference. In answer to Mr. Snowden's strictures he asserted that the joint-stock banks only held a small fraction of Treasury bills, and that their prosperity was built up on foundations other than the favourable terms which they obtained under the present financial system of the Exchequer. In the matter of economy, he challenged his critics to show how he could have done any better than he had. He informed the House that in the previous autumn he had invited the Press to make positive proposals for reducing the expenditure by 50 or 100 million pounds, but no answer had ever been forthcoming. In regard to the Road Fund, he thought it sufficient to say that no less than 21,000,000*l.* would be devoted in the coming year to the upkeep of the roads—3,500,000*l.* more than in the previous year. With regard to the betting tax, he deprecated the raising of the moral issue, and maintained that its collection would be practicable, while he made light of the fear that it would lead to an increase in illegal betting. Coming finally to the stabilisation of Imperial Preference, he admitted that nothing could interfere with the discretion of Parliament to repudiate the guarantee that had been given, but he hoped that as time passed matters of Imperial consolidation would more and more cease to be the pawns of party controversy.

Before Parliament could proceed with the discussion of the Finance Bill, it was called upon to take cognisance of the state of emergency declared by the Royal Proclamation of May 1. In asking the House to grant to the Government the emergency powers which the proclamation showed to be requisite, the Prime Minister, on May 3, gave his version of the negotiations with the trade union representatives. He spoke with studied moderation, but naturally endeavoured to throw the whole blame for the breakdown on the other side. The declaration of the threat of a general strike on the Saturday afternoon had, he said, put the Government in a very difficult position, but he decided to ignore the challenge to constituted authority, and to ask the Trade Union Council to meet him. He and his colleagues had made up their mind that they would renew the subsidy for a fortnight, provided there was some reasonable prospect that at the end of that time a settlement would be reached. For this purpose they desired some assurance from the miners that they were prepared to accept the wage reductions recommended in the Report. Without such an assurance he considered that negotiations were doomed to failure beforehand. For two days he tried to obtain such an assurance from the Trade Union Council, but with ever-diminishing prospects of success. Meanwhile his position was gravely compromised by the action of the Trade Union Executives, which came to his knowledge on Sunday afternoon, in sending out specific instructions to members in some of the most vital industries in the country to commence a strike the next day. At 11.30 on the same night he learnt that certain overt acts—not very important in themselves—interfering with the freedom of the Press had already taken place. These acts, coupled with the instructions already sent out by the representative leaders of the unions, made him realise that he had reached a point at which it would be impossible for the Government to pursue these negotiations any further.

Having thus explained the breakdown, the Premier proceeded to accuse the trade unions categorically of attempting to set up an alternative government. By ordering a general strike, which involved in many cases the breach of solemn contracts, the trade union leaders were, he said, threatening the basis of ordered government and bringing the country nearer to civil war than it had been for centuries past. He had become convinced on the previous night that those who sought peace were not in control of the situation, and that it would be wrong and dangerous of the Government to continue talking unless there was an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the instructions for the general strike.

The Labour reply was given by Mr. Thomas in an unconvincing manner which reflected his own lack of conviction in the rightness of his cause. He admitted the substantial accuracy of Mr. Bald-

win's account of what had taken place, but laid stress on the fact that an unfavourable atmosphere had been created for negotiations by the refusal of the owners to withdraw the lock-out, and by certain movements on the part of the Conservative Central Office and the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies which had aroused the suspicions of the trade unions. He maintained that in view of these activities no course was open to the trade union leaders but to organise a general strike. He still, however, made a strong appeal for the resumption of negotiations, and in this he was supported by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George.

After hearing the views of the Opposition leaders, Mr. Churchill restated the Government's position, as already defined by the Premier, with great precision and firmness. All talk about withdrawing the lock-out notices and giving time for further negotiations, he said, simply meant that the Government was to go on paying the subsidy. This was out of the question unless they had some prospect of matters being further advanced in the end, and the miners did not seem to have budged an inch from the position they had taken up in the previous July. The situation was complicated by the menace of a general strike, the object of which was to force Parliament to do something which otherwise it would not do. Parliament could on no account whatever submit to such a threat, and the Government would not reopen negotiations till the strike order was withdrawn. Mr. Churchill depicted in even stronger language than the Premier had used the unconstitutional character of the trade unions' action, going so far as to charge them with attempting to set up a Soviet.

The debate was unusually prolonged, and was conducted throughout in a restrained and dignified manner. No speaker, however, was able to find a way out of the impasse and, as far as Parliament was concerned, events were left to take their course. Members separated with a heavy heart, feeling that they were on the eve of a crisis comparable in its gravity to that which had existed at the outbreak of the war.

The miners' notices not having been removed, at midnight on May 3 the strike orders of the Trade Union Council came into force. The unions which had been ordered to cease work on that date were those of the railway and transport workers and printers, and of the iron and steel and building trades, and all these obeyed the call with remarkable unanimity. Consequently, on the next day the country presented an unwonted appearance. Practically no trains were running, and no trams or buses in the streets of the large towns; the morning papers appeared only in the reduced size which it had been possible to produce before midnight, and the evening papers not at all. The public naturally was gravely inconvenienced in going about its

affairs, and business immediately began to suffer severely, though it was by no means brought to a standstill.

The Government meanwhile had already taken steps to deal with a situation for which it had long been preparing. In accordance with the scheme made public in the previous October, the country was divided into a number of areas, each of which was put in charge of a Commissioner armed with special powers for ensuring the maintenance of the food supply and of essential public services. The strike leaders had disclaimed any intention of interfering with these requirements, but the Government did not trust them. In order to replace the labour which had been withdrawn by the strike, it opened offices for the enrolment of volunteer workers, and these immediately came forward in large numbers. Hundreds of thousands of special constables were also enrolled to assist the police. Before the first day of the strike was over a huge army of volunteers was engaged in transporting food supplies by motor, running trains and buses, and other services, and the public was not so terribly incommoded by the situation as to be unable to relish its novelty.

The Government's measures for securing the food supply proved entirely effective, and the only adverse result of the strike in this sphere was to cause a rise of the price of milk by twopence a quart in the London district. Day by day the army of volunteers increased and became more efficient. At first it had been recruited mainly from the middle and upper classes, with large University contingents conspicuous alike in manners and habiliments. After the first two or three days unemployed workers began to enrol freely, and then strikers began to drift back in considerable numbers, especially after the Government gave them a guarantee of protection. Conditions rapidly became more tolerable for the general public. On the second day of the strike the only papers procurable had been the official news-sheets of the Government and the Trade Unions, the *British Gazette* and the *British Worker*, and the Paris edition of the *Daily Mail*; but on the third day *The Times* appeared in an attenuated form, and it was soon followed by several other of the leading morning papers. The Government also kept the public more or less informed of the course of events by means of broadcasting. Within a week a hundred thousand men had returned to work on the railways, and it was found possible to run skeleton services between all the great centres. The Post Office had already made elaborate arrangements for carrying mails by motor vehicles and aeroplanes, and these proved a fairly efficient substitute for the railways.

On May 5 Parliament confirmed the Government in the emergency powers which it had assumed for dealing with the strike, and the Premier again expressed the view that the strike was an attack on the Constitution and an attempt on the part

of the Trade Union Council to usurp the authority of the Government. This view was assiduously disseminated by the *British Gazette*, which did not by any means confine itself to the publication of news of the strike. The Government was, on the whole, strongly supported by the middle classes in its determination not to renew negotiations while the strike lasted. A conspicuous exception was furnished from a somewhat unexpected quarter. On May 6 the Archbishop of Canterbury, after consultation with the chief ministers of all the Protestant denominations, issued an appeal to the Government in which he deprecated the turning of the strike into a political issue, and called on the Government to procure a simultaneous cessation of the lock-out and the strike. The Government, however, was able to pit the Cardinal of Westminster, who strongly supported its action, against the Archbishop, and turned a deaf ear to the latter's appeal.

The Government exposed itself to much adverse criticism by refusing permission to broadcast the Archbishop's appeal—a step which seemed to show that it was afraid of the impression which his words might make upon the public. This idea was strengthened by the fact that the *British Gazette* neglected to print the document till attention had been drawn to the fact in Parliament. Mr. Churchill, who meanwhile had taken over the editorship of the *Gazette*, made the lame excuse that the appeal had not come to his notice. This was not the only debate in which members of the Opposition animadverted on the tendentious character of the *Gazette*, and objected to the use of public money for partisan purposes.

The treatment by the Government of the Archbishop's appeal gave Mr. Lloyd George the opportunity to make a slashing attack on its policy on May 10, but other leading members of the Liberal Party—Lord Oxford, Lord Grey, Lord Buckmaster, Sir John Simon, and Mr. Runciman—expressed unqualified support of the Government's policy. This tribute from its political opponents was highly gratifying to the Government; it was particularly pleased with a speech made by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons on May 6 in which that distinguished lawyer asserted categorically that a general strike was illegal, and that the funds of the unions which participated in it were not protected from attachment by the Trade Disputes Act. This opinion was at once disputed by Sir Henry Slessor, the ex-Attorney General of the Labour Government, and on closer examination proved to be untenable, but during the rest of the strike it was given a prominent place in Government propaganda.

The assertion of the Government that the general strike was an attempt on the part of the Trade Union Council to usurp the authority of the Government was stoutly denied by the Labour leaders, who maintained that the strike was declared purely as a manifestation of sympathy with the miners, and had no political

motive. The circumstances in which the strike was declared lent colour to the Government's view, but the moderate tone of the speeches of the Labour leaders in the course of the week and the orderly way in which the strike was conducted led a considerable portion of the public to revise its opinion and to suspect the Government of having raised an unreal issue. To combat this impression, the Prime Minister, on the night of May 8, broadcasted a message to the nation in which he reiterated the grounds for regarding the strike as an attack on the community, and declared his readiness to reopen negotiations as soon as it was called off. The Trade Union Council, in reply, repeated its assertion that the struggle was an industrial one, and that the question of the Constitution was not involved, so far as they were concerned, and it called upon the Prime Minister to make it clear that the lock-out notices would be withdrawn if the general strike was cancelled.

Before the strike had lasted many days, it became obvious that, if it came to a contest of endurance between the public and the strikers, the former would certainly win unless the latter could resort to some more drastic action than they had hitherto taken. Recognising this, the Trade Union Council, on the fourth or fifth day of the strike, took some half-hearted steps for extending it, by calling on the flour millers and the engineers to stop work. The call was obeyed very partially, and no essential services were stopped nor was the bread supply anywhere jeopardised. Owing to the changed attitude of the unions, the Government, on May 8, had a large consignment of food convoyed by armoured cars from the docks to the food depot in Hyde Park—the only active display of military force made during the strike.

By the end of a week, if not earlier, the Trade Union Council were convinced that the Government was not to be deflected from its resolution, and that it was useless to prolong the strike. An opportunity of ending it in what seemed to be an honourable manner soon presented itself. On the outbreak of the strike Sir Herbert Samuel, who was then in Italy, had cut short his holiday there and returned to England in order to lend his assistance in working for a settlement. He immediately got into touch with the Trade Union Council, and entered with them into negotiations which he took care to impress upon them were entirely unofficial, and in no way committed the Government. While the negotiations were going on, however, the Prime Minister considerably strengthened his hands by broadcasting, on May 12, a message in which he urged the strikers to return to work, and promised that the Government would use every effort to see that they were reinstated fully, and also that the miners secured fair terms.

On May 11, the eighth day of the strike, Sir Herbert Samuel

laid before the Trade Union Council the draft of a memorandum containing a number of proposals the adoption of which by the various parties would, he thought, promote a settlement of the differences in the coal industry. The memorandum contained nothing that was not already expressed or implied in the Coal Commission's Report, but it stressed the point that no reduction should be made in wages before reorganisation was taken in hand, and recommended the renewal of the subsidy for such period as might be required for the completion of negotiations. The Council, on the same day, laid the memorandum before the Miners' Executive, with a statement that in their opinion it contained "the best terms which could be obtained to settle the present crisis in the coal industry." Noting that the proposals "at best" implied a reduction of wage rates of a large number of mine workers, the Miners' Executive rejected them. Nevertheless the Council, on the next day, wrote to Sir Herbert Samuel saying that in their opinion the memorandum offered a basis on which negotiations on conditions in the coal industry might be renewed, and stating that they were taking the necessary measures to terminate the general strike, relying on the public assurances of the Prime Minister as to the steps that would follow.

Shortly after midday on the same day a deputation from the Trades Union Congress General Council called at 10 Downing Street, where they were received by the Prime Minister in company with several members of the Cabinet. Mr. Pugh, on behalf of the Council, referred to the Premier's broadcasted message of the previous Saturday (May 12), which, he said, was something that they on their side could not ignore, and stated that they also had been exploring other possibilities with full knowledge that negotiations would have to be renewed at some time. As a result, therefore, of these activities on both sides they had come to say that the general strike was to be terminated forthwith in order that negotiations might proceed. The Prime Minister, in reply, undertook to lose no time in using every endeavour to bring the two contending parties together and to procure a just and lasting settlement. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Bevin sought an assurance from the Premier that he would urge employers to reinstate their men fully, and Mr. Bevin further also expressed the hope that he would get the miners back to work before reopening negotiations. Mr. Baldwin did not commit himself at once, and bade them wait till he made a statement in Parliament.

The news that the strike was over was naturally heard with intense relief by Parliament and the public. Mr. Baldwin received an ovation from a dense crowd on coming out of Downing Street. The King issued a message to the nation from Buckingham Palace urging the people to forget any bitterness which might have been caused by the events of the preceding few days, and to work unitedly for a lasting peace. The Prime Minister also

broadcasted a message in which he said that the strike had ended as he had said it must end, without conditions being entered into by the Government, and expressed thanks to the army of volunteers who had helped the Government by maintaining essential services. He called upon employers to act with generosity and on workers to put their whole hearts loyally into their work.

The heartfelt appeal of the Prime Minister fell, at first, on deaf ears. Not only did the miners persist in their refusal to make any concessions, but the cessation of the general strike was the signal for the outbreak of a trade dispute on the railways. In accordance with their promise to the Premier, the Trade Union Council despatched instructions to the Executives of the unions concerned to call off the strike. In many places the course taken by the Council was bitterly resented by the workers, who regarded it as a base betrayal, and they soon found a valid excuse for not resuming work. Many, on presenting themselves to their employers, were informed either that they could not be taken back at once or could only be taken back under less favourable conditions than they formerly enjoyed. On May 13, the day after the calling off of the strike, the Railway Managers' Association, representing the principal railway groups, met in London and announced that "in the interests of the public and to safeguard future peace and discipline on the railways," the companies would reserve any rights they possessed in the matter of taking back any man who had broken his contract of service. At the same time they emphatically denied rumours which were being circulated that the companies were refusing to take men back except with wage reductions. The Executives of the three great railway unions immediately met to consider this announcement, and after a brief deliberation telegraphed to their various branches to continue the strike until satisfactory assurances were received. In accordance with this instruction, men at many places refused to return to work except in a body and with full reinstatement. The dockers also at most of the seaports refused to resume unless they received "satisfactory assurances." The Trade Union Council on the same day issued a statement in which it declared that peace depended on the employers abstaining from attempts at victimisation, and called upon the Prime Minister to stop the attack on trade unionism.

Thus, while the general strike as such had ceased, the separate strikes of which it had been composed continued with unabated vigour, and the general public was left in the same predicament as before. But wiser councils soon prevailed. On the next day the railway companies agreed with the union leaders to reinstate all the men who had struck work as soon as possible, stipulating, however, that the men should admit they had acted wrongly and should pledge themselves not to strike again without notice.



Agreements were also made by the transport workers, dockers, and printers with their employers, and work was generally resumed on May 17. As far as the general public was concerned, the country had, apart from the coal stoppage, practically returned to its normal condition before the end of that day.

Thus ended the first attempt in the history of England to use the weapon of a general strike. The attempt was so disastrous to those who made it that the moral drawn generally by responsible leaders of labour was "never again." The trade unions came out of the struggle impoverished and humiliated, doubtful whether they would much longer be able to maintain their exceptional privileges against a Government attack. They consoled themselves with the thought that they had given a wonderful demonstration of working class solidarity, but this did not save them from being bitterly reproached by the miners for leaving them in the lurch. The organisers of the strike were undoubtedly quite sincere when they disclaimed any intention of acting unconstitutionally or illegally seizing power. But this very attitude doomed them to failure, since, as was generally recognised on the Continent, a general strike was useless unless it had a definitely political object. The attempt, in fact, while regarded by the rank and file as a general strike intended to coerce the Government, was conducted by the leaders as a purely sympathetic strike in aid of the miners on the part of certain classes of workers. It thus fell between two stools, and wasted the resources of the workers without securing them any advantage.

Contrary to general anticipation, the strike passed off with comparatively few manifestations of disorder. The one town in which rioting occurred on any considerable scale was Glasgow, where it was found necessary to make over two hundred arrests. The overwhelming majority of the strikers loyally obeyed the injunctions of their leaders to observe the law, and such outrages as were committed were largely the work of irresponsible hooligans. This was a feature of the strike on which Englishmen could look back with considerable pride, and in which they found some consolation for its many bitter memories.

Answering a question in Parliament on May 17, Mr. Churchill expressed the opinion that the direct cost of the strike to the Government for extra police, civil constabulary, and similar charges had not been more than 750,000*l.*, and he saw no reason at the moment for imposing additional taxation. The net cost of the *British Gazette* he estimated at about 10,000*l.* For the indirect loss to trade he did not venture to give any figure, but Mr. Runciman, speaking in the House a few days later, computed this to have been in the neighbourhood of 30,000,000*l.*—an estimate which was generally accepted. General satisfaction was caused by the fact that the strike had exercised no adverse influence on British currency; the ]

appreciated in relation to the dollar, in contrast with the franc, which, in the same period, had fallen heavily. This gratifying phenomenon was ascribed in part to the confidence which the British nation had inspired abroad by its orderly conduct during the strike and by the resourcefulness it had shown in coping with an abnormal situation.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE COAL STOPPAGE.

THE cessation of the general strike made no immediate difference to the situation in the coal-fields. The Miners' Federation did not regard itself as bound in any way by the decisions of the Trade Union Council, and Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook scorned to follow the example of their colleagues on that body. In their speeches at this juncture they summed up their policy in the slogan, "not a cent off the pay, not a minute on the day," and in adopting this attitude they could still count on the firm support of the vast majority of members of the Miners' Federation, whose resolution not to accept the owners' terms was totally unshaken by the defection of their comrades in the other unions.

The owners, on their side, were equally obstinate, and the Premier was at this time of the opinion, as he informed Parliament, that the two parties would never come together if left to themselves. In order, therefore, to procure a resumption of work in the coal-fields, so necessary in the interests of the national economy, he once more intervened, and on May 14 addressed to Mr. Evan Williams and Mr. Herbert Smith a letter containing proposals which, in the opinion of the Government, could provide a reasonable basis for the settlement of the dispute in the industry. The letter enumerated a number of measures, based on the Coal Commission's Report, which the Government intended to introduce immediately if the other parties agreed, and offered the industry a grant of 3,000,000*l.* to be used primarily in aid of wages during the period that a national wages board with an independent chairman was framing a new national wages agreement. The Government proposed that, pending the decision of the wages board, the miners should accept a reduction in minimum wages, other than subsistence rates, in all districts, the amount of the reduction to be decided in forthcoming negotiations. In view of the far-reaching character of his proposals, the Premier stated that he did not expect an immediate reply.

No less than a week, in fact, elapsed before an answer was received from either side. At length, on May 20, the miners made their reply. They stated that they were largely in agreement with the legislative and administrative proposals set forth by the

Premier, but they were unable to accept his suggestions for a reduction in the miners' wages, and they further objected to the proposal that a board with an independent chairman should be empowered to abolish the national minimum and enforce variable minima throughout the districts. They concluded by stating that in their opinion the Prime Minister, in making these proposals, was not honouring the pledge given in his broadcast message of May 8, "not to lower the standard of living of the miners or of any other section of the workers."

The reply of the coal-owners was even more adverse. On May 21 they issued a long statement which showed their attitude to be substantially the same as it had been when they gave evidence before the Coal Commission. They claimed that the British coal industry, taken as a whole, compared favourably in point of efficiency with that of any other country, and asserted that the Premier's proposals would not be helpful in securing for it increased productiveness. It would, they said, be impossible to continue the conduct of the industry under private enterprise unless it was accorded the same freedom from political interference as was enjoyed by other industries, and they once more advocated the restoration of the eight-hours day as the one method for saving the miners from drastic reductions of wages.

Finding itself thus flouted on both sides, the Government resolved to make no more efforts at mediation till it should be called for. To the Owners' Association Mr. Baldwin wrote a letter defending the Government against the charge of "political interference" in the affairs of the coal industry, and rebuking the owners for their inadequate appreciation both of some of his proposals and of the gravity of the existing situation. He deplored the uncompromising attitude indicated in their statement, but did not urge them to change it. To the Miners' Federation he wrote that so long as that body refused to consider any alteration in wages or hours, and in the absence of any practical proposals from their side, he did not see that any useful purpose would be served by his meeting them, but he would hold himself available for further discussion so soon as they were willing to modify their attitude. His offer having been rejected, the Government no longer considered itself bound by its terms, and in particular, in view of the drain on the country's resources caused by the strike and the coal stoppage, it would be unable to hold open the offer of any further subsidy beyond the end of the current month, *i.e.*, for more than another ten days.

Within the miners' camp itself influential voices were, during this interval, raised in favour of making some concession in the matter either of wages or of hours, but they fell on deaf ears. In the Labour weekly, the *New Leader*, of May 29, Mr. F. Varley, M.P., a member of the Executive of the Miners' Federation, advocated that work should be resumed forthwith by the miners

on a national minimum percentage of 25 per cent. on 1914 rates instead of the existing  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., conditionally upon the owners and the Government making similar concessions. Mr. Cook immediately issued a rejoinder stating that the policy enunciated by their president represented the unanimous opinion of the rank and file of the coal-fields, ascertained after district and national conferences, and that Mr. Varley was misleading the public and the Government in suggesting that the miners were prepared to accept lower wages—a view borne out by the fact that the miners of Mr. Varley's own district of Nottingham rejected his proposals. About the same time, Mr. Frank Hodges, the ex-Secretary of the Miners' Federation, and Secretary of the Miners' International, issued a statement in which he advised the miners to accept longer hours, but he received a similar rebuff from the inflexible Mr. Cook. On May 31 the public learned from the Press that the Executive Committee of the Northumberland Miners' Association was in favour of a resumption of negotiations "for securing the best terms possible of a national settlement on the lines of the Coal Commission's Report." This was hailed in many quarters as the first sign of a break-away among the miners from the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook; but such hopes were, in a few days, shown to be illusory by the result of a ballot of the Northumberland miners themselves, which was decisively against the proposal. The vast body of the miners had, in fact, by this time made up their minds that nothing short of starvation would induce them to yield an iota on any one of their three conditions for resuming work: no reduction of wages, no lengthening of hours, and a national settlement of district minima; and the Premier's offer of a subsidy made no difference to their determination. However unreasonable the policy of Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook may have appeared to those who argued with them—and they themselves did not deny that, without a reduction of wages, numbers of pits would have to be closed down, and hundreds of thousands of miners would be thrown out of work—there could be little doubt that in refusing to make concessions they were interpreting correctly the general feeling of the mining population at this time.

On May 17 and 18 the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a visit from M. Raoul Péret, the French Minister of Finance, and discussed with him the agreement which he had made with his predecessor, M. Caillaux, in the previous summer. The conversations thus initiated were continued for some time by the experts of the British and French Treasuries, but they led to no definite result, and the Caillaux agreement was left standing nominally, without any immediate prospect of being honoured on the side of France.

In the intervals between discussing the strike, Parliament had made progress with the Budget proposals, and the votes for the

various Departments were through the Committee of Supply by May 19. On the Vote for the Board of Trade strong complaints were made by the Opposition of the secrecy in which evidence given before Safeguarding of Industries committees was shrouded, but the President of the Board refused to make any concessions. On the Vote for the Ministry of Health, Mr. Lansbury moved a reduction in the Vote as a protest against the Government's treatment of necessitous areas, but he was unable to stir the Minister to any change of policy.

The Finance Bill came up for its second reading on May 19. Mr. Graham, who moved its rejection on behalf of the Labour Party, said that they did not object to the proposed alteration of the basis of income tax from the three years' average to the income of one year, but he complained that no steps were taken to stop tax evasion, which was estimated by the Royal Commission on Income Tax at 5 to 10 millions a year, and that farmers were not taxed up to the level of their profits, like other people—a fact which was admitted by the Government spokesman, but justified on the ground that the agricultural industry was already fully taxed, if not overtaxed. The debate produced from Mr. Runciman, the leader of the Radical group, a remarkable declaration of faith in the recuperative powers of the country, and its ability to make good the losses of the general strike as it had made good the losses of the coal stoppage in 1921.

Coming, as it did, from an acknowledged authority on commercial affairs and an opponent of the Government, this speech made a great impression. Somewhat perversely, Mr. Churchill, on this occasion, assumed the rôle of pessimist, and gloomily reminded the House that the coal stoppage was still with them, and that the outlook was grave. Two or three weeks' stoppage, he said, was recoverable, eight or ten weeks would make a deep mark on the livelihood of the whole people, while twelve or fourteen weeks would probably mean a year and a half or two years of hard times for the country. Anything, however, was better than allowing their industries to get on to an uneconomic basis, and permitting an industry which masters and men had allowed to get into such a tangle to quarter itself indefinitely on the general taxpayer.

The criticism of the Bill was not pressed with vigour, and the amendment for rejection was defeated by 324 votes to 117.

As soon as Parliament reassembled after the Whitsuntide recess, on June 1, the Labour Party attempted to impel the Government once more to enter the arena of the coal dispute. Mr. MacDonald, in opening a debate on the subject, criticised the Premier's aloofness as playing into the hands of the coal-owners, and urged him to keep open the offer of a 3,000,000*l.* subsidy which had lapsed the previous evening. He also pressed the Government to formulate, without delay, proposals for the

nationalisation of mining royalties, and for establishing a central coal-selling organisation, without waiting for the consent of the other parties. Mr. Lloyd George put forward a similar plea in a speech of great persuasiveness. He said he could not see who was going to bring the conflict to an end if not the Government. He thought that something might be made out of the latest offer of the President of the Miners' Federation. Mr. Smith, as he understood him, while refusing to accept reductions before reconstruction, was yet willing to accept the logical conclusions of reconstruction, whatever they were. He wanted to be assured that the economic conditions of the trade rendered it essential that there should be a reduction before he would accept it, and this could not be ascertained till they had commenced a scheme of reconstruction. Why, then, did not the Prime Minister introduce his Bill for this purpose? Such a Bill could then serve as a basis for computing wages, and he could not imagine that the bulk of the miners would not accept the result.

Mr. Baldwin, in his reply, dealt much more with the past than with the future. He was at great pains to justify the terms of his memorandum of May 14, which was now a piece of ancient history, and deplored the fact that the coal industry could not settle its own disputes without Government interference, like every other industry. Still, he recognised that the position of the coal industry was exceptional, and he was willing to resume negotiations as soon as he was asked; nor would he withhold financial assistance, should it be necessary for a settlement, as he fully expected. He adroitly turned the tables on Mr. Lloyd George by quoting, from a speech which that gentleman had made as Premier during the coal stoppage of 1921 under precisely similar circumstances, a passage pointing out that it was useless for the Government to intervene until the parties were willing to listen to reason. On the suggestion made by the Opposition leaders that the Government should immediately legislate on the lines of the Report, he said not a word.

At this point an event took place which greatly revived the spirits of Labour and correspondingly disturbed the complacency of the Government and its supporters. On May 28 a by-election was held in North Hammersmith. This borough had been of recent years a "pendulum" constituency; it had been wrested by Labour from the Conservatives in 1923, and had reverted to the latter in 1924. It now returned the Labour candidate with a considerable majority over the combined votes of his Conservative and Liberal opponents; the latter followed the example of most other Liberal candidates since the General Election by forfeiting his deposit on account of not receiving an eighth part of the votes cast. The election was fought mainly on the strike issue, and its result was taken to show that the Government had not enhanced its popularity by its handling of the affair, and that

the Labour Party had not been discredited by the conduct of the Trade Union Council.

At the beginning of June the Government, seeing no immediate prospect of a cessation of the coal dispute, thought it advisable to continue the state of emergency which had been proclaimed at the beginning of May, and the regulations conferring upon itself emergency powers. When the King's message announcing the continuance was read in Parliament on June 2, Mr. MacDonald asked the Government to withdraw it on the ground that the orderly behaviour of the public during the general strike had shown such a proclamation to be quite unnecessary. The Home Secretary, in his reply, also bore testimony to the good conduct of the people, including the strikers, and admitted that very few had come into conflict with the law under the emergency regulations; nevertheless, displays of bad temper had occurred, and as the Minister responsible for law and order he could not advise the House to dispense with the regulations. A number of Labour members, mostly from the Clyde, declaimed with great heat against the Proclamation, as being a blow aimed at the working classes, and challenged a division on the motion to thank the King for issuing it; the motion was carried by 249 votes to 100.

A little later Mr. Lansbury moved the omission of the regulation making it an offence to tamper with the members of the army or the police force and to impede the food supply or any essential public service. He maintained that every political party had an equal right to put its views before the members of the Forces, and that in the course of an industrial dispute he and his friends had a right to ask soldiers not to "blackleg." The Home Secretary defended the regulation on the ground that while in general the behaviour of the country had been wonderfully good, there were certain areas in which there had been a good deal of violence and incitement to violence, and in which feeling was still running high. The regulation contained a proviso that a person should not be guilty of an offence by reason of his taking part in a strike or peacefully persuading any other person to take part in a strike. But a clear distinction had to be drawn between peaceful persuasion by individuals and mass intimidation. To urge soldiers not to take part in strike-breaking was certainly an act liable to prosecution. The Home Secretary proceeded to give some interesting details regarding criminal proceedings arising out of the strike. From inquiries he had made of the police he had found that there had been in England and Wales in connexion with the strike 1,760 prosecutions for incitement to sedition and 1,389 for actual violence and disorder. A certain number of the cases had been discharged, and in the rest about half the accused had been fined and half sent to prison. It was worthy of note that Communists were found only among those who incited others, not among those

who actually committed disorder. The mining districts of Northumberland, Durham, and West Yorkshire had provided the bulk of the prosecutions and convictions in England. He had, he said, been asked to issue a general amnesty, but he could not see his way to do so. Of the men who were guilty of incitement, many had been known to him and to the police for months past as carrying on an active propaganda hostile to the leaders of the Labour Party in order to force the party to the Left ; while of the others most of those who had been sent to prison had been guilty of actual disorder, of stopping traffic, and using violence to drivers of vehicles ; and he would hesitate very much to advise the exercise of the prerogative of mercy in such cases. Looking back on the past month, he maintained that the emergency powers had been used not harshly but with great care, and he promised that they should be used with the same discretion and care in the coming month.

After some further protests, the attempts of the Labour Party to reject this and the other regulations were defeated by large majorities.

On June 8, in answer to a question from Lord Parmoor, Lord Cecil informed the House of Lords that at the recent meeting of the Committee of the League of Nations which he had attended, it had been agreed provisionally that the number of non-permanent members of the Council should be increased from six to nine, that they should hold office for three years, and that three should be elected each year. The new proposals would give a Council of 14 with the existing permanent members and Germany. However, all these arrangements had to be reconsidered when the Committee met again on June 28. On the next day, again on the invitation of Lord Parmoor, Viscount Cecil gave an account to the House of the activities of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament at Geneva. The Commission had met for the first time in the previous month, and had since appointed a number of technical sub-committees to consider questions of detail. Progress was slow ; but he thought that the most important result of the meeting at Geneva was that a machine for disarmament had been brought into existence and put into operation. The greatness of the result would depend more than anything else on what the French called the "moral disarmament" of the world. The greatest obstacle to moral disarmament at the present moment was Russia, which would not come even to discuss the question. But in regard to the delegations which actually attended, he had no doubt that they came with instructions to do their best for the success of the movement on which they were engaged, and the Commission had, in fact, done better than he expected. But the final results would depend, not on what they did at Geneva or on the spirit in which the delegates went there, but on the will to disarm of the peoples of the world.



On June 7 the House of Commons went into Committee on the Finance Bill, and the discussion of the detailed proposals of the Budget began in earnest. Mr. Alexander, from the Labour benches, first moved a reduction of the tax on tea from 4*d.* to 1*d.* He pointed out that the tea companies were returning enormous profits, and as the Government had reduced the income tax on those profits by one-third in the last two or three years, he thought that some concession ought to be made to the consumer of tea. Mr. Churchill expressed himself as equally anxious with the Labour Party to see the tax on tea removed or lowered, but was unable to accept the amendment on account of the state of the national finances, which, for the moment, did not permit any sacrifice of revenue. Mr. Runciman pointed out that the tax now bore more hardly on the working classes because wages were lower than when it was first imposed, but this argument also had no effect, and the amendment was defeated by 241 votes to 105.

Another item to which strong objection was made by the Opposition was the proposal to bring commercial motor vehicles within the scope of the McKenna duties, from which they had hitherto been exempt. The motor-car industry, it was pointed out, did not require this favour, and had not asked for it. Mr. Churchill defended the withdrawal of the exemption on two main grounds—one that it would greatly simplify the work of the Custom House officials, the other that it would bring in a revenue of 300,000*l.* to 350,000*l.* Nor did he think that the imposition of the duty would raise the price of the cars to the users, owing to the increasing efficiency of the production at home. Considerable opposition was also offered to the proposal to stabilise Imperial Preference for ten years, though on this matter the Labour Party was divided. Both clauses were carried by large majorities. The Government itself introduced an amendment to the silk tax designed to relieve travellers of the vexations caused by the existing method of collecting the duty. Mr. McNeill stated that the simplification would cost the Treasury about 25,000*l.*, and on this ground Mr. Snowden somewhat whimsically announced that the Labour Party, which was opposed to the silk tax altogether, would support the amendment. The proposal for exempting antiques from import duty also received cordial support from the Labour Party.

The proposal to renew the Safeguarding of Industries Act for another ten years met with vehement opposition from the Free Traders. It was pointed out that no fewer than six thousand articles were included in the provisions of the Act, so that it really instituted a considerable measure of Protection. The Government based itself on the report of a Parliamentary Committee which had examined the working of the Act during the preceding five years, and recommended its continuance. The President of the Board of Trade was able to point to the beneficial effect of

the Act on the home manufacture of magnetos, of fine chemicals, and of optical glass and scientific instruments; and he maintained that the removal of safeguarding would be a set-back to all the industries concerned and the ruin of some. Mr. Snowden reminded him of the statement made by Mr. Baldwin when first introducing the duties, that if at the end of five years the industries had not firmly established themselves it would be better that no further encouragement should be given to them; but so little were the Conservative members impressed by this argument that they gave the Government large majorities, not only for continuing the Act, but also for increasing the duty on optical glass and other articles which still found themselves hard pressed by foreign competition.

The proposal to bring wrapping-paper within the scope of the Act met with a good deal of criticism from Conservative as well as Opposition members, chiefly on the ground that it would adversely affect trades which used imported wrapping-paper, especially the confectionery trade. The Minister, however, maintained that that trade was making handsome profits, and that of the wrapping-paper it used, 80 per cent. was already of British manufacture. He defended the safeguarding of the industry on the ground that this would enable it to increase its output very materially and give increased employment. The Conservative opposition did not prove very formidable, and the proposal was carried by a substantial majority.

The most controversial item in the Budget, as was expected, proved to be the tax on betting. This proposal had called forth strong protest from two sections of the public for diametrically opposite reasons. The clergy were in the main against it on the ground that it would encourage betting, the racing fraternity on the ground that it would discourage betting and so interfere with the rearing of thoroughbreds. Deputations from both sections had waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to place their scruples before him, but he had remained unconvinced. In the debate in the Committee stage on June 10, Mr. Snowden, in the name of the Labour Party, opposed the measure on the moral ground, maintaining that it was not right of the Government to derive revenue from a practice which it did not recognise as legal. Mr. Churchill was able to retort with effect that it was absurd for the Labour Party to protest against raising revenue from betting unless they were prepared to take measures for putting down betting altogether, which, judging by the prominence given to betting news in the *Daily Herald*, was far from their thoughts. The Chancellor treated with more respect the arguments of the racing public, with whom he agreed that the tax would diminish the total volume of money passed in betting. He was actually budgeting for a diminution of 50,000,000*l.*, but from inquiries he had made he was inclined to think that the turnover was con-

siderably more than the 200,000,000*l.* a year that he had originally estimated, and that therefore it might be possible to obtain the 6,000,000*l.* he required with a smaller tax than 5 per cent. It was entirely foreign to his purpose to bring about a collapse of the racing industry, and he therefore undertook to consider, before the Report stage, whether, subject to securing the revenue, the proposed rate was not more than was necessary, and whether it was not possible to make some differentiation between credit betting and betting on racecourses. In spite of the Chancellor's arguments, a number of Conservatives voted against the clause, reducing the Government's majority to 79.

No greater difficulty was experienced by the Chancellor in securing the passage of the other item in the Budget which at first had raised a storm of controversy—the raid on the Road Fund (June 17). The opposition to the proposal was based mainly on the ground that all the proceeds of the Fund were required for the upkeep of the roads, and that the Government had no right to divert them to any other purpose. Mr. Churchill replied by pointing out that, in fact, more money was being spent on roads in England than in any other country of the same size in the world, that more money was being spent in the current year than had ever been spent before, and that English roads were, on the whole, by far the best in the world. The total expenditure on the roads would be 21 millions, which was 3½ millions more than in the preceding year. As for the Government's right to use the Fund for its own purposes, he pointed out that the motoring community itself had recognised that there was no contractual pledge for devoting the money solely to the upkeep of roads. He maintained that in claiming for the Exchequer from the Road Fund a sum equal to a third of the taxation derived from pleasure cars, the Government had taken another useful step in broadening the basis of taxation. Only a handful of Conservatives joined with the Opposition in voting against the measure, which was accordingly approved by a large majority.

The negotiations with Turkey which had been opened in the previous January for a settlement of the Mosul dispute were brought to a successful termination on June 6. On that date a Treaty was signed between representatives of the two countries at Angora which once more established relations of friendship between them. It was stipulated that the "Brussels line," with some slight modifications in Turkey's favour, should be accepted as the boundary between that country and Iraq; that there should be a neutral zone of 75 kilometres on either side of the frontier through which armed bands should be prohibited from passing, and that Turkey should have a right to 10 per cent. on all petrol and mining royalties in Iraq during twenty-five years.

The dissensions within the Liberal Party became at this time

more pronounced than ever they had been before, and rendered its continued existence as a single body highly uncertain. The enemies of Mr. Lloyd George within the party thought that they saw in the line he had taken up during the general strike a good opportunity of ousting him from his position of leadership, if not of driving him out of the party. At their instigation Lord Oxford, on May 20, addressed to him a letter (which a few days later he published in the Press) severely reprimanding him for his conduct during the strike, in particular for having failed to attend a meeting of the Liberal "Shadow Cabinet" on May 10, and for an article which he had contributed to an American paper at the beginning of the strike, predicting a prolonged duration of the struggle. Mr. George, on May 24, replied that he had no desire to provoke a conflict in the party, but at the same time he defended himself with great spirit against Lord Oxford's charges, and gave no hint of any intention to resign.

Lord Oxford accordingly took stronger steps to disembarass himself of his colleague. On May 28 Mr. Pringle, whose hostility to Mr. George was notorious, after consultation with Lord Oxford, made an intemperately worded speech charging Mr. George with gross disloyalty to the party. While the impression of this speech was still fresh in the public mind, Lord Oxford, on June 1, addressed a letter to Sir G. Collins in which he said that he regarded Mr. George's refusal to attend the meeting of the "Shadow Cabinet" on May 10 as equivalent to a resignation from that body. This gave a number of leading Liberals the cue to write Lord Oxford a letter which explained the true motives of the attack on Mr. George. They pointed out that Mr. George had insisted on retaining separate headquarters and a separate fund, and had discouraged the putting forward of more than 300 candidates at the last election, and that his methods fostered the suspicion that he was aiming at a new Coalition. His action during the strike had to be viewed in the light of that record. They had done their best in the interests of Liberalism to work with Mr. Lloyd George, but they felt that confidential relations were impossible with one whose instability destroyed confidence. Of the twelve signatories to the letter, eleven were members of the Liberal "Shadow Cabinet," and the three first names on the list were those of Lord Grey, Sir John Simon, and Mr. W. Runciman.

The situation was considered at a fully attended meeting of the Parliamentary Liberal Party on June 3, at which Mr. Lloyd George presided. The opponents of Mr. George found themselves at this meeting in a minority owing to the fact that a number of members constituting the "Right Wing" now rallied to Mr. George's support on the ground that the attack on him was purely personal and was not made in the interests of the party. So far, therefore, from subjecting Mr. George to any censure, the gathering delegated some of its members who had themselves signed the letter

of accusation against Mr. George to convey to Lord Oxford the "sense of the meeting," which was distinctly more friendly to Mr. George than to himself. A couple of days later, at the Reform Club in Manchester, Mr. George complained that he was not receiving fair play, and announced his intention of "standing fast"—a sentiment which was vociferously applauded.

Lord Oxford was no more inclined than his colleague to recede from the position he had taken up, and on June 8, after having received a report of the proceedings at the meeting of the previous Thursday, he wrote to Sir G. Collins stating that since his former letter nothing had happened to alter his views. This was tantamount to declaring that members of the party would have to choose between him and Mr. Lloyd George. The supporters of the latter were not loth to take up the challenge, and at the party meeting on June 8 reintroduced the resolution, the discussion of which had been adjourned at the previous meeting, deprecating the publicity given to the differences between the Liberal leaders, and praying for the restoration of unity in the party. An amendment to omit the reference to publicity, which contained an implied censure on Lord Oxford for publishing his first letter to Mr. George, was defeated by 20 votes to 12, and the original motion was carried by 20 votes to 10.

The situation to which these proceedings reduced the Liberal Party was little less than farcical. Mr. Lloyd George remained Sessional Chairman of the party, while one of his principal opponents, Sir G. Collins, was Chief Whip. He retained his position chiefly through the support of "Right-Wing" Liberals, who as often as not voted in the Conservative lobby, and in view of this fact there was, as the Liberal Central Office put it, "an ironic humour in Mr. George's pose as the injured Radical who was being excommunicated from the party on account of his Radicalism."

Mr. George's position within the party was confirmed by a meeting of the Liberal Candidates' Association on June 11. After hearing from Mr. George a denial of charges which had been brought against him of making overtures to the Labour Party, the meeting accorded him a hearty vote of thanks, and appointed a deputation, headed by Mr. Pringle, to wait upon Lord Oxford and convey to him the strong desire of the Association for restoring complete unity within the party under his leadership. Before Lord Oxford could reply, Mr. George secured another triumph. At the Conference of the National Liberal Federation on June 17, a vote of confidence in Lord Oxford was, indeed, passed almost unanimously, but only after assurances had been given by the mover and seconder that no reflection was meant on Mr. Lloyd George. A little later the Conference gave an instructive object-lesson in the matter of Liberal unity. Mr. George attended to give an address on the Liberal Land Policy, and on his entry half

the occupants of the platform rose and greeted him with cheers, while half remained sullenly seated; and his speech also had a mixed reception.

Lord Oxford, at this time, was seized with an illness which prevented him from taking any part in public affairs for some months. During this period Mr. Lloyd George remained without question the most conspicuous figure in the Liberal camp, and on every occasion of importance spoke as the representative of the party, since, in the absence of any lead from Lord Oxford, his opponents were forced to hold their peace. Matters thus reverted practically to the position which had preceded the reunion of the party in 1923, with the difference that Mr. George was now on the extreme Left instead of the Right of the party.

A new move in the coal dispute was taken by the owners early in June by the despatching of a letter to Mr. Smith, the miners' president, suggesting a fresh Conference between miners and owners. Mr. Smith happened at the time to be in Brussels, whither he had gone to confer with the Miners' International on the subject of placing an embargo on the export of coal to England, and the letter was taken to him by Mr. Cook. Certain members of the Miners' Executive, including Mr. Cook, saw in the fact of the letter being addressed to the President of the Federation instead of the Secretary, a subtle attempt to drive a wedge between the responsible leaders, and on that account were inclined to refuse the invitation. Their objections, however, were overruled, and on June 8 an informal Conference took place in London between four representatives of the Mining Association and four of the Miners' Federation. In a discussion lasting three and a half hours each side reaffirmed the points it had already laid down, if anything with even more emphasis than on previous occasions, and in the end matters were left exactly where they had been.

Immediately after this abortive conference, the Miners' Federation issued a manifesto (June 10), showing where the miners stood after six weeks without earnings. The manifesto accused the Government of being behind the mine-owners in the attempt to force down wages and lengthen hours, and proceeded to lay down four conditions as a basis of settlement—maintenance of wages as before the lock-out, maintenance of hours and other conditions, maintenance of a national basis for wages agreement, and the immediate reorganisation of the industry; and it warned the Government that there would be no hope or guarantee of any future peace in the industry if the miners were beaten into submission. Their point of view was made a little clearer by a manifesto issued the next day in which the Government was requested to take the first step by submitting precise and detailed schemes of reorganisation for discussion and criticism—a demand which was voiced by a considerable body of outside opinion also.

As if to anticipate the miners' complaints, the Premier had

already, on June 10, stated in the House of Commons that the Government was actively continuing the preparation of legislative and administrative measures indicated in the Coal Commission's Report. But a matter which engaged its more immediate attention at this juncture was the strong demand made by a number of its followers that it should prevent Russian relief funds from reaching the miners. On June 10 the Home Secretary told the House that he had received information of the despatch from Russia during the preceding weeks of considerable sums of money, amounting to some hundreds of thousands of pounds, first for the purpose of the general strike, and afterwards for the purposes of the Miners' Federation, and stated that the whole position was being considered by the Government. A day later the Government had made up its mind to act, and it instructed its representative in Moscow to present to the Russian Government a Note protesting strongly against its action six weeks previously in allowing money to be sent out of Russia for the purpose of assisting an illegal movement in England. As soon as the despatch of the Note was announced, and before its precise terms were known, the Secretary of the Trade Union Congress wrote a letter to the Prime Minister denying categorically that moneys of any kind had been received by the General Council from the U.S.S.R., and also stating that the Council had refused to accept money subscribed by the Russian trade unions, on the ground that such an action might be misrepresented. The Chairman of the National Labour Party, Mr. R. Williams, also made a statement insisting that the grant from the Russian trade unions was made on purely humanitarian grounds. The Soviet Government itself, on June 15, handed a reply to the British Mission pointing out that in the Soviet Union there was not a total prohibition of the export of currency, and that the Government could not forbid the Russian trade unions from sending money to support trade unions of another country. At the same time complaint was made of the statement of some members of the British Government that the money remitted from Russia to the Trade Union Council had been sent by the Soviet Government, whereas in reality it had come from the Central Council of the All-Russian Union of Trade Unions.

The matter was brought up in both Houses of Parliament on June 17. Through the mouth of Lord Balfour in the Lords and the Home Secretary in the Commons, the Government maintained roundly that the money sent from Russia in aid of the general strike came in fact from the Russian Government, whoever might be the nominal donors, since all Russian institutions were centrally controlled. The total sum so sent amounted, according to the Home Secretary's information, to over 380,000*l.* Having shown itself so far in agreement with the extremists in the Conservative Party, the Government somewhat inconsequently

went on to announce that it had no intention for the present of either preventing Russian money from reaching the miners or denouncing the trade agreement with Russia. This was a bitter disappointment to the "Die-Hards," and to placate them the Home Secretary had to promise a day for the free discussion of the subject.

The Prime Minister, at this juncture, in addressing a large Unionist gathering in Wiltshire on June 12, harked back to the general strike, and pointed its moral in characteristic fashion for the benefit of trade unionists. He professed to see in trade unionism as originally constituted a genuine product of the British democratic spirit, but he lamented its corruption during the last few years by the "alien and foreign heresy" of class warfare and the pursuit of political power. This, he considered, rendered a general strike sooner or later inevitable; "if it had not come in my time," he said, "it would have come in that of my successor." The old constitutional attitude of keeping promises made collectively was being largely abandoned; in the eyes of some of its leaders the trade union organisation was an instrument, not for bettering the economic conditions of the workers, but for destroying the system of private enterprise, and their propaganda preached only hatred and envy. Of the leaders who assented to the strike he had no doubt that there were some who did so with reluctance and in the hope that somehow or other the consequences of their action would be avoided; but there were others who, to judge by their speeches in the past, regarded any such attempt as a chance of bringing off what was called the Social Revolution. And it was certain that, however much the general strike might be called industrial, the results were political and social. He thought that the majority of the strikers also in their innermost hearts felt that what was at stake was not merely the solidarity of labour or sympathy with the miners, but the safety of the State; and this was the secret of their exemplary behaviour. This, to him, was the great lesson of the strike—that the British people was not going to throw over Parliament to set up divine right either of the capitalist or the trade unionist, and they were not going to bow down to a dictatorship of either.

Immediately after delivering this speech, Mr. Baldwin made a concession to the coal-owners which did not inspire confidence in his determination or ability to resist the dictation of capital. When the Vote for the Mines Department was brought up on June 15, he informed the House that in a few days he would lay before it a measure for suspending the Seven-Hours Day Act. By a skilful use of quotations from the Coal Commission's Report, he tried to make it appear that this step was taken in the interests of the miners themselves. The Report had said that disaster was impending over the industry unless working costs were reduced, and that, if the present working hours were retained, this could



only be brought about by a revision of the wages rates fixed in 1924. To those who had studied the Report, continued Mr. Baldwin, it was clear that if wage reductions were to be made on existing hours, they would in many parts of the country have to be on a scale which no one would like to see. For that reason the Government had come to the conclusion that the return to a longer working day was necessary. He had felt more than a month before that the easiest way to reopen negotiations was by raising the question of hours, because this would permit of safeguarding the existing wage over the greater part of the country, a matter to which he attached very great value. He had refrained from bringing the suggestion before the House hitherto from fear that the coal-owners would abuse the advantage thus given them in the negotiations. Now, however, he had received positive assurances from the owners that, on the basis of the eight-hours day, in certain districts producing approximately half the total output of the country the men would be offered a continuance of their existing wages for July, August, and September, and that over more than half the rest of the country the reduction asked would be materially less than the 10 per cent. contained in the offer already made. After this preliminary period, wages would be based on the ascertained proceeds of the industry. Meanwhile the Government would press on with its reorganisation legislation, and would try to carry out those recommendations of the Commission which were likely to have an immediate effect on the industry.

The Premier's proposals, though set forth in his most persuasive manner, made a painful impression on the Labour benches. Mr. Hartshorn, who was the first Labour spokesman on this occasion, asserted that the Prime Minister's speech had enormously increased the gravity of the situation, and added to its difficulties. Mr. Hartshorn maintained that there could be no cure for the ills of the mining industry until it was unified, that is, placed under common ownership, not necessarily State ownership. Until this was done and until machinery had been created to prevent undercutting and underselling, it was not fair to ask the miners to make any sacrifice to enable the coal-owners to have more coal to dispose of in the same way as before. He was therefore disappointed to hear from the Premier that legislation on the question of unification or amalgamation was not to come into effect for three years. If the Prime Minister had correctly indicated the lines on which the Government intended to proceed, then he regretted to say that he did not see the end of the stoppage. The leaders were not going to call off the strike on the strength of the speech to which they had just listened, whether at the end of three months or of six months, and the men would not give up either. Mr. Hartshorn's opinion was endorsed by other Labour speakers in the debate, and Mr. MacDonald, who did

not take part in the debate, issued a statement deploring Mr. Baldwin's speech as "most disastrous," and declaring that most of the legislation foreshadowed would be fought inch by inch by the Labour Party.

Before proceeding with its legislation on hours, the Government took up the Bill for reorganising the coal industry—the Mining Industry Bill, as it was called—of which the Premier had given notice on June 10. In moving the second reading on June 23, the Minister of Mines, Colonel Lane-Fox, did not attempt to hide the fact that certain important recommendations of the Commission were omitted from the Bill, but said that this did not mean that the Government was not going to deal in turn with all the recommendations which would have any effect in helping the mining industry. The present Bill was only a first instalment, but still he thought that it might give considerable assistance to the industry. This view was derided by the Labour members, who declared the Bill to be a sham, since it left the initiative in the hands of the coal-owners. A Labour amendment pressed for a comprehensive policy of unification under public ownership and control, and criticised the omission from the Bill of provisions for the transfer of minerals to the State, the establishment of selling agencies, and the municipal sale of coal. Mr. Hartshorn, who moved the amendment, again made a powerful impression on the Government supporters by his temperate but firm statement of the miners' case, and he repeated in more definite terms the suggestion he had thrown out in his previous speech for a round-table Conference of members from all sides of the House. The Government received the proposal with favour, and declared itself ready to meet Mr. Hartshorn, provided he was authorised to speak on behalf of the miners; but as he could not give this assurance, the suggestion proved abortive. The amendment was rejected by 336 votes to 147, and the Bill was read a second time and soon after became law.

In announcing the Eight-Hours Bill on June 15, the Premier had informed the House that the second reading would not be taken till June 28. The interval allowed the miners due time to reflect on the contents of the Premier's speech, but, as Mr. Hartshorn had prophesied, they proved impervious to his suggestions. The threat of an eight-hours day did not frighten the leaders into offering any concessions; but it did make them realise more clearly the danger of isolation, and so led unexpectedly to a certain *rapprochement* between them and the Trade Union Council, with whom they had been at feud since the end of the general strike. They had a little while before, in conjunction with the Council, fixed June 25 as the date for a Conference which was to discuss the action of the Congress in calling off the general strike. Had the Conference been held, it would undoubtedly have been made the occasion for some plain speaking which would greatly have

embittered relations between the Miners' Federation and the other trade unions. But the announcement of the Eight-Hours Bill had a sobering effect on both parties, and this was reinforced by a speech from Lord Birkenhead in which that determined enemy of Socialism foreshadowed in no uncertain terms a Government attack on the privileges of the trade unions. Accordingly, the representatives of the Federation and the Council, after discussing the situation on June 23, issued an announcement that in view of the attack by the Government on the standard of life of the workers they considered it in the interests of the miners that the Conference called for June 25 should not be held till after the mining dispute was ended, and emphasised the necessity of a united policy for opposing the Government's action.

On June 24 the Vote for the Ministry of Agriculture was taken, and a statement by the Minister revealed the fact that the Government had given up all thought of assisting the industry, and intended to let it work out its own salvation as best it could. Mr. Guinness considered that the cause of British agricultural depression was simply the steady drop in agricultural prices during the preceding six years; apart from this he refused to see that there was anything seriously wrong with the industry, and thought that the farmer would pull through with his own resources. Mr. Lloyd George remarked that very few who could speak with any authority on agricultural matters would confirm the Minister's optimistic view of the position, and reminded him that only eighteen months before Mr. Baldwin had declared the situation to be a danger to the country. A Liberal member moved a reduction of the Vote as a protest against the Minister's failure to make any tangible proposal for relieving the conditions under which agriculture laboured, but the proposal was defeated by a large majority.

On June 25 Commander Locker-Lampson duly brought forward his motion calling for the termination of the Russian Trade Agreement. A certain piquancy had been lent to the situation by the fact that during the previous week-end Mr. Churchill and Lord Birkenhead had made public speeches violently attacking the Soviet Government and its methods, and that in the course of the week there had been, according to public report, serious dissensions on the subject in the Cabinet. Labour members, therefore, as Mr. MacDonald put it, looked forward with great interest to hearing the Foreign Secretary reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir A. Chamberlain adhered closely to the lines laid down by Lord Balfour in the previous week. Two questions, he said, were raised—whether the Government and the country had good reason to complain of the attitude of the Soviet authorities in Russia, and whether, if so, it would be wise of them to show their indignation and resentment in the way suggested, by breaking off diplomatic relations and terminating

the trade agreement. His answer to the first question was in the affirmative and to the second in the negative. The trade agreement, in his opinion, had not been kept by the Soviet Government in the matter of conducting official propaganda against institutions of the British Empire. There was no pretence that relations with a Government which acted as the Soviet Government acted could be, he would not say cordial and friendly, but even cordial and correct. Nevertheless, he thought that in view of the situation in their own country and in Europe, it was to their interest to allow these diplomatic relations to continue with their eyes open, trusting to the good sense of the people to protect them against the poison of Russian propaganda. Further reasons for not breaking off diplomatic relations with Russia were that such a step would not entirely keep out propaganda, and that it might have unfavourable reactions on the European situation. While, therefore, if he had to make the agreement to-day he would not make it, he did not see his way clear to breaking it off now that it existed.

The further course of the debate afforded no opportunity of judging how far the Foreign Secretary's statement satisfied the Government's supporters. A Conservative member rose to speak, but the Labour members, who wished one of their own party to occupy the floor of the House, shouted him down, and, being unable to reduce them to silence, the Deputy Speaker, who was at the time in the Chair, declared the sitting adjourned.

On June 26 the Minister of Labour, Sir A. Steel-Maitland, made a carefully-worded speech at a Unionist meeting near Saffron Walden to prepare the public for the Bill which he was to introduce in Parliament two days later. He declared emphatically that in introducing a Bill making it possible for the miners to work eight hours a day no general attack upon wages or hours was contemplated by the Government. The coal industry was in a special plight, to deal with which exceptional measures were necessary for the time being. The Government had faced the facts, and by the facts alone it had been driven to the conclusion that the only way to save the industry was by a temporary lengthening of the working day from seven hours to eight. The Coal Commission, while it did not like the idea of an increase in hours, had always admitted that it might be the only way out, and in the Government's opinion it had reached that state of affairs. The Government stood by the Commission's Report and was endeavouring to carry it out, save only in the matter of royalties, in regard to which it thought it could attain the same end better by other means.

The Bill itself consisted of a single permissive clause, enabling the miner, beyond the sixty days in the year at present possible, to work eight hours a day. In moving the second reading on June 28, the Minister of Labour based himself on a sentence in

the Commission's Report which affirmed that the costs of production with present hours and wages were greater than the industry could afford. The miners would not accept reductions in wages, and he himself hated the idea; consequently the Government was driven to the alternative of permitting, for a certain time, a lengthening of the working day. This naïve explanation of the Government's change of front was rejected with scorn by the Opposition. Mr. Walsh, a miners' member, in moving the rejection of the Bill, asked Mr. Baldwin how he could reconcile this measure with his professed desire not to lower the standard of life of the working classes. Sir John Simon, in a speech which won the applause of the Labour members, exposed with great cogency the flimsiness of the Minister of Labour's pretence that the Bill accorded with the recommendations of the Commission. Labour members with one voice characterised the Bill as an "owners' Bill," and bitterly charged the Government with not seeing fair play between the two sides. A virulent personal attack on the Prime Minister was delivered by Mr. Wheatley, who suggested, amid Labour cheers, that his reputation for political honesty had been greatly exaggerated. During the second day of the debate Labour members at one or two points became highly demonstrative, but were allowed by the Speaker an unusual degree of latitude.

Mr. MacDonald again showed himself to be out of sympathy with the more violent members of his party by dissociating himself both from their obstructive methods and from the attacks on Mr. Baldwin. His reproof was disregarded, and towards the end of the debate the Premier found it necessary to answer specific charges levelled against him by stating categorically that he had not in any way sought to influence the President of the Coal Commission in drawing up his Report, and that his shares in the firm of Baldwins Ltd., which it was alleged biased his view of the coal situation, had brought him in no profit for years. More than one Conservative member criticised the policy of the Government, but the second reading was eventually carried by 355 votes to 163.

When the Bill entered the Committee stage on the next day, the Labour Party refused to submit any amendment on the ground that the measure was bad in principle. They even refrained from voting for a Liberal amendment, with which they had much sympathy, providing for a suspension or repeal of the new law on a simple resolution of both Houses of Parliament. One miners' representative pithily summed up his colleagues' opinion of the Bill by suggesting as alternative titles "The Coal-owners Act," "The Increased Accident Act," "The Increased Misery Act," "The Starvation of Miners Act," and finally "The Murderers' Act." Significant also of the effect produced by the Bill on the miners' opinion was the fact that Mr. Varley, who had a

few days before braved the odium of his fellows by advising them to make concessions, now declared that after the way the Government had acted he would go back to his district and endeavour to undo all that he had done in the direction of peace.

At the end of the debate on the third reading, on July 1, the Premier somewhat casually made a declaration which was strangely out of keeping with the policy of the Government as outlined by his colleagues in defending the Bill. Insisting that the whole object of the Government was to enable the two parties to the dispute to negotiate on the widest possible terms, he asked if the Miners' Federation could even now accept the Report with all that it implied, adding that if so he believed that a settlement satisfactory to both sides was possible. A little later in the debate a Liberal member, Mr. Thorne, asked whether it was the Government's definite proposal that if the miners' representatives would accept the Report in full, the Government would support them in carrying it into effect. The Minister of Mines parried the question by saying that, as no one had any authority to make such an offer on behalf of the Miners' Federation, he must treat it as hypothetical, and the Bill was thereupon passed by a large majority.

The Premier's *obiter dictum* was, however, not forgotten, and hopes were entertained that it might be the prelude to some new move for peace. These expectations were soon found to be illusory. After the debate Mr. MacDonald, on behalf of the Labour Party, interviewed Mr. Baldwin to ask him whether he could make his offer more definite, but obtained only an evasive reply. The subject was brought up again in Parliament on the next day, July 2, in a debate on the continuance of the Emergency Power Regulations during July. The Government spokesman on this occasion was Mr. Churchill, and he was careful not to lend any countenance to the idea, based on the Premier's remarks of the previous day, that the Government was willing to go back unreservedly to the Commission's Report; all that the Premier had meant, according to him, was that if the two parties showed any inclination to come together, the Government would do its best to assist them.

The miners, on their side, showed little eagerness to grasp the hand which had been furtively held out to them. The Miners' Federation so far took notice of the Premier's words as to issue the next day a statement warmly resenting the implication contained in them that it alone of the three parties concerned had turned down the Report, and calling attention once more to the recommendation of the Report that no sacrifices should be asked from those engaged in the industry before reorganisation had been taken in hand. It called upon the Government to withdraw the Eight-Hours Bill, and make effective proposals for reorganising the industry; but it would not commit itself further than to say

that in that case it would have "something to consider." And in their usual week-end speeches the next day Mr. Herbert Smith and Mr. Cook practically ignored the Premier's utterance, and adopted, if anything, a more bellicose tone than ever. After this, naturally no further efforts were made to explore the opening which the Premier's words had seemed to provide.

The Eight-Hours Day Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on July 5, and its passage there did not prove such a formality as was expected. In the course of the second day's debate, Viscount Cecil laid stress on the fact that the Government regarded itself as being under special obligations to secure fair treatment for the miners no less than for the owners, and to give point to this remark he followed it up with the surprising announcement that wage proposals had been put forward in one part of the country which it regarded as profoundly unsatisfactory, and that it would not proceed with the passage of the Bill until the misunderstanding had been cleared up. The offending district, it appeared, was Yorkshire, where the owners had given notice that after October the respective shares of wages and profits should be 85 per cent. and 15 per cent., and not 87 and 13 per cent., as under the 1924 agreement. But they promptly came into line under the Government's threat, and the Bill became law, as arranged, on July 9. The miners, however, refused to be impressed by the Government's well-staged demonstration of its solicitude for their interests; nor did they pay any heed to the entreaties of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas to make a last-hour attempt to negotiate on the basis of the Report before the Eight-Hours Bill became law.

Labour members carried their opposition to the Bill to the point of disturbing the serene atmosphere of the House of Lords. When the Bill was brought up there for the third reading on July 8, the Labour Peers, Lords Parmoor, de la Warr, and Arnold, adopted the device of delaying its passage by delivering speeches of unconscionable length, albeit to empty benches, until at length Lord Salisbury, losing patience, resorted to the drastic course, almost unheard-of in the House of Lords, of moving the closure. A number of Labour members of the Commons who were standing at the bar of the House raised loud cries of protest, and were only induced to depart with difficulty. A short time later, when the royal assent was given to the Bill in the House of Lords, a number of Labour members who were present with the Speaker at the ceremony, made noisy demonstrations with the object of showing their contempt for the whole affair, having previously behaved in a similar manner in the House of Commons when Black Rod appeared there to summon the Speaker.

A sequel to these incidents occurred on July 12, when the Speaker took occasion to state that he regretted what had happened as a gross indignity to himself and to the House as a

whole, and rebuked the Labour members for their discourtesy to the House of Lords and its officer. The standing orders, he said, did not give him power to deal with the incident, but the House had the right to deal with such conduct in other ways, and if there should be a repetition of such incidents, he would not hesitate to ask the House to take adequate action.

The miners' idea that the Government was actively siding with the owners received strong confirmation from a speech made on July 8 by Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in which he belittled the Report of the Coal Commission and expressed the opinion that district, and even pit, settlements were necessary. A week later the Premier, in Parliament, in reply to Labour questions, disowned his colleague's remarks, saying that they only expressed his private opinion on the risks of excessive centralisation. He himself, however, laid it down as the Government's view that the extent to which the various agreements should be national or local was primarily a question for the coal-owners and the miners to settle between them; and his refusal to put pressure on the owners was regarded by the miners as equivalent to taking sides with them in the struggle.

The activities of the Government called forth a rejoinder from the Trade Union Council in the shape of a "Declaration on the Industrial Situation," issued on July 2 to the secretaries of all affiliated unions and trades councils, with the object of concentrating the attention of the movement upon resistance to the Government's new proposals, particularly the reversion to the eight-hours day. The Government was charged with attempting to starve the miners by bringing pressure to bear on the boards of guardians in mining districts to curtail relief to them and their families, and an appeal was made for sustained financial aid for the miners and for all workers victimised or imprisoned in the struggle. Trade Unionists were called upon to urge members of Parliament to oppose the Government's anti-trade union policy, and to create public support for the constructive solution of the mining problem embodied in the proposals of the Labour movement.

In so far as this declaration was meant to appease the miners, its effect was neutralised by a step—apparently not unauthorised—which was taken by a prominent trade union leader just at this time. In preparation for the Conference which it was to have held with the Miners' Executive on June 25 but which was cancelled at the last moment, the Trade Union Council had drawn up a statement defending its action in calling off the general strike; and in the *Locomotive Journal* of July 3, Mr. Bromley, the Secretary of the Engineers' and Firemen's Union, published an article containing long extracts from this statement which together constituted a strong indictment of the policy pursued by the miners, both during the strike and subsequently. The



Council, it appeared, had from the first been unable to follow the Miners' Executive in its insistence on the three-point slogan, and had always envisaged the possibility of sacrifices in wages being required from the miners, especially from the highest paid men. On the other hand, it supported the miners in refusing to agree to any reduction prior to arrangements being made for the application of the general recommendations of the Commission's Report ; and it was precisely on this point, and not on the miners' slogan that the general strike was declared. When it became clear, after a few days of the strike, that the Government could not be easily forced to capitulate, the Council, on May 8, informed the miners that they proposed to co-operate with influential members of the public who were known to be trying to re-open negotiations. The miners neither took part in these proceedings, nor, when they rejected the Samuel memorandum, did they put forward any alternative constructive proposals. The Council reluctantly came to the conclusion that no matter what provisions might be made to obtain a basis for re-opening negotiations, the Miners' Executive would not consider the possibility of wages adjustments for any section or grade of mine-workers in any district. In the opinion of the Council, this attitude on the part of the miners rendered the continuance of the general strike futile, and in view of this fact, and this only, they decided on its termination.

This article was evidence of the cleft which existed between even the more militant section of the railwaymen and the miners. The National Union of Railwaymen about the same time showed its disapproval of the miners' obstinacy in a practical form by refusing to put an embargo on the movement of coal. This decision of the Executive was called into question at a Conference held on July 9 ; it was defended by Mr. Thomas on the ground that the railwaymen could not break their contracts, and was confirmed by a large majority of the delegates. At the same meeting an attempt was made to secure the dismissal of Mr. Thomas on account of the part which he had taken in the "surrender" settlement after the general strike, but it was defeated by a large majority.

The decision of the railwaymen, along with a similar one taken about the same time by the foreign unions concerned, came as a severe disappointment to the miners, but it afforded corresponding relief to the general public. The municipalities had no need to curtail essential services, and the railway companies imported coal in such quantities that by the middle of July they were able to announce the restoration, for the first time since the declaration of the strike, of practically full normal services, including holiday excursions. The public was not slow to avail itself of the facilities provided, with the result that the holiday resorts suffered very much less than was anticipated from the grave dislocation of industry.

The question of outdoor relief to miners' dependents, which was raised in the Trade Union Council's manifesto of July 2, was one which caused the Government considerable perplexity. On June 12 a deputation from the Labour Party, headed by Mr. Sidney Webb, had waited on the Minister of Health to complain of the continued enforcement of the instructions sent out by the Ministry to Boards of Guardians on May 5 during the general strike. The Minister replied that a long stoppage in the coal industry would gradually bring about the same state of affairs as a general strike, and he could not take the responsibility of withdrawing the letter. And, in fact, there could be no doubt that if some Boards of Guardians were too niggardly in the provision of relief, others went to the opposite extreme. The borough of West Ham, though not a mining district, was notorious for this failing, using for the purpose not its own money, but money borrowed on the guarantee of the Ministry of Health. The Minister protested repeatedly against the extravagance, but in vain, and at length, in order to prevent national money from being squandered both in this and in other places, he sought additional powers from Parliament. On July 5 he introduced a Bill providing that where it appeared to the Minister of Health that guardians of the poor had failed to exercise their functions properly, he might substitute other persons to act for them for a year. The Bill was strongly criticised by Labour and Liberal members on the ground that it was contrary to the constitutional principle that local government should be vested in the local representatives of the people. It was explained on behalf of the Ministry that for the present there was no intention of applying the Bill anywhere except in the particular case of West Ham, and that in respect of other places it was merely precautionary. In the Committee stage amendments were proposed that before a Board of Guardians was superseded there should be an inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and that the operation of the Bill should be limited to the period ending January 1, 1928, but the Government refused to entertain either proposal, and the Bill passed its third reading by a large majority on July 9.

The first effect of the coal stoppage on the national finances was seen in the introduction, on July 7, of a supplementary estimate of 3,000,000*l.* to cover the cost of purchases of coal. The President of the Board of Trade refused to disclose at that juncture the sources from which the coal was obtained, but Labour members assumed, without contradiction, that the bulk of it came from Germany, and Mr. Wheatley commented sarcastically on the spectacle of a Tory Government eight years after the war seeking the support of German capitalists to crush British workers. The Government was also twitted with adopting the methods of Socialism, and the Home Secretary admitted the

charge, pleading in extenuation that in times of emergency theories had to be set aside. In answer to other strictures, the Minister informed the House that the Government would not sell its coal to big undertakings or corporations, which could import for themselves, but only to small people.

In the course of the next week, a Labour member—one of a group which made a point of going into the private financial transactions of members of the Government—drew the attention of the House to the fact that the Minister of Health was a director of one company and a shareholder in another which had received contracts from the Government, and demanded from him an explanation. The Minister had no difficulty in showing conclusively that his conduct had been strictly in accordance with established precedent. The Labour Party, however, was not wholly satisfied as to the propriety of his actions, and pressed for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider how far it was allowable for a Minister of the Crown to be associated with a public or private company during his term of office, especially with any company in contractual relations with the Government.

The Prime Minister consented readily to discuss the matter, and on July 12 Mr. A. Henderson moved in the House that “in view of the statement of the Minister of Health,” such a Select Committee should be appointed. Mr. Henderson disclaimed any intention of attacking Mr. Chamberlain personally, but his speech was tantamount to a charge, which was put in so many words by a subsequent speaker, that the Minister had broken the spirit, though not the letter, of the regulations laid down by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in 1906 regarding the holding of company directorships by Cabinet Ministers. The Conservative Party saw in the motion a Labour vendetta against the Minister of Health for his speech of the previous week accusing the West Ham Board of Guardians of corruption. Accordingly, Lord H. Cecil moved an amendment that the House, while willing at any time to review by Select Committee or otherwise the rules and practices guiding Ministers in respect of their private interests during their tenure of office, declined to do so by way of concession to an organised campaign of calumny and insinuation which had no justification in fact; and this was eventually carried by a large majority. But though the motion was defeated, it was generally felt that the Labour Party had laid its finger on a weak spot in the Cabinet system, and that the obligations of Ministers in this respect required to be defined afresh.

On July 12 M. Caillaux, the French Finance Minister, visited London to discuss with Mr. Churchill the funding of the French debt to England. The preliminaries having been arranged by the officials, who had been at work for some weeks on the subject, M. Caillaux was able to sign an agreement on the same day, a few hours after his arrival. The agreement followed the broad

lines of the one which he had made with Mr. Churchill twelve months previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 87), and which had proved abortive owing to the failure at that time of M. Caillaux to come to a settlement with America. It was now arranged that France should pay England 4,000,000*l.* in the financial year 1926-27, then 6,000,000*l.*, 8,000,000*l.*, and 10,000,000*l.* in successive years; 12,500,000*l.* annually from 1930-31 to 1956-57, and then 14,000,000*l.* annually till 1987-88. In this way the total indebtedness was computed at 600,000,000*l.* to be paid off in sixty-two years. In describing the settlement next day in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill drew attention to the fact that it contained no "safeguard clause," i.e., that it in no way made French payments to England dependent on German payments to France under the reparations scheme, but rested upon the sole credit of France. The refusal of Britain to insert such a clause had long been a stumbling-block in the negotiations, but M. Caillaux had at last waived his demand for it on receiving from the British Government written assurances that in the event of a complete or very serious failure of German payments France would be entitled to ask for a reconsideration of the terms. It was further stipulated, in conformity with the Balfour Note of 1922, that in the event of British receipts from war debts and reparations at any time exceeding what Britain herself should have paid since the end of the war to the United States, the surplus should be divided between the various allied debtors in reduction of their future contributions.

A debate on the French debt settlement was initiated by the Liberal Party in the House of Commons on July 19, and Mr. Churchill took the opportunity to explain the considerations which had guided the Government both in this matter and that of the Italian debt settlement. He denied that the object of the Government in coming to this settlement at this time had been, as some had suggested, to save the franc and other foreign currencies from depreciation; it was simply to obtain the best settlement they were likely to get in the interests of this country, and also one that conformed to their ideas of a fair settlement, taking all the circumstances, moral and material, into consideration. It was, he admitted, arguable whether it would not have been better to have gone on asserting their rights and claims in full and refusing to accept any modification. But the Government did not take that view, believing that the interests of this country no less than of Europe required the clearance of these matters from the field of international discussion. Apart from this, the arrears of interest were rapidly raising these debts to fantastic figures which would eventually have made them impossible to cope with. The settlement with France, he maintained, departed very little from the *pari passu* principle, as on a basis of present value it meant that France was to pay 47 per

cent. of her debt to England, while by her agreement with America she had undertaken to pay 49 per cent. of her debt to that country. The Italian settlements, he admitted, showed a greater discrepancy to England's disadvantage; but he pointed out that during the first ten or fifteen years England would be receiving much larger payments both from France and Italy than America would, and it was the opinion of the Government that by that time there might well be a revision or review of the whole of the relations arising out of the Great War. Finally, Mr. Churchill pointed out that if England succeeded, by her various arrangements, in obtaining from reparations and debt payments the sum of 33,000,000*l.* a year after 1930 while having to pay to the United States 38,000,000*l.* a year, she would be nearer to carrying out the principle of the Balfour Note than would have been thought possible by the Cabinet which issued the Note.

Mr. Churchill's statement was accepted by Parliament as representing the best which could be made of a bad bargain. The debate produced several expressions of resentment at America's conduct in insisting on the payment of her European debts, a feeling which had become more and more prevalent in the country as continued bad trade made the burden of taxation heavier to bear. Some traces of this feeling were discernible in a letter which Mr. Churchill, shortly after this debate, addressed to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, correcting certain misstatements which he had made regarding the debt settlement. Attention was called to the letter in Parliament, and Sir A. Chamberlain, in order to remove all misapprehensions, took occasion to state definitely that there was no thought in England of repudiating the debt, and that, however much they disliked it, they would discharge their obligations without complaint.

Whatever soreness the Treasury may have felt over America's exaction of her debt, it was not allowed to embitter Anglo-American relations in other fields. At this very time most amicable negotiations were proceeding in London between officials of the two countries on the enforcement of the American liquor prohibition laws. Experience had shown the American authorities that the "rum-running" Treaty of 1924, which allowed American officials the right of search up to 12 miles from the coast, required supplementing, and an American representative had come over to England to seek for further facilities on behalf of his country, chiefly in the matter of search in the Bahama islands. The British Government showed itself highly accommodating, and the negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion on July 27, General Andrews expressing his deep appreciation of the spirit of fairness and good sportsmanship shown by the British officials.

During the last few weeks of the Summer Session Parliament, as usual, completed the discussion of the Finance Act and the

Appropriation Bills. In submitting the Vote (of 18,117,068*l.*) for his Department on July 13, the Minister of Health was able to give an encouraging report of the progress made in tackling the housing problem. In the twelve months which ended in the previous March the number of houses built had been 173,000, against an average of 61,000 in the five years before the war, and of these about 153,700 might be taken as working-class houses. The grants for housing had amounted altogether to about 8,500,000*l.* The Minister expressed concern at the rate at which liability, both national and local, was mounting up in respect of housing, and stated that he was engaged in conversations with the local authorities on the question of continuing the subsidy. He informed the House that the Pensions Act of the previous year was working with wonderful smoothness, and had afforded relief to the rates to the extent of 1,750,000*l.* a year.

In making his annual statement on the Post Office Estimates the next day, the Postmaster-General informed the House that in regard to broadcasting the Government had accepted, in general, the recommendations of the Crawford Committee, *viz.*, that the broadcasting service should be conducted by a public corporation to be licensed by the Postmaster-General for not less than ten years, and to consist of not more than seven, nor less than five, commissioners, to whom the undertaking of the present Broadcasting Company should be transferred on January 1, 1927, and that the fee for a receiving licence should be maintained at ten shillings. As for the setting up of the new company, the Government had come to the conclusion that there were drawbacks in doing this either by Act of Parliament or by incorporation under the Companies Acts, and had decided to apply for a royal charter for the incorporated body to hold a licence from the Postmaster-General and conduct the service. The Minister further made the interesting announcement that they had that year opened at Rugby the biggest wireless station in the world, by means of which it would be possible to send messages from any telegraph office to any ship in any part of the world equipped with wireless apparatus.

The Report stage of the Finance Bill was finally disposed of on July 15. A number of Conservative speakers opposed the safeguarding duty on wrapping-paper on account of the hardship it would inflict on trades in which they were interested, and the Government majority fell to 97. Mr. Churchill announced that the Government had decided to reduce the proposed tax on betting from a uniform 5 per cent. to 3½ per cent. on office betting and 2 per cent. on racecourse betting. The reason for this was that since the introduction of the Budget he had had the opportunity of examining the books of some of the largest betting firms, and he had been led to the conclusion that the total turnover of legal betting was nearer 275,000,000*l.* than 170,000,000*l.*,

as he had originally estimated ; and as it was no part of his policy to break the betting business, he would impose the lowest tax which would produce the revenue he required. The tax, as amended, was ultimately agreed to without a division.

In the debate on the third reading of the Finance Bill on July 21, Mr. Runciman ventured upon an analysis of the loss caused to the country by the general strike and the coal strike in the way of exports, manufactures, wages, and laid-up shipping, estimating it at a total of 160,000,000*l.* Mr. McNeill, who replied on behalf of the Government, contrasted the financial position of England with that of France at that juncture, and pointed out that if Britain was in comparatively smooth financial waters, it was because in the last strenuous decade the House of Commons had never hesitated to ask the British taxpayer to make the sacrifices necessary to keep his finance on a sound basis, and the taxpayer had responded, if not with cheerfulness, at least with resignation. He admitted, however, that the consequences of the coal stoppage would be serious, and were viewed by the Government with great anxiety. The third reading of the Bill was eventually passed by 324 votes to 117.

The President of the Board of Education, in submitting the Education Estimates for appropriation on July 22, gave a reassuring account of educational conditions in the country. He asserted that reduction in the size of classes in elementary schools had gone as far as it could without the provision of new accommodation ; both in elementary and secondary education the great obstacle to progress was the cost of building, which was out of all proportion to what it should be. Mr. Trevelyan admitted that the details of the Minister's speech were satisfactory, but still complained that his general policy was wrong ; the Board of Education was no longer primarily the patron of progressive authorities, but was chiefly concerned with reducing expenditure. Other critics went further, and cited definite instances of what they regarded as "reactionary" activity on the part of the Board ; but it was not denied that on the whole the Board was securing greater efficiency for its expenditure and eliminating waste.

With its general legislation the Government did not make such good progress. The Electricity Bill, which the Prime Minister in January had declared to be so urgent, did not emerge from the Standing Committee till nearly the end of the session, too late to be brought up in the House before the summer vacation. It had a rough passage in Committee, as a number of Conservative members, who objected strongly to its main proposals, used obstructive tactics, while others who were in sympathy with its main objects criticised it on the ground that as drafted it would not make electricity cheaper. The Government, while recognising the force of the objections, was loth to accept

any amendments, and finally brought the Bill through substantially unaltered, promising to supplement it later with another Bill.

Two other measures to which the Government attached importance—the Merchandise Marks Bill and the Money-lenders Bill—were likewise kept so long in Committee that they could not be passed in the Summer Session. The former of these Bills was viewed with no small concern by important sections of the trading community. Its object had originally been to secure the marking of imported food-stuffs with the name of the country of origin. But with the idea of promoting the sale of British goods, the Government had added a clause empowering it to insist on the marking of all imported manufactures intended to be sold in England. Shippers at once pointed out that this could not fail to interfere with the re-export trade, but so little heed did the Government pay to their representations that early in July it accepted an amendment in the Standing Committee empowering a Committee to be set up by the President of the Board of Trade to insist on the marking of any class of manufactured goods before importation. This proposal naturally caused great perturbation in the shipping world, and even the London Chamber of Commerce, which had not actively opposed the measure in its earlier form, now protested strongly against the new clause as containing the possibility of destroying the re-export trade piecemeal, and entrusting comprehensive power for harm to a committee appointed by a Minister of the Crown.

To show that it was not entirely unmindful of agriculture, the Government this session prepared a Small Holdings Bill of very modest dimensions. In introducing it on July 15, the Minister of Agriculture explained that the object of the Government was to restart provisions for small holdings, in view of the fact that the old machinery under post-war conditions was now at a standstill. The chief new feature of the Bill was that the burden of setting up small holdings should be shared between the Exchequer and the local authorities in the proportion of 75 per cent. and 25 per cent. He did not expect that in the next four years more than 8,000 small holdings would be provided under the Bill, at an average annual loss of 200,000*l*. The Bill was welcomed by the Government supporters as a step in the right direction, but was stigmatised by Opposition speakers as wholly inadequate and even retrogressive, in the fact of leaving it to County Councils to put the Act into operation.

A further small contribution towards improving the conditions of the rural labourer was made by the Government by the introduction, on August 3, of a Bill providing State assistance for landlords who desired to repair and improve dilapidated cottages on their estates. The Minister of Health admitted that the landlords ought to do this without public assistance, but he pointed



out that several of them were people of small resources who had not the capital necessary to make such alterations as the Government had in mind. Labour members stigmatised the Bill as a "tinkering" measure, but Sir K. Wood retorted that the Wheatley Act of 1924 had failed to provide houses at a rent within the reach of the agricultural labourer, while this Bill would at least make thousands which were already occupied more habitable without any great increase in rent. The second reading was passed by a large majority.

On July 20 a large deputation of Unionist members waited on the Prime Minister to impress upon the Government the urgency of the reform of the House of Lords. In reality, as appeared from the speech of their chairman, they were less concerned with obtaining a reformed House of Lords than a more powerful House, one which would in case of need be able to offer effective resistance to a Socialist Government. The Premier repeated the pledge he had formerly given, that it was the intention of the Government to deal with the question in the lifetime of the present Parliament, and said that the Government would welcome suggestions for a definite scheme of reform agreed on by the members of the Committees of both Houses which were considering the subject.

The Under-Secretary for India, Earl Winterton, gave, on July 20, the annual review of conditions in that country in the House of Commons before a sparse attendance. He was able to inform the House that discontent with the British rule had been much less marked in the previous twelve months than in preceding years; the Swarajist Party had declined in influence, and he was not without hope that there would emerge from the General Election in the autumn a strong and united party prepared to work with the Government in carrying on the administration. Unfortunately, however, tension between the Hindu and Moslem communities had steadily increased in the past four years, and now constituted the gravest menace confronting the Government. Earl Winterton indignantly repudiated the charge made by extremist organs in India and repeated in certain British circles, that British officials in India either instigated or refrained from taking steps to prevent communal riots and violence. The Minister mentioned among other things that recruitment for the Indian Civil Service had greatly improved, and concluded by affirming the resolution of the Government to persist with the endeavour to work the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, in spite of the adverse criticism of many distinguished Anglo-Indians. In the debate which followed, Labour members did not contest the Minister's opinion that the outlook in India was, on the whole, hopeful. In the House of Lords a few days later the Secretary for India admitted the seriousness of the Hindu-Moslem tension, and traced it partly to the reforms, but still more to the general

unsettlement of ideas and material conditions which had followed in the wake of the war.

Imperial questions were discussed by the House in a debate on July 29 opened by Mr. J. H. Thomas, who asked whether it would not be possible for the Opposition as well as the Government to be represented at Imperial Conferences, in order that there might be less chance of decisions taken by that body being thrown overboard. The Colonial Secretary thought the idea an attractive one, but pointed out that in regard to a great deal of the business the Government could not divide or share responsibility. Dealing with other questions, the Minister said that progress in Empire settlement was still disappointing, owing to the restrictions on migration imposed by the Dominions, but he thought that these were on the whole justified. The Government, he informed the House, was keenly interested in the matter of Empire marketing, to promote which it had recently set up a very active Empire Marketing Board. It was also liberally encouraging research in various branches which might assist Empire trade. In answer to charges of ill-treatment of the natives of Kenya, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, stated that he was satisfied from what he heard from the Governor that a remarkable improvement was taking place in their position.

(The conduct of foreign affairs during this session by Sir A. Chamberlain again exposed him to criticism in Parliament and the Press. In the spring, as the price of the support which Italy had given England in her dispute with Turkey, he made an arrangement with Signor Mussolini for mutual recognition of spheres of influence in Abyssinia, in particular granting to Italy the "exclusive right" to certain concessions. While this step drew England closer to Italy, it aroused the suspicions of France, which, as a party to the tripartite agreement of 1906, was also interested in the matter. Seeing in the new arrangement a design to effect the economic partition of Abyssinia, France demanded explanations from the British Foreign Office, and, not finding the reply altogether satisfactory, instigated Abyssinia, as a member of the League of Nations, to appeal to that body for protection against the designs of Italy and Great Britain.)

No sooner had Abyssinia taken this step than Sir A. Chamberlain gave an explanation of the new arrangement which made it appear so innocuous as to be almost superfluous. Replying to a question in Parliament on August 2, he stated that the Italo-British agreement contained no threat whatever against the integrity or independence of Abyssinia. In according to Italy an "exclusive right" to certain concessions, Great Britain had meant "exclusive" only as against her own concessionaries, and not against any third party. There was no desire to bring pressure to bear on the Government of Abyssinia, which would only be asked at the proper time to take into friendly consideration

the proposals they had made, which he hoped to convince it were in its own interest. Sir A. Chamberlain read to the House the reply which the British Government was sending to the Secretary of the League of Nations defending Great Britain against the charges which the Abyssinian Government had laid before the League, and said that he welcomed the opportunity which Abyssinia's Note to the League would afford of showing the innocence of British policy.

While Parliament was discussing all these subjects, the stoppage in the coal-fields had continued almost unabated. The Eight-Hours Bill, from which the owners expected such great results, had made scarcely any difference to the situation. As soon as it became law, the owners all over the country had invited the men to resume work on the basis of a longer working day, offering them, in the majority of the pits, the same wages as had ruled before the stoppage on April 30. There was, however, no immediate response from the side of the men; so far from there being any general resumption of work, Mr. Cook talked about bringing out the safety men if the eight-hours day should be made to apply to them. The men entered on the eleventh week of the strike as determined as ever not to abate a jot of their demands.

In view of the alarming situation into which the country was drifting, not all citizens were content to remain so passive as the Government. Prominent among those who bestirred themselves to bring about a settlement were the Society of Friends and the Industrial Christian Fellowship, a body comprising among its members several of the leaders of the Church of England and the Free Churches. These, early in July, approached both the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation, not to make any proposals of their own, but only to obtain from each party a clear statement of its views in order to see if any reconciliation was possible. The first result of their efforts was to stimulate the Trade Union Council to "try again." On July 14 this body took the somewhat hazardous step of inviting the Miners' Executive to meet them the next day in order to concert measures for joint action. The Executive consented, not without misgivings, which were borne out by the event. The discussion degenerated into an exchange of recriminations, and the only result of the meeting was to leave the two parties more estranged than before. A colourless official report stated that the meeting had been adjourned, but it was never resumed, nor was there, in fact, any intention that it should be.

Strangely enough, the miners showed themselves willing to concede to the Church leaders what they refused to their fellow trade unionists.

On the day before the abortive meeting with the Trade Union Council (July 13), the Miners' Executive had been in conference with the representatives of the Churches, and the latter at the

end of the meeting had drafted a memorandum summing up the views of the miners' leaders as they appeared to emerge from the discussion. The Miners' Executive two days later accepted the memorandum as a correct statement of the terms on which they would recommend the men to resume work. These were that wages and hours should at first be as on April 30, but at the end of not more than four months such reductions of wages should be accepted as should be suggested by the Commissioners who framed the report, after working out the reorganisation scheme and the reference to wages in detail. The Government, meanwhile, was to give effect to the recommendations of the Report as soon as possible, and to assist the industry with a subsidy until a settlement should be reached on a national basis within a short defined period not exceeding four months. Matters on which agreement could not be reached should be submitted to arbitration.

The Bishop of Lichfield, on behalf of the Churchmen, lost no time in forwarding a copy of the memorandum to the Premier, and asking for an interview. Mr. Baldwin now repeated his House of Commons performance of furtively holding out a hand and hastily withdrawing it before it could be grasped. In a letter addressed, on July 16, to the Conservative candidate at Wallsend, where a by-election was pending, he said that if he once obtained an indication from those who had authority to speak on behalf of the men that they were prepared to consider temporary sacrifices on the part of the better-paid men, the Government would do all it could to obtain full discussion of any reasonable proposals. When, however, he received the Bishop's letter the next day, he suddenly discovered that the Commission had reported strongly against a subsidy, and replied that while he was quite willing to meet the Church representatives without delay, a renewal of the subsidy, on which all the proposals of the memorandum seemed to hinge, was out of question. And speaking at Norwich on the same day, he once more repeated his favourite thesis that masters and men should settle the dispute by themselves, and the less the Government interfered the better.

The deputation of Churchmen duly interviewed the Prime Minister on July 19, and impressed upon him the reality of the advance made by the miners in their memorandum; but he adhered to the position he had taken up in his speech and letter two days previously, and refused to communicate the new offer to the coal-owners. The Churchmen were deeply disappointed, feeling that their efforts to procure a settlement had not been seconded as they deserved.

Being rebuffed by the Premier, the Bishop of Lichfield and his colleagues appealed to the bar of public opinion. On July 23 they addressed a letter to the Press setting forth in detail the proposals which they had laid before the Premier, and pointing

out that these resembled closely the terms laid down by Sir Herbert Samuel in his memorandum of May 12. They laid stress on the fact that the financial assistance which they sought for the industry was trifling in comparison with the loss which the stoppage was causing to the country's trade and revenue, and explained that this assistance need not necessarily take the form of a subsidy. They lamented the fact that, as the dispute continued, moral considerations were being weakened, and that the spirit of self-assertion and domination found expression in the demand, sometimes thoughtlessly uttered, for "a fight to a finish." The mode of arbitration proposed in the terms of settlement they commended as a practical expression of the New Testament ethic. They desired to see the resumption of negotiations facilitated in order that humane conditions of labour might be established in the coal industry, and they therefore reiterated their appeal to the Government to consider the terms submitted by them—terms the substance of which, though not approved by the Government, still held the field.

No notice was taken of this remonstrance. A considerable section of the Press and of the public, as also some Cabinet Ministers, jeered at the Churchmen as busybodies who meddled in matters which they did not understand; and some of their own colleagues also thought that they had overstepped the mark. The spectacle of high dignitaries of the Church of England siding with the working man against the Government and the capitalists was, in truth, one with which the British public had become unfamiliar, and the fact that it was presented twice within a few months was not one of the least portents of an eventful year.

The Government meanwhile continued to tackle the problems of the coal industry according to its own lights. On July 22 the Mines Reorganisation Bill emerged from Committee very little altered in spite of the vigorous criticism to which it had been subjected. In the Report stage, which was taken on July 23 and 26, Opposition members again endeavoured to make the Bill more stringent and compulsory in character, but of the numerous amendments they proposed not one obtained the assent of the House. In conjunction with the Bill, the Government announced, on July 22, the composition of a Committee "to inquire into and report upon the desirability and practicability of developing co-operative selling in the coal-mining industry"—a point to which the Commission had attached considerable importance. The Committee was a strong one, among its members being Sir A. Mond and Mr. V. Hartshorn, both of whom had been leading advocates of the co-operative policy.

Immediately afterwards an effort was made in Parliament to bring about a change in the Government attitude. On July 26 Mr. Lloyd George urged the Premier strongly to accede to the

representations of the Churches. He pointed out that the proposals of the miners had either been accepted by him at various stages in the negotiations or had been allowed to pass without objection. The only exception was the proposal for a subsidy, and surely it was better to spend a few millions on this than to allow the country to lose fifteen, or it might be twenty millions, a week through the continuance of the stoppage. The only alternative to the miners' proposals, as the Government knew, was an extension of hours, and this only meant prolonging the struggle.

Mr. Baldwin turned a deaf ear to Mr. George's pleading. It was quite true, he said, that in the previous March the Government would have gone to almost any length to avert a stoppage, including a continuance of the subsidy, but things had changed; and he now gave it to be understood that the refusal to continue the subsidy contained in his letter to the Bishops was final. Nor did he look with more favour on the suggestion of a loan, which he considered impracticable. He claimed credit for the Government for having introduced its Mining Reorganisation Bill, in spite of the fact that a Government was not in honour bound to accept the recommendations of a Commission it appointed, as Mr. George himself had laid down in regard to the Sankey Commission's report. He snatched eagerly at the miners' offer to submit in certain eventualities to arbitration, and promised the Government's help in setting up an impartial tribunal, if both parties desired it. Reminded by a Labour speaker of a remark he had made earlier in the dispute, that the parties would never settle if left to themselves, he replied that that was three months before, and since then they had been through a bitter experience, from which he hoped they had learnt something.

Mr. MacDonald at once pointed out the futility of the Premier's suggestion. What was the use of his asking the miners to negotiate when he had put the bludgeon of the eight-hours day into the hands of the owners? The reference to arbitration in the miners' memorandum could not possibly be dissociated from the other proposals it contained. The Minister for Mines subsequently deplored the "obstructive" character of Mr. MacDonald's speech, but champions of the owners like Sir R. Horne showed no greater disposition to negotiate; and at the close of the debate Mr. Runciman sadly remarked that it had brought them no further, and that Parliament, now on the eve of separating, had lost its last opportunity of making any contribution to a settlement for some time.

In accepting the memorandum of the Church leaders, the Executive of the Miners' Federation had acted on their own responsibility; and voices had been raised in the coal-fields complaining that they had exceeded their powers. In order to obtain confirmation of their action, they summoned a Delegate Confer-

ence of the Federation to meet on July 30—the first for ten weeks. On the day previous they issued a statement recommending the Conference to accept the memorandum, and to refuse all arbitration or discussion on the question of longer hours. By that time the Eight-Hours Act had been in operation for a fortnight. Its effect on the coal-fields so far had been negligible. Only in Warwickshire, a small district but loosely connected with the Federation, had there been a return to work on any considerable scale, and even there, miners' leaders who visited the district had induced large numbers to desist. The great bulk of the men had remained loyal to the Executive; nevertheless the time seemed to have come when a renewal of its mandate was desirable.

The Conference furnished a striking refutation of that large section of the Press which had long been proclaiming that the bulk of the men were anxious to return to work on the new terms, and that Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook were the great obstacles to a settlement. These two gentlemen made speeches strongly recommending the acceptance of the memorandum, but they were vigorously criticised by delegates from South Wales and Durham, and a vote of censure was moved upon them for departing from the earlier mandate against any reduction of wages, increase of hours, or district settlements. This was defeated, and the Conference, in the end, declared itself in favour of the memorandum. It would not, however, take upon itself the responsibility of confirming the new terms, and referred them to the districts for voting upon by ballot, with a recommendation that they should be agreed to. On the question of longer hours the Conference was, of course, uncompromising.

On July 30 the Home Secretary asked Parliament to continue the Emergency Regulations for another month. He admitted that so far the number of prosecutions under the Regulations had been remarkably small, but though there had not been any great trouble, there had been minor disturbances in different parts of the coal-fields (he was alluding particularly to Warwickshire, where attempts had been made to intimidate the men returning to work), and he thought it necessary to keep the Regulations in force until the stoppage was over. Opposition speakers, supported by at least one Conservative, pointed out that the Home Secretary had made out an excellent case for dropping the Regulations, and expressed their misgivings at allowing a gentleman of his known characteristics to wield such wide judicial powers as the Regulations conferred. Mr. MacDonald uttered a note of warning on the danger of establishing a "police state" instead of relying on the ordinary law, but the mass of the Conservative Party paid no heed, and gave the Home Secretary's proposal a large majority.

On August 4 Parliament adjourned for three months, with liability to be summoned in three weeks, should the coal stoppage

continue so long. In the final debate, Mr. MacDonald asked whether the Government would take any fresh action if, as seemed not improbable, the miners' ballot should go in favour of accepting the Churches' memorandum. The reply was made, not by the Premier, but by the Minister of Mines, and held out little hope that the Government would, in any circumstances, depart from its policy of non-intervention. The objections to the memorandum, said the Minister, had not been varied by anything which had happened since it was first laid before the Prime Minister, and its proposals must still be pronounced wholly unsatisfactory. Not content with thus discounting in advance the result of the ballot, the Minister went on to insinuate that the miners were really being asked to vote on proposals other than those of the memorandum, quoting passages from speeches of Mr. Cook in support of his contention. For this he was severely taken to task by Mr. Lloyd George, who pointed out that the question submitted for the ballot was perfectly precise, that the miners were quite capable of understanding it, and that they were a body of men who, as experience showed, could be trusted to keep their word once given. Mr. George asked again whether the Government intended to go through August without trying to do anything to bring the dispute to an end, and was, in reply, told by the Minister of Labour that the Government would try to bring the parties together when there was any real chance that such an attempt would lead to any useful result.

Mr. Baldwin, at this point, took a step which, though of no great consequence in itself, outraged the miners' feelings more deeply than anything which he had previously done. On August 6, in response to a cabled inquiry from some unspecified source, he sent to the United States a statement of the sums which were being spent in England on the relief of the miners and their dependents, remarking that as a result of these activities there was little or no indication of the presence of severe distress among them, and maintaining further on the authority of the inspectors of the Ministry of Health that there was nowhere malnutrition among the children, much less starvation. He added a brief defence of the Government's conduct throughout the stoppage with a view to showing that there was no justification for renewing the subsidy to the coal industry. This message was published in the American Press just before a Labour delegation sent to raise funds in America was due to arrive, and the miners, not unnaturally, saw in this fact proof of a deliberate attempt on Mr. Baldwin's part to "queer the pitch" for the delegation and dissuade the American public from responding to its appeal. Mr. MacDonald, a few days later, severely rebuked the Premier for dealing this underhand blow at the miners, but thought it beneath his dignity to send a reply to his statements to the American Press. This office, was, however, performed with no



lack of vigour soon afterwards by Mr. Lloyd George in one of his regular contributions to American journals.

The result of the district voting on the memorandum was announced on August 11. The miners proved to be adverse to acceptance by a small majority. Of the large mining districts, the Midland coal-fields were somewhat strongly in favour, the South Wales and Lancashire somewhat heavily against, while Yorkshire also, to the general surprise, voted for rejection, in spite of the appeal of Mr. Smith.

The miners' leaders refused to take their rebuff as final, and immediately summoned a Delegate Conference to consider the question anew. Mr. Cook, during the ensuing week-end, addressed meetings in South Wales at which he boldly joined issue with the local leaders for holding out against any compromise, and brought about a certain revulsion of feeling among the men in favour of the memorandum.

The Delegate Conference met on August 16 and 17. The proceedings were animated, and the opponents of compromise were not sparing in their attacks on Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook. The policy of the leaders was eventually endorsed, but only by a narrow majority, the figures on a card vote being 428,000 for acceptance of the memorandum and 360,000 against. South Wales, Lancashire, and Yorkshire persisted in their opposition, but the scale was turned by the Scottish delegates voting in favour. The vote was strictly for the memorandum, and proposals for increased hours or for district settlements were expressly declared to be out of court in any negotiations that might be opened.

The first use which the Miners' Executive made of their newly granted freedom was to approach the Mining Association with a request for a new Conference.

Their recent experience made them think that it was futile to approach the Government in the first instance; and any doubts they may have had on this point were fully set at rest by a speech made by Mr. Churchill on the next day (August 18) at Swansea, in which he pictured the miners' leaders as unreasonable men who wanted the Government to go on subsidising the coal industry indefinitely. This position, said the Chancellor, was one which the Government could not, and would not, accept, and therefore they said to the coal industry: "You must settle it among yourselves." He welcomed the news that the Miners' Executive had at least been authorised to open negotiations with the employers, though he was not yet certain whether they were ready to face the real facts of the industry, and give up their impossible slogan.

The fact that Mr. Churchill directed the whole of his rebuke against the miners' leaders and had not a word of blame for the owners encouraged the latter to adopt an unbending attitude. They consented, it is true, to meet the Miners' Executive on

August 19, but only for the purpose of telling them with an almost brutal frankness that they intended to concede nothing. They paid no heed to the miners' offer to consider reductions of wages if accompanied by reorganisation of the industry, and insisted on their accepting district settlements and a longer working day. Mr. Williams, the president of the Mining Association, made it clear that the coal-owners considered these two points absolutely essential, and since the miners' representatives were precluded by their instructions from entertaining such proposals, the Conference soon came to an end without result, the owners declaring that no purpose could be served by carrying on the appearance of negotiations which had no real basis.

The speech of Mr. Williams at the Conference left the miners' leaders under no illusion as to the attitude of the owners; as they said in their report of the Conference, he had made it clear that the owners considered themselves victors in the struggle, that they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and that the only way, in their opinion, in which the country in future could be supplied with coal was by the direct surrender by the men on the original terms laid down by the owners. From this version of the owners' intentions, which was not called by them into question, the Federation drew the conclusion that they had no alternative except to urge upon all their members the necessity for stiffening their resistance to terms which, if accepted, would mean abject poverty for their people and a scandalous lowering of their standard of living for at least a generation.

The owners at this time had two grounds of confidence. One was that they had the cordial support of the Government; this could have been guessed from the tone of Mr. Churchill's speech, and was publicly stated by Mr. Williams a few weeks later. The other ground was that in the important area of Nottinghamshire a large number of men had just signed on to return to work on a seven and a half hour basis, and this was regarded by the owners as the first step in a general breakaway from the Miners' Federation. They proved, however, to have somewhat overrated the significance of these factors. They overlooked the fact that their demand for district settlements was one which the Government had not endorsed, and, as it turned out, did not at this time mean to endorse. And in anticipating a breakaway in the Midlands they had reckoned without Mr. Cook. At the critical moment, on August 21 and 22, the miners' Secretary made a tour of the Nottinghamshire coal-field, and by his impassioned appeals dissuaded numbers of men from resuming work, so that the response to the owners' offer was much more meagre than they had anticipated, and did not immediately constitute a menace to the Federation.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE RETURN TO WORK.

ON August 19 the Prime Minister, acting on medical advice, left London for his usual summer holiday at Aix-les-Bains, leaving the Chancellor of the Exchequer, along with the Minister of Labour and the Secretary for Mines, in charge of the coal situation. No sooner had he departed than a certain change of heart seemed to come over the Executive of the Miners' Federation, and on August 25 Mr. Cook, on their behalf, turned to the Government with a request for a new interview. The request was readily granted, and on the next day Mr. Herbert Smith, accompanied by Mr. Cook and Mr. Richards, met Mr. Churchill, who again took on himself the rôle of Government spokesman, and Sir A. Steel-Maitland at 10 Downing Street. Mr. Smith stated that their object in approaching the Government was to see what help it could give, not only in negotiations, but also financially. Mr. Churchill at once declared emphatically that the question of giving financial help to the industry had long passed out of the sphere of practical politics. Even of the three millions which had been earmarked in the Budget for tiding the industry over the period of reorganisation not much was available owing to the expenses to which the Government had been put, and what little was left would be used to assist in removing miners from pits no longer working. Mr. Cook thereupon asked whether, even at that stage, there was not some hope that the Government could get the two sides together and negotiate a settlement. Mr. Churchill made a defiant answer, saying that the country, after an experience of sixteen weeks, was not so frightened of the stoppage as it had been at first, having shown an extraordinary capacity of maintaining its activities except in the great basic trades. From this point the Conference went over the old ground. Mr. Smith repeated his willingness to consider reductions in wages providing that reorganisation was tried first, as laid down in the Report. The Ministers refused to see in this offer the new proposal for which they were waiting, nor would they suggest any solution themselves, as if they did, they had not the power of enforcing it.

Mr. Churchill, apart from the matter of the subsidy, adopted a conciliatory tone, and threw out various feelers, declaring that the Government would rather have a settlement by agreement than by the struggle being fought out to the bitter end, but Mr. Smith ignored his approaches, and closed the Conference with a statement that the men would fight on.

More adroit than his chief, Mr. Cook had noticed the change of tone in Mr. Churchill's later remarks, and had tried to meet him in the same spirit. In order that the approaches thus made might not be wasted, he gave an interview to the Press on August 27

in which he expressed the conviction that there were Ministers, including Mr. Churchill, who desired the conflict to be ended in an honourable way, and he urged the Miners' Committee at their meeting which was to take place in a day or two to put forward such proposals as would enable the Government to bring the two sides together.

Parliament meanwhile was convened on August 30 for the purpose of renewing the Emergency Regulations for yet another month. The Home Secretary informed the House that on the whole the mining districts had remained quiet and orderly, and there had only been sixty-four prosecutions in the preceding month under the Regulations, mostly of irresponsible young men. In his opinion this fact showed the good preventive effect exercised by the Regulations, and was an argument for continuing them, especially in view of the provocative speeches made by miners' leaders, including certain members of Parliament. Mr. MacDonald drew the opposite conclusion, that the ordinary law of the land was sufficient for dealing with the situation, and that the Regulations were unnecessary; but the great majority of the House sided with the Home Secretary, and once more the Conservatives gave him the powers he requested.

The general debate on the coal situation was deferred to the next day (August 31) for the express purpose of giving the Labour Party leaders in the House of Commons an opportunity of conferring with the Miners' Executive and obtaining from that body, if possible, some definite new suggestions to lay before the House. This hope was not realised. The Miners' Executive, after discussing the matter among themselves for two and a half hours, in the end, in spite of Mr. Cook's appeals, shirked the responsibility of formulating new proposals, and left the task to a National Delegate Conference which they decided to call on September 2. When they met the Parliamentary Labour leaders later in the day, they would not budge from this position, and the latter were left to enter the debate without any definite lead from the side of the miners.

Mr. MacDonald accordingly, in opening the debate on the next day (August 31), was more academic than practical. After describing the Government as a very efficient, faithful, and loyal sub-committee of the mine-owners, he laid down certain propositions which might possibly serve as a guide to future action—that any agreement between the miners and owners must be national, that, in spite of the demands made on both sides, negotiations should be opened up, by the Government if necessary, that a settlement must contain ingredients acceptable to both sides, and that it must not be a patched-up peace, but one which would give promise of reasonable duration. The House, he asserted, could not be satisfied to disperse leaving the situation as it was, waiting merely on events and the force of economic pressure;

the Government should endeavour to bring the two sides together again. Mr. Lloyd George, who spoke later in the debate, put the appeal more forcibly, bringing all his powers of persuasion to bear on Mr. Churchill personally. He was sorry, he said, for the circumstances which made it impossible for the Prime Minister to be present, but his absence was so far an advantage that it allowed them to deal directly with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he suspected, (as did most people), had been pulling the strings the whole of the time. Looking at all the conditions and reading between the lines of the speeches delivered at the recent Conference, he honestly thought, in the light of his own past experience, that the Chancellor now had the opportunity in his hand of achieving peace. But if he was to be a successful negotiator, he must divest himself of two obsessions which, judging by his recent speeches, he seemed to be cherishing. One was that there was going to be an immediate collapse on the part of the miners. The other was that the injury to British trade caused by the stoppage was, after all, not so serious. He was afraid the Chancellor was judging by London, which was not a good index ; if he went to the North, he would find a very different temper. The Government, he thought, was under-estimating the importance attached by the men to reconstruction. He was certain it was in the minds of the men that the Government had not tackled this problem, and that the whole loss in the industry was going to be taken out of their earnings. He therefore suggested that the Government should give a solemn undertaking to see that the Reconstruction Act would be made effective, and that, if necessary, it should be strengthened by the requisite amendments. He also asked them to make clear exactly where they stood on the hours question, and not to assent to the proposition of the owners that the settlement must be a sectional one. He urged the Chancellor to take his courage in both hands, and make new proposals on the basis he had indicated.

Mr. George's appeal was not made in vain ; Mr. Churchill immediately described his speech as " not unhelpful," and as one with which the House could find itself in general agreement. In conformity with the attitude which he had taken up in the latter part of the Conference with the miners' representatives in the previous week, he proceeded to show himself most anxious to conciliate the miners and to co-operate with them if they would give him an opportunity. He gave Mr. George the assurance he desired about reconstruction, and said that as regards hours and wages their view was that these should be so far interchangeable as to allow the mining population to decide in which form their economic necessities should be met. If hours and wages were no longer an insuperable obstacle, he was certain that questions of form as between national and district agreements would not long stand in the way of a settlement. The idea of a subsidy, he

thought, had been definitely dropped out of the discussion. But short of that he was only waiting for suggestions from the miners. Unfortunately, though he saw in them a greater disposition to face facts, he had heard from them nothing which he could construe into a tangible offer. The Government might make independent proposals, but there was little chance of their being accepted so long as all the miners could say was "Give us a subsidy," and all the owners could say was "Let us alone." The atmosphere, however, might change—probably was changing—and they would be ready at any moment to deal with any new phase of the situation which might present itself. Mr. Churchill went on to make a strong appeal to the miners to adopt a more reasonable attitude. Surely, he said, it was in the interest of the miners to put themselves in the best position before Parliament in the closing days of the struggle. If the Government had, throughout the struggle, on the whole had the support of public opinion, it was because the public view had been concentrated on what had been seen to be an unreasonable attitude on the part of the miners' leaders. From the moment the miners' leaders made a sincere and real contribution to a settlement themselves, the whole temper of public opinion would be capable of very swift change, and employers in other industries, who had hitherto been content to suffer with and support the coal-owners because they considered the men's demands unreasonable, might swing round to the side of a settlement.

Mr. Churchill's speech left no doubt in the mind of the public that he had made a complete and dramatic change of front, and his critics among the miners were, for the moment, silenced. The Federation duly responded to his appeal. At the Miners' Conference which was held on September 2, Mr. Smith joined with Mr. Cook in urging the delegates to face the facts and not to try the patience of the miners too severely. The number of men returning to work in the Nottingham and Derby district was, in fact, increasing daily, and in other districts also men were chafing at their prolonged idleness. The Conference, after long deliberations, adopted a resolution empowering the Executive to submit such proposals as they deemed advisable for a settlement, the one limitation on their freedom being that the agreement sought should be national. The voting was 557,000 to 225,000. Lancashire and Yorkshire were still against compromise, but South Wales now changed sides.

Mr. Cook lost no time in addressing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer a letter on behalf of the Executive Committee and the Special Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation, asking him to convene and attend a meeting of the Mining Association and the Federation, and stating that they were prepared to enter into negotiations for a new national agreement with a view to reduction in labour costs (a significant phrase now used for the

first time) to meet the immediate necessities of the industry. The Government considered the miners' offer a sufficient basis for negotiations—as Mr. Churchill put it, they had “armed him with the weapons of economic truth”—and accordingly asked the Mining Association to send delegates to the suggested Conference. The reply of the Association was faithful to the principle laid down by Mr. Williams in his speech to the miners a fortnight previously. The Mining Association, it said, had no authority to enter into any discussions or negotiations on behalf of the district associations of owners on questions of the terms of employment of workmen, and therefore was unable to participate in the proposed Conference.

Mr. Churchill had pledged himself too deeply to the miners to accept this refusal as final, and he accordingly asked Mr. Williams and a number of his colleagues to meet him at 10 Downing Street on September 5 to discuss the matter with him. At this interview he used all his powers of argument to overcome the antipathy of the owners to a National Conference. He quoted to Mr. Williams a number of statements which that gentleman had made in the course of the negotiations in March, April, and May, to the effect that the Mining Association, much as it disliked a national agreement, would be willing to frame one for the sake of bringing peace to the industry, and he asked what had led them now to change their mind. Their doing so, he said, put the Government in a very awkward position, and he appealed to the Mining Association, on that ground if on no other, to go back to the attitude it had adopted before the stoppage, at the same time hinting not obscurely that if they would not do so willingly, the Government would find means of bringing pressure to bear on them.

Mr. Williams refused to be either persuaded or browbeaten. He pointed out that the Mining Association, which was founded in 1854, was never meant to interfere in the relations between the individual collieries and the men they employed, and according to its constitution had no authority to deal with the wages question affecting any district except at the request of that district. It was true that during the war and the post-war period, owing to the exceptional conditions which prevailed, this rule had often been broken; but the owners had never made any secret of their conviction that wages questions were essentially a matter to be dealt with by the districts individually. For the sake of peace they had stated before the stoppage that for an eight-hours day they would be prepared to make an agreement embodying a national minimum wage, and the Prime Minister, on April 30, had acknowledged the magnitude of the concession which this involved on their part. When, on May 21, the Premier, after his offer of May 14 had been rejected by both sides, stated that the Government's hands were thenceforth free, the Mining

Association considered that this applied to them also. At this point Mr. Churchill interposed a remark that when the Government proposed to introduce the Eight-Hours Bill, the owners should have told them that the door was closed on national negotiations. This led to a "breeze" between him and Mr. Williams, who stoutly maintained that the attitude of the owners was perfectly clear throughout, and that, in fact, the principle of district negotiations and agreements was implied in the Eight-Hours Bill itself. Mr. Churchill thereupon ruefully remarked that if the Government had known what was in the owners' minds, it would not have passed the Act. Mr. Williams, however, was not to be moved from his position; he repeated "definitely and emphatically" that the Mining Association would not enter into negotiations with the Miners' Federation on the question of wages, and the only concession he would make, after hearing some more threatening language from Mr. Churchill, was to promise to refer the question to his Central Committee.

This body, as was anticipated, fully endorsed the statement of Mr. Williams, but, to satisfy Mr. Churchill, undertook to consult its constituent districts as to their views on the matter. While awaiting their reply, Mr. Churchill, on September 8, addressed a letter to Mr. Williams explaining in more precise terms than he had hitherto used the kind of three-party Conference that the Government had in view and the scope of its work. It was, he said, to be a National Conference, laying down certain broad principles, in accordance with which agreements on wages, hours, and other conditions could be negotiated separately in each district. This letter evoked a gentle reminder from Mr. Cook that the miners, while fully prepared to enter a three-party Conference to consider "a reduction in labour costs," still claimed the right to negotiate on these questions without being tied down in advance to any proposals.

While matters were in this position, the Fifty-eighth Annual Congress of the Trade Unions was opened at Bournemouth on September 5, in an atmosphere very different from that of the previous year's Congress. The mood in which the delegates assembled was now as depressed as it was then militant. The chairman, Mr. A. Pugh, in his presidential address, made a brave effort to fortify the morale of the trade unions against the shattering effects of their defeat in the general strike, which were now beginning to be fully felt. The strike itself, he maintained, was inevitable in the circumstances that existed on May 1; it reflected the growing discontent of the workers with the whole structure and policy of the industrial system, and their determination to resist the traditional idea that bad trade could be made good and industry restored by the mere expedient of degrading the standard of life of the working people. He repudiated the charge brought by the Government and a large section of the Press that the



trade unions were abusing the powers conferred upon them by law, and pursuing a policy opposed to the interests of the community as a whole. The foundations of society, he maintained, were not threatened when the organised workers banded themselves together to offer united resistance to the policy of attacking their standard of life as a too ready alternative to the more enlightened policy of reducing costs by the economic use of national resources, by the application of science and invention, and by the elimination of waste. When the unions combined their forces in May, they were not invoking any new principle of industrial action, but were simply acting on the basic trade union maxim that "an injury to one is the concern of all" where it was a matter of trying to improve unjust conditions of any section or part of the movement; and as a means of resisting such pressure the weapon used in May would not be left unused if all other methods failed.

On the tactics of the general strike, Mr. Pugh was discreetly silent, this being a sore point with the Miners' Federation, representatives of which were present. He sought, however, to heal the breach between the Congress and the Federation by strongly attacking the Government for its callous indifference to the claims of the miners, and by committing the Congress once more to support of the scheme put forward by the mine-workers for bringing the mining industry under public ownership and control, on the principle of "the mines for the nation." He warned his hearers, however, that mere change of ownership would not solve the problem unless it were accompanied by a new spirit of co-operation between the workers of hand and brain.

At the request of the Miners' Federation, the Congress excluded from its agenda any consideration of the general strike of May and its lessons, the subject being left for discussion by the executives of the unions when the coal stoppage should be over. The policy of a general strike was, however, discussed on September 8 on a resolution recommending an extension of the powers of the General Council for the purpose of assisting any union or unions in a struggle for defending or improving their standard of living by taking over the direction of the struggle and calling on other unions to participate. The resolution was supported by some of the smaller unions and the Miners' Federation, but was strongly opposed by Mr. Bevin, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Cramp, on behalf of those unions which had borne the actual brunt of the general strike in May. These speakers recommended that the unions should wait till the General Council should have issued its report on the last strike, and then consider the matter calmly and deliberately. Mr. Cramp told the Congress that they had had no cause to complain of the loyalty of the railwaymen and the transport workers, but he warned them against straining that loyalty too far, and the motion was eventually lost by a large majority.

At its second day's sittings the Congress discussed, among other things, an offer of Lady Warwick to place one of her mansions, Easton Lodge, at the disposal of the trade union movement for use as a workers' college which might ultimately become the nucleus of a Labour University. The Council of the trade unions was in favour of accepting the offer, and recommended that the affiliated unions should submit to a compulsory levy of a penny per member per year for three years in order to raise the sum required for altering and equipping the building for its new purpose. The recommendation was opposed by Mr. Herbert Smith and other speakers on the ground that the unions which they represented could not, in their present financial condition, undertake any new burdens. Another ground of objection which influenced a considerable section of the gathering, and which was expressed with great frankness by Mr. Jack Jones, was the idea that a university college of the type of Ruskin College at Oxford was not calculated to turn out the kind of men which Labour required for its leaders. Although a number of speakers emphasised the need of higher education for Labour leaders, the motion was ultimately referred back by a substantial majority. On the same day the Congress accepted a motion urging the General Council to promote "industrial" unionism, *i.e.*, the merging into one body of the separate unions within any single industry, and also a motion deprecating the affiliation of trades councils to the "minority movement."

The arrangements for the Congress had, as in the previous two or three years, included an address from Mr. Tomskey, as representing the Russian trade unions. In consenting to hear Mr. Tomskey, the Trade Union Council showed a spirit of Christian forgiveness, as after the collapse of the general strike he had been unsparing in his denunciation of the English trade union leaders for their conduct of the affair. His tirades, in fact, had led to a definite estrangement between the Russian and British trade unions, which delegate meetings held in the course of the summer at Paris and Berlin had vainly tried to heal. Nevertheless the Council, perhaps in order to effect a reconciliation, perhaps to please the miners, for whom Mr. Tomskey had nothing but praise, had again invited him to address the Congress, and he had again consented. But the arrangement was rudely shattered by the Home Secretary, who peremptorily refused Mr. Tomskey permission to land in England—a step against which the Congress recorded its indignant protest.

Though thus debarred from attending the Congress personally, Mr. Tomskey was determined not to let it forgo the privilege of receiving his address, the gist of which he accordingly transmitted from Holland in a long cable of over a thousand words. The character of the message was such as to remove from the breast of the Congress any resentment it might have felt at the action of

the Home Secretary in prohibiting Mr. Tomsky from landing. Under the guise of conveying to the British trade unions the fraternal greetings of the Russian unions, he indulged in a violent attack on the British trade union leaders and the Conservative Government, at the same time dictating to the Congress the policy it should adopt towards the miners in their industrial struggle. The General Council, on September 9, circulated this cable among the delegates, at the same time issuing a protest against Mr. Tomsky's flouting of the ordinary courtesies expected of fraternal delegates invited to the Congress and his unwarranted interference in British trade union affairs. It refused to reply to his "ill-instructed and presumptuous" criticism, and asked the Congress to support it in this attitude. On September 10 a resolution endorsing the General Council's action in the matter was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the effect of Tomsky's cable on the temper of the Congress was shown by the fact that on the same day it not only accepted a resolution urging continued efforts to achieve a united Trade Union International, but also rejected, by a two to one majority, an addendum demanding an unconditional meeting between the Red and the Amsterdam Internationals.

On the fourth day of the Congress, the decision of the Council that there should be no report presented on the general strike of May was heatedly called into question by a number of delegates. Mr. Cook warmly appealed to the Congress to uphold the decision on the ground that an inquiry into the conduct of the strike at the present juncture might endanger the position of the men who were still out. He was all in favour of a full and frank inquiry, but only when the miners were back at work. A vote was taken amid some excitement, and resulted in a four to one majority in support of the Council.

That the Congress did well to defer to the wishes of the miners' leaders in this matter was shown by an incident which happened on the same day. An emergency resolution was moved by Mr. Smillie expressing appreciation of the financial help already given to the miners and asking that the support should be continued and increased. With great want of tact the Council had selected as the seconder of the motion Mr. Bromley, of the Engine Drivers' Union, who had made himself highly obnoxious to the miners by his outspoken criticism of their policy in his article in the *Locomotive Journal*. The miners' delegates regarded this choice as a deliberate insult to their Federation, and had warned the Council before the debate that there would be trouble if Mr. Bromley rose to second the motion. The Council, however, would not alter its arrangements, and duly put up Mr. Bromley to second the motion. The miners' delegates were as good as their word, and created so much disturbance that the meeting had to be suspended for an hour. Having thus vented their indignation, however, they

became calm again, and when the meeting was resumed allowed Mr. Bromley to make his speech without interruption.

Meanwhile the district associations of coal-owners had given their answer to Mr. Williams's inquiry. The majority, as was expected, refused emphatically to have anything to do with a national conference, and only one, that of Warwickshire, expressed approval of the plan, and that not because they thought a national settlement preferable, but purely in the interests of peace. On September 13 Mr. Williams wrote to Mr. Churchill that the districts had "clearly and emphatically declined to give the Mining Association power or authority to enter into agreements on their behalf in regard to terms of employment of the workmen." He therefore thought that the meeting proposed by Mr. Churchill could serve no useful purpose; there was no person who would be entitled to speak on behalf of the coal-owners, and a meeting held under such conditions would expose the parties to the charge of insincerity.

To this cavalier defiance of his threats Mr. Churchill made no answer. Put to the test, he failed to prove himself the "strong man" which some of the miners' leaders, letting their judgment wait upon their wishes, had already acclaimed him to be. While he could speak with authority on behalf of the Coal Committee, he was unable to carry with him the Cabinet as a whole; and this body resolved to take no further step until the Premier, who was just completing his holiday abroad, should have rejoined it.

Mr. Baldwin duly returned to London on the night of September 15, and immediately set himself to find a way out of the impasse to which the Government had been brought. On the next day he held a meeting of the Cabinet to discuss the coal situation, and on the day after spent several hours, in company with his colleagues, in interviews with the representatives, first of the Mining Association, and then of the Miners' Federation. The effect of these deliberations was to make him capitulate once more almost unreservedly to the owners. At the end of his last interview with them on September 17, he handed Mr. Cook a letter which contained the Government's latest plan for settling the dispute. The idea of a national conference was given up as "it was not within the power of the Government to bring about such a conference." In compensation, the Mining Association had declared that the coal-owners in all districts were willing, in framing district agreements, to observe the main principles that a national agreement would be designed to secure; and in order to keep them to their word, the Government was prepared, provided the miners would first start work again on provisional district settlements, to set up by Act of Parliament a National Appeal Tribunal which would have power to determine what wage should be given in any district where hours had been

lengthened, though it could not alter the length of working day which had been decided on by that district.

Although the suffering in the mining districts was by this time acute, and numbers of men were returning to work every day, the Miners' Executive were not yet prepared to accept a plan which meant the sacrifice of every point for which they had been struggling for nearly five months. They had, however, so far been chastened by experience that they did not reject the new plan bluntly, as they had done with previous offers of the Government, but set forth their case in a reasoned statement which showed the hand of a skilled draftsman. On September 21 they addressed a letter to the Prime Minister pointing out that the new policy of the Government was utterly at variance with the plan laid down by Mr. Churchill on September 8, and also with the express declaration of the Coal Commission in its Report, that the principle of national negotiations and agreements was essential. The inconsistency of the Government carried its condemnation on its face; and if the stoppage was prolonged by the attempts to force the mine-workers back into district agreements, the responsibility would rest upon the Government and the mine-owners. The Federation, however, in spite of what had passed, adhered to its statement of September 3, that it was prepared to enter into negotiations for a new national agreement with a view to a reduction in labour costs; but it refused absolutely to give up the principle of national agreements, because experience had shown that without these the standards of the more efficient and prosperous areas would, as the Commission pointed out, be exposed to undermining by the weaker areas.

At the same time the Miners' Executive, after long deliberations, and conferences with the Coal Committee, laid before the Government a new offer which marked a substantial advance on their previous standpoint. They proposed a general return to work on the conditions prevailing previous to the 1924 agreement, which meant in effect a 10 per cent. reduction on a seven-hours day, and the setting up of a tribunal by the Government to apply to the industry the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Mr. Baldwin stated subsequently that if this offer had been made at the beginning of the stoppage, the Government would have closed with it; but it now came too late. After giving the offer careful consideration, the Government replied on September 24 that the new proposals did not in its opinion afford the means of reaching an early or lasting settlement of the dispute, and that it was not prepared to go beyond the Prime Minister's proposals of September 17, of which the Federation could still avail itself by ordering district negotiations to be set on foot.

The Federation was still in a fighting mood, and ignored the hint given by the Premier. The Executive had shown its temper a few days earlier by expelling from its midst Mr. Thomas Spencer,

M.P., the chief representative of the Notts coal-field, who almost from the beginning of the stoppage had counselled acceptance of the Government's offers. Mr. Spencer retained the confidence of the majority of the miners in his own district, and along with Mr. Hodges continued to criticise severely the leadership of Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook, but he did not succeed in any way in weakening their influence with the great body of the mine-workers.

At the beginning of September, Sir A. Chamberlain attended the meeting of the League of Nations at which Germany and Poland were given seats on the Council, and assisted M. Briand to overcome the opposition to the election of Poland. While at Geneva he came into rather sharp conflict with the President of the Mandates Commission, some of whose questions on the working of mandates he resented as showing an inquisitorial spirit, and unduly interfering with the liberty of the mandatory Power.

While on the Continent, Sir A. Chamberlain took the opportunity to discuss affairs with his colleagues at the Italian and French Foreign Offices. He saw Signor Mussolini on board a yacht outside Genoa on September 30, and M. Briand in Paris on his way back to London a couple of days later. On his return to London, he informed representatives of the Press that his meeting with Signor Mussolini had been a meeting in the first place of friends and in the second place of Foreign Ministers. He had, he said, discussed with him the particular issues at question between Great Britain and Italy, as well as the larger issues of European politics, on which they had found without surprise, but with great satisfaction, a community of views to exist between them. To M. Briand he had given an account of all that he thought might interest him in his interview with Signor Mussolini, while M. Briand on his side had given him an account of what passed between him and Herr Stresemann at Thoiry. He thought that such meetings between Foreign Ministers served the cause of peace, and should be welcome to the countries which they represented.

For the second time during the summer vacation, Parliament met specially on September 27 to renew the Emergency Regulations. The Opposition naturally took the opportunity to raise the question of the latest proceedings of the Government in connexion with the coal stoppage. Mr. Baldwin devoted most of his statement to a résumé of the whole of the negotiations of the Government with the mine-owners and miners since the beginning of the conflict, with a view to showing that neither side would listen to reason and that the Government could do little more than let them fight the matter out themselves. He called the mine-owners "discourteous and stupid" for refusing to accept the Government's invitation to a conference, but confessed his inability to make them do so. He admitted that the latest offer of the miners marked a definite advance, but nevertheless he

was not hopeful that much could be made of it, and ruefully concluded that the Government had got pretty nearly to the end of its powers of mediation.

Mr. MacDonald refused to accept the Premier's idea that the Government could do nothing more to end the dispute. He recalled the definite pledge given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take some decisive step if the miners would "arm him with the weapons of economic truth," and said that the miners would never have written the letter which satisfied Mr. Churchill on this point if they had not believed that the Government would support a national settlement. He upbraided Mr. Baldwin with being willing to bring in legislation to coerce the men, but not to coerce the owners. He did not, however, propose any practical step more drastic than that the Government should add a clause to the Eight-Hours Act stipulating that the Act should not come into operation until the Government was satisfied that the owners had carried out the conditions which, according to Mr. Churchill, it had in mind when introducing the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, criticised the Government even more severely than the Labour leader for its vagaries and inconsistencies, and advocated as a more effective method of bringing the owners to heel—if they should reject reasonable terms—that the Government should itself take the necessary steps to open the pits and see that they were worked on fair and honourable terms.

Mr. Churchill in his reply ignored the suggestions of the Opposition leaders. He identified himself with the latest offer of the Premier, and refused to see in it any inconsistency with his own proposals of a few days earlier. He urged the miners to accept it while it was still open, adding the unexpected gloss that the proposed arbitration tribunal would have power to revise hours as well as wages. Mr. Hartshorn, who followed him, urged the Government to accept the latest offer of the miners as a basis of negotiation, and the next day, when the subject was again taken up on the motion for the adjournment, tried to show by figures that it would not involve the mines in loss. Mr. Baldwin would not accept his figures, and refused to be moved from the position he had adopted. Mr. Lloyd George asked the Government whether hours would really be subject to revision by the arbitration tribunal, as Mr. Churchill had stated the day before. Mr. Churchill refused to answer any questions about the Government offer, alleging that the Labour Party were only trying to make parliamentary capital out of the debate, so that he would sooner deal with the miners' leaders direct. He once more stated emphatically that the Government would not legislate except in conjunction with an immediate termination of the dispute and the conclusion of district settlements; and on this note the discussion ended.

In the intervals between discussing the coal situation, the

House found time, on the second day of its short session, to perform the business for which it had been called together—the renewing of the Emergency Regulations for the sixth time. The Home Secretary defended the renewal on the ground that during the previous month cases had been much more frequent than in any other month except that in which the great strike took place, the cases between August 22 and September 22 having numbered 309, of which 212 were for sedition; there had, however, been no arrests without warrant. Sir H. Slessor and other speakers again tried to show that the ordinary law was sufficient to deal with the situation, but all motions to omit one or other of the regulations were defeated by the usual large majorities.

In the course of this brief session Mr. MacDonald took occasion to ask the Prime Minister whether the action of the British naval authorities in China in bombarding the town of Wahnsien on the Yangtze early in September arose out of instructions given by the Government. Mr. Baldwin stated in reply that British gunboats had sailed up the Yangtze on instructions from the Government to demand the return of two steamers belonging to a British company which had been seized by the Governor of Szechuan, and that they had been fired on from the shore and had thereupon bombarded the town. In answer to further inquiries he stated that a battleship and a leader and eight destroyers were being sent out to China as reinforcements, but that no steps were being taken to confer with other Powers interested with a view to joint action for protecting the foreign communities.

The Government soon after designated Mr. Miles Lampson as British Minister to China, and that gentleman, before leaving England, on October 14, made an official statement with regard to British policy in the country. Britain, he said, had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of China, and was strictly neutral in regard to the contending factors there. But since British lives and property were endangered by the prevailing lawlessness, the British Government was bound, where no Chinese authority was in existence, to accord to its nationals the fullest protection and support, and to exact reparation for the wrong done, all the more so in view of the wonderful patience which the British communities in China had displayed; and they were confident that their attitude would not be misinterpreted by the Chinese people as implying any unfriendly feeling towards them.

The speeches of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Churchill in the debate on the coal situation put an end to any hopes that might have been entertained in any quarter that the standard of living of the miners could be improved or even maintained at its previous level so long as the existing Conservative Government was in power. The idea that the owners' terms would have sooner or later to be accepted began to gain ground rapidly among the mining population. The drift back to work in the Midland districts suddenly



became accelerated four or five fold, and even in such centres of resistance as Lancashire and South Wales cases of breakaway occurred. Mr. Cook began to talk of an "ordered retreat," and with his colleagues considered anxiously whether something could not after all be made of the Government's offer. They could not bring themselves to close with it on their own authority, and accordingly referred the matter to a Delegate Conference. This body, which met on September 29, also shirked the responsibility, and threw the onus of a decision on the individual districts, to which the question was duly submitted.

The Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation again met on October 7 to receive the result of the district voting on the Government's offer. On the method of voting adopted, which excluded the men already at work—numbering now perhaps 150,000 or more—a very large majority (737,000 to 42,000) was recorded for rejection. The delegates were in an aggressive mood, and their tempers had been further ruffled by a letter which had been received on the previous day from the Prime Minister, calling on the Federation rather sharply to make up its mind, as the Government offer could not remain open much longer. Before separating they adopted by a large majority a resolution which had been sent up from South Wales, calling among other things for the withdrawal of the safety men and the placing of an embargo on all foreign produced coal. Realising, however, the far-reaching character of this resolution, the Conference on the next day refrained from making it operative until it should have been referred to the districts for confirmation.

On the same day that the Premier's last offer to the miners was rejected (October 7), the annual Conference of the Conservative and Unionist National Association opened at Scarborough. The principal resolution before the Conference was one declaring that the existing state of the law relating to trade unions constituted a menace to national security, and urging the Government to amend it in various ways, chiefly by insisting on a secret ballot before any strike was declared by a trade union. After some discussion, in the course of which the difficulties of conducting a secret ballot for such a purpose were pointed out, the motion was carried unanimously. Subsequently a motion was brought forward regretting "the apparent inability of the Government to appreciate the necessity of amending the laws governing trade unions," but on an appeal from Colonel Jackson, the chairman of the party organisation, who deprecated their showing any want of confidence in the Government, it was withdrawn.

In connexion with the Conference, the Prime Minister on the same evening (October 7) delivered at Scarborough an address in which he dealt with great complacency on the Government's record during the previous twelve months, and treated the coal stoppage with a philosophical detachment. In the field of foreign

affairs, he said, the Locarno policy had been triumphantly crowned by the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, while the critics had been confounded by the assent of Turkey to the Mosul arrangement. Satisfactory arrangements had been made with France and Italy respecting their debts, and the first payments had been received. Only in China was there at the moment some cause for anxiety, but there also he trusted that owing to the firm attitude of the Government their difficulties were in a fair way of solution. In regard to agriculture, he maintained that the Government's achievements were solid, if not spectacular, and mentioned, as instances of its solicitude for this industry, the Rating and Valuation Act which had been passed at the close of the previous year, and the Small Holdings and Merchandise Marks Bills which were awaiting their third reading, besides two or three minor measures and various grants. On the Government's record in housing he spoke with particular gratification, pointing out that, under the able administration of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, not only were sufficient houses being built to meet the normal growth of the population, but they were commencing to overtake arrears, and that at a cost to the State of only 6*l.* per house for 20 years, against 9*l.* a year for 40 years under the Labour Government's scheme. The Pensions Scheme was working very smoothly, payments in respect of claims on behalf of widows and orphans already covering more than 400,000 persons, so that the calls on Poor Law relief had been reduced by more than 2,000,000*l.* a year. Finally, the Electricity Bill, which would soon become law, would, he hoped, enable current to be supplied to authorised undertakings at less than half the average present cost and at a lower price than even the best installation could then produce.

Turning to the great set-backs which social progress had received during the year from the general strike and the coal stoppage, he maintained that the former, if it had been successful, would have overridden the constituted Government of the country and brought Parliamentary institutions to an end, and he severely blamed the Parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party for having sought to weaken instead of strengthen the hands of the Government in the crisis. He would, he said, that evening draw two lessons from the strike. One was that there would have to be for some time—whatever Government was in power—a slowing down of social legislation which required money. The other was the necessity of examining the existing law relating to trade unions. The Government would give prompt and careful consideration to the resolution on the subject passed at the Conference, but he was not in a position yet to announce the details of a Bill. In conclusion he remarked that there was nothing in the outlook that day to dispirit them, though there was much to make them exercise patience. In spite of all that had passed, he would not admit that his efforts to bring about a better spirit in industry

had been wasted. There was much thinking going on in the country, among employers, trade union leaders, and working men, and he thought that when the present troubles were over a genuine effort would be made to increase production in the country and regain prosperity.

The position in the Labour world at that juncture lent some colour to the hopefulness expressed by Mr. Baldwin in his concluding remarks. Outside of the coal industry, there were evidences, genuine if slight, of a desire on the part of the working classes to improve relations with their employers. On September 18 there had been held at Cardiff the inaugural meeting of the Industrial Peace Union, a working men's organisation which had been brought into being for the purpose of establishing five years' peace in industry, and a similar conference was held at the same time in Leeds. A month previously the Textile Factory Workers' Association had seriously considered the advisability of empowering the Minister of Labour, in cases of industrial dispute, to set up an inquiry, if invited by either side, before lock-out or strike notices were served; and on September 23 the shipbuilding employees had consented to accept the report which had been presented by the Committee of Inquiry of the industry on June 30, and which had already been accepted by the owners.

In the coal industry there was as yet little sign of a change of heart, but at least the end of the stoppage seemed at this time to be in sight. From the last week in September men had been returning to the pits at the rate of over 5,000 daily—chiefly in the Notts coal-field—and the policy of the Government seemed at last to be justifying itself. The miners' calculation made in July, that if they could only prolong the stoppage till the end of September there would be such an uprising on the part of the public as would compel the Government to coerce the coal-owners, had been falsified. In face of the severe drain on its resources, the country was showing a greater resilience than could have been expected, and the business world, though restive, was still living in hopes, and refrained from embarrassing the Government.

The miners did not obtain much encouragement from the annual Conference of the Labour Party which commenced at Margate on October 11. The Chairman, Mr. R. Williams, in his opening address, asserted that the Labour Party looked forward with confidence to the General Election and deprecated any resort to a general strike or other extreme courses. He also criticised the miners for not having taken the Labour leaders into their confidence. This remark was strongly resented by a number of delegates, and Mr. Pollitt and Mr. Kirkwood attempted to raise a discussion on the subject, but were ruled out of order. Mr. Williams also stated in the course of his address that the decisions of the Liverpool Conference of the previous year regarding the

expulsion of Communists from the party had on the whole been loyally carried out, but there were a number of cases in which they had been openly flouted. In fact, some professed Communists had been elected delegates to the Conference, among them the redoubtable Mr. Pollitt, who made his usual attempt to obtain recognition for the Communists within the party. This time the attempt was defeated even more decisively than in the previous year, the figures on a card vote being 3,414,000 against 209,000.

On the next day the Conference had before it a resolution expressing sympathy with the miners and declaring that the Labour Party stood by the policy of nationalisation laid down in the evidence given by the Miners' Federation before the Coal Commission. The first part of the resolution roused the ire of Mr. Kirkwood, Mr. Pollitt and other extremists, who indignantly proclaimed that what the miners wanted from the Labour movement was not sympathy but financial help. Mr. Thomas, who obtained a hearing only with difficulty, brought them face to face with the cold facts of the situation, by pointing out that on the railways there were still 45,000 men unemployed and 200,000 working only three days a week, and that so far from being able to contribute to a levy on behalf of the miners, his Union required one for themselves. His argument was reinforced by Mr. Tillett and Mr. Bevin, who declared that a similar state of affairs prevailed among the dockers and transport workers, and also among the engineering unions represented by Messrs. Kirkwood and Pollitt. Mr. Richardson, who spoke on behalf of the miners, did not deny these facts, but still insinuated that it was the will to help which was lacking rather than the means. Mr. MacDonald threw his weight on the side of the resolution, declaring that from his knowledge the state of the trade union finances was appalling. He held out no hope to the miners of receiving assistance in their present struggle, but declared that the battle would soon be transferred to a "higher plane" by the introduction of the nationalisation issue into Parliament. A motion to refer the resolution back was defeated and the resolution itself was then carried, the miners' delegates voting in favour.

On the third day the Conference adopted the Report on Agricultural Policy which, under the title of "A Labour Policy on Agriculture," had been published early in August, and had already been endorsed by the Council of the Trade Union Congress and by the Executives of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Report advocated in substance the nationalisation of the soil with compensation for the existing owners. The adoption of the Report was recommended by various speakers less on its merits as a solution of the agricultural problem than as a means for capturing for Labour the vote of the agricultural labourer. A motion to omit the paragraphs dealing with compen-

sation was defeated by a large majority, and the nationalisation of the land was thereupon added to the nationalisation of the mines as the second main item of Labour policy.

The tactics of the Front Opposition Bench were the subject of some outspoken criticism at one of the closing debates of the Conference, when various delegates expressed impatience with the strict observance of constitutional methods and parliamentary procedure insisted upon by the leader of the Party. Mr. MacDonald in reply belittled the criticisms that had been offered as factious and as coming from only a small section; and the reception accorded to him on this occasion, as throughout the Conference, left no doubt that the bulk of the party still supported him loyally, though a not unimportant section was in open revolt against his authority.

The dissensions within the Labour Party were the signs of vitality; those of the Liberal Party exhausted the little vigour it still retained. On October 5, in accordance with the resolution taken in the previous June, a deputation from the Liberal and Radical Candidates' Association waited on Lord Oxford, who had now recovered from his illness, and placed before him the desire of the Association for "the restoration of complete unity in the party under his leadership." Lord Oxford's reply put an end once for all to such hopes. On October 14 he addressed a letter to Mr. Spender, the Chairman of the National Liberal Association, announcing his resignation of the leadership of the Liberal Party. The dissensions in the party, he said, made the strain of leading it too great for his advancing years. He again censured Mr. Lloyd George indirectly for his conduct during the general strike—which he described as "the gravest domestic event of my lifetime"—and maintained that the attitude which he himself and most of his colleagues had taken up during the emergency was the only one consistent with the true principles of Liberalism. Addressing a public meeting at Greenock the next evening, he called attention to the fact that Lord Rosebery thirty years previously had also made his farewell speech as leader of the Liberal Party at a public meeting in Scotland. He reaffirmed his conviction that a Liberal Party was necessary to save the country from Protection on one side and Socialism on the other, and warned the party against forming a coalition with any other party.

Lord Oxford's resignation left the Liberal Party completely derelict. No successor was found to fill his place, and the "Shadow Cabinet" which was held in readiness to form a Liberal Government, should the opportunity arise, ceased to exist. Sir Godfrey Collins resigned the position of Chief Liberal Whip, and Mr. Lloyd George obtained possession of the Whip's room with one of his own nominees, but his following included only a fraction of the party. A few days later Commander Kenworthy, a

staunch Radical, went over to the Labour Party ; and although for the time being no other defections of members took place, yet the bulk of Liberals, both in and out of Parliament, stood shivering on the brink of either the Unionist or the Labour Party, according to their political affinities, hoping against hope that something would turn up in time to save them from the necessity of taking the plunge.

On October 14 the voting of the miners on the question laid before them by the Delegate Conference on October 7 was announced as being 460,150 in favour and 284,336 against—a majority of 175,814 in favour. This meant that the Miners' Federation Executive was commissioned to call out the safety men and take other steps for intensifying the struggle. Armed with these instructions, the Executive organised itself into what it called a " Council of War " for the purpose of nerving the miners to continue the struggle. Its first step in this capacity was to mobilise its oratorical forces as represented by its own officials and the miners' members of Parliament (with the exception of Mr. Spencer), whom it despatched to the " black " areas in the coal-fields to dissuade the men from returning to work. The decision to call out the safety men was tacitly shelved, as it was known by the Executive to be both inadvisable in itself and impracticable on account of the attitude of the safety men.

During the next few days members of the Executive carried on a strenuous oratorical campaign in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire. As a result of their efforts the number of men at work in the whole of the coal-fields showed a slight decrease over a few days, due chiefly to a great drop in the Notts district. This was the utmost that the Executive could achieve by its new policy ; by the end of the week, owing to the steady drift back in other districts, especially Northumberland, the number of men at work was again slightly in excess of the highest previously recorded.

In accordance with an announcement made by the Prime Minister early in the summer, an Imperial Conference was again held this autumn in London after an interval of three years. The Premiers of all the Dominions were present, as also the President of the Irish Free State. The proceedings opened on October 19 with an address of greeting to the King and Queen, and Mr. Baldwin, in welcoming the delegates, laid stress on the part which Imperial Conferences had played in enabling the Empire to adapt its internal structure to the developments and changes which had taken place in its constituent parts in the past forty years. It was largely through such Conferences that methods had been devised for securing united action in the field of foreign policy, for co-ordinating defence, and for fostering inter-imperial trade. The business of the present Conference, he said, would be to take stock of their situation as a whole, and to locate their weak places and try to strengthen them. In foreign affairs the

most important question that arose was the necessity for improvement in the present system of communication and consultation between the Governments of the Empire ; although great progress had been made of late years in the direction of keeping the Dominion Prime Ministers informed by mail and telegraph from London on all matters of world politics, there was still room for improvement, and there was great need for increasing, if possible, the opportunities for personal discussion on matters of major importance in foreign affairs. In the sphere of Empire trade and settlement also, though all of them had gone far, they could, he hoped, go further towards securing effective co-operation for making the best of their resources.

On the second day Sir A. Chamberlain gave the Conference, *in camera*, a long report on foreign relations. On the next day it was the turn of the President of the Board of Trade and of the Colonial Secretary to address the delegates on problems of inter-imperial trade. Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister reported that Empire trade had been constantly on the increase since the war, and now formed a considerably larger portion of the total trade of the country than in 1913. He was able to assure the Conference that, as a result partly of the "Buy British Goods" campaign and "Empire Shopping Weeks," the buying of British goods was becoming a national habit. He complained that the Empire had almost neglected the cinema as a vehicle of propaganda, and hoped that the Conference would be able to agree on some common policy for utilising this important instrument for the benefit of imperial trade. Mr. Amery supplemented his colleague's remarks with an account of the work done by the Imperial Economic Committee, set up in March, 1925, and the Empire Marketing Board, which had been set up in the current year. He said he had found the four reports so far presented by the Committee exceedingly valuable, and suggested that its investigations might include the marketing of raw materials as well as food-stuffs. In the afternoon sitting of the same day Mr. Amery, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, surveyed the position of the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated areas, declaring that the work of administration and development in them was regarded by Great Britain as a piece of trusteeship, and that, on account of its economic importance, it was well worthy of consideration by every part of the Empire.

On October 28 the Secretary for Air, Sir S. Hoare, addressed the Conference on the subject of imperial air communications for civil purposes. He commenced by laying down two propositions—that the Empire was in urgent need of better communications, and that if communications were to be improved, a sustained and united effort would be needed. He pointed to the constant progress which was being made in the matter of air transport, and expressed the conviction that there was no longer any technical

or operational reason why the journey from London to Canada should not be reduced to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days and to the other Dominions in proportion. He announced that it was proposed to substitute for the present military air service between Cairo and Baghdad a civilian service between Cairo and Karachi, which he hoped would prove to be the first section of the great Empire air route to the Far East. Similarly the beginning of an air route to South and West Africa would be made by the opening within the next few months of a private service, assisted by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, and the Sudan, from Khartum to Kimusu. No single Government could in the present state of things undertake the expense of either of these routes in their entirety, but if each bore a share, they might by co-operation achieve their object. Besides the aeroplane, they would in a year or two have a couple of giant airships ready for long-distance flights, and in regard to these also he asked the Dominions to help by providing mooring masts and meteorological stations. All the Dominion representatives in turn expressed their interest in and sympathy with the suggestions of the Air Minister, and promised carefully to consider them with a view to giving the desired co-operation.

After the plenary sittings of the first few days, the Conference transacted its business chiefly by means of committees dealing with special questions. Of these the most important was the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations, of which Lord Balfour acted as Chairman. The report of this Committee (see under Public Documents) which was accepted by the Imperial Conference on November 19, established the relations of the Dominions to the Mother Country and to one another on a basis consonant both with actual practice and with the nationalist aspirations of the Dominions. The Committee expressed the view that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire, but it defined the Dominions as "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." It was admitted that existing administrative, legislative, and judicial forms were not entirely in accord with this definition, as they had been left over from a period anterior to the present stage of constitutional development, and a number of significant recommendations were made for bringing them up to date. The first, which had special reference to Ireland, was that the words "United Kingdom" should be omitted from the King's title. A second was that Governors-General of the Dominions should be regarded as being purely representatives of the Crown and not in any way as representatives or agents of the Home Government, and that consequently Governments of the Dominions should communicate with the



Home Government and with one another direct, and not through the agency of the Governors. In regard to legislation, the Committee proposed that it should be recognised as the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs, and that the Home Government should not interfere. In the field of foreign policy, as in the sphere of defence, it was recognised that the major share of responsibility still rested, and would for some time continue to rest on Great Britain; but it was laid down as a general principle governing foreign relations that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions should be committed to the acceptance of active obligations without the definite assent of their own Governments. The desirability of personal contact to supplement the present system of inter-communication between the various Governments was emphasised; and on the particular matter of the Locarno Conference, satisfaction was expressed with the statement of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and congratulations were offered to the British Government on its share in this contribution to promoting the peace of the world.

Of the other recommendations of the Conference, which sat altogether for five weeks, the most important were that an Imperial Air Conference should be held in 1928 or 1929, and that further Imperial Bureaux should be created for research like those which already existed for entomology and tropical medicine. On the subject of defence, the Conference reaffirmed the resolutions of the Conference of 1923, laying special emphasis on the necessity of creating and maintaining an adequate chain of air bases and refuelling stations; while in regard to films no definite recommendations were made, but attention was called to the necessity of producing high quality films inside the Empire before Government action was taken.

On October 22 the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation, in accordance with the policy determined on a week previously, waited on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to lay before it a request that it should summon a special Congress to consider the questions of imposing a levy on all trade unions for the assistance of the miners, and of placing an embargo on the transport of foreign coal. The Council, as in fact the public generally, had been not a little impressed by the courage of the Miners' Federation in making a renewed stand in what seemed to be a desperate situation, and though it had already on more than one occasion declared the proposals submitted by the Federation to be impracticable, it now willingly acceded to the request of the Executive, and undertook to summon a special Congress on November 3 to consider the question of a general levy. Having once more got into touch with the Miners' Executive, the Trade Union Council again began to intervene actively in the coal dispute. On October 26, acting on its

own initiative, but with the acquiescence of the miners, it sent a deputation to the Prime Minister to ask him to renew his efforts at mediation; while at the same time Mr. Pugh, who was still acting as its president in the absence of the newly elected president from England, sent a long letter to *The Times* urging the need of a settlement on the basis of the Commission's report. The Prime Minister on October 26 informed the Trade Union representatives that he could not take any further steps in conjunction with the Trade Union Council unless he knew that that body was authorised to speak on behalf of the Miners' Federation. The Council accordingly consulted the Miners' Executive on October 29. The latter body would not give a definite answer on its own responsibility, and after much parleying, in the course of which members of the Council again interviewed Mr. Churchill (Mr. Baldwin being out of town), it undertook to summon a Delegate Conference in the following week and to submit to its judgment the proposals for a settlement suggested by the Council.

Meanwhile, on October 25, Parliament had met for the third time during the recess for the purpose of continuing the Emergency Regulations. The Government abstained from making any statement regarding the coal stoppage, and for this it was severely taken to task by Mr. Clynes, who was leading the Opposition, Mr. MacDonald having been ordered abroad for a rest. Mr. Clynes further pointed out that there was a genuine desire for accommodation on the part of the miners' leaders, and that influential appeals for intervention had been made, not from the Labour side only, in the country, and he asked why the Government had not responded—why it had not even put a stop to profiteering in coal. Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, again espoused the miners' cause, and attacked the Government more vigorously than the Labour spokesman, and he urged the Government to go back to the Churchill terms and insist on a settlement which they themselves regarded as fair and honourable.

Mr. Baldwin, in a speech which was heard with impatience by Labour members, adopted a more detached attitude than ever. He admitted that the latest proposals of the miners broke new ground, but he regretted that they afforded no basis for Government intervention, as they did not embrace the question of hours, and it was impossible to leave this out of the discussion, since from 80,000 to 100,000 men were now actually working more than seven hours a day. The Government had no further proposals to make, and was not going to mock people with the suggestion that it had any. The dispute was an industrial one, and must be settled by the parties to it. The one thing about which he was clear at the moment was that so long as the affairs of the industry had to be negotiated by the persons who had conducted the negotiations this time, there was not much hope of a settlement.

Later in the debate the Minister of Mines expressed the Government's view in a way which left no doubt of its bias in favour of the owners. If Labour members, he said, really wanted a settlement, it was open to them to urge provisional settlements in the districts. The dispute could be settled in a few days if the Miners' Federation would allow the local leaders to act independently. He denied that this would mean the destruction of the Miners' Federation; matters would merely revert to the condition which existed before 1921. With regard to coal prices, he explained that no control had so far been set up, because this would involve an expense and a dislocation of trade which it was not worth while incurring if, as they hoped, the dispute would soon be settled. Meanwhile the Government had arrested the rise in coal prices, and the possibility of having to impose some drastic form of control was being kept in mind.

In the course of the debate, reference was made to the action of the Chief Constable of Staffordshire in prohibiting Mr. Cook from addressing meetings in that county during the preceding week-end. The Home Secretary explained that he had given permission under the Emergency Regulations to Chief Constables in mining counties to prohibit, on their own responsibility, meetings which they had reason to apprehend might conduce to a breach of the peace, and he quoted from a speech made by Mr. Cook in the same district two months previously a bitter attack on the police which he thought justified the precaution taken by the Chief Constable on the present occasion. He was promptly asked why he had not arrested Mr. Cook, as the speech quoted appeared to come under the Emergency Regulations, and he could only reply that it was, indeed, difficult to justify the non-prosecution of Mr. Cook while men in lesser positions were being prosecuted; the truth being, of course, that the Government, wiser than the "yellow Press," were well aware how inadvisable it would be to make a martyr of the miners' secretary.

On the next day (October 26), the House of Commons continued the Emergency Regulations, after the Home Secretary had satisfied the majority of the House (but not the Labour Party) that they were not being administered tyrannically. A great part of the sitting was taken up with the discussion of a personal matter in which the House considered its own credit to be deeply involved. A Unionist member drew attention to the fact that a fortnight previously a Labour member, Dr. Salter, in addressing a temperance meeting, had stated in the course of his remarks that he had seen members of Parliament of all parties drunk in the House, not on one, but on many occasions, and he moved that the speech was a gross libel on the members of the House, and a grave breach of its privileges. Dr. Salter, who was first heard, refused to retract or modify his statement, and when he had withdrawn, in order to allow the motion to be discussed,

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the "father of the House," and the Prime Minister bore witness to the great improvement which had taken place in the drinking habits of the House within their own experience, and censured Dr. Salter for refusing to express regret for his statement, which was calculated to give the outside world an entirely wrong impression. Some Labour members were in favour of having the matter brought before a Committee of Privileges, where Dr. Salter could name the offending members, but after the inadvisability of this step had been clearly exposed by Mr. Lloyd George, the proposal was not pressed, and in the end the House gave itself a certificate of sobriety by carrying the motion *nem. con.*

The question of laying an embargo on the movement of imported coal was considered on November 2 by a Conference which was attended by representatives of all trade unions connected with the transport industry, with the significant exception of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. The meeting did not actually reject the proposal of the miners, but took an equivalent step by adjourning the discussion in order to report to the General Council of the trade unions.

On the next day (November 3) the Conference of trade union executives called by the Council considered the more important question of imposing a levy on trade unionists on behalf of the unemployed miners. About 800 delegates were present, and after hearing statements from Mr. Cook and Mr. Richardson on the position of the miners, the Conference by an overwhelming majority passed a resolution congratulating the miners on their magnificent fight, and pledging each executive represented at the Conference to call for a special contribution of not less than a penny a day from every one of its members who was at work until the dispute should be settled. The General Council immediately forwarded the resolution to all the unions, at the same time emphasising the extreme urgency of the need for financial assistance, in order that the miners might be able to resist "the inequitable terms of settlement which the coal-owners sought to enforce."

Although the levy obtained by the miners from the trade unions was only voluntary, it was granted without any conditions, and so represented a triumph for their stubbornness in continuing the struggle after the Labour Party Conference had practically given them the hint to abandon it. Nor did their success stop here. The Mediation Committee of the Trade Union Council, after arranging with the miners on a joint policy, requested the Government to take steps to reopen negotiations, and Mr. Baldwin, going back on his previous statement, consented to meet the miners' leaders without first requiring that there should have been a general return to work throughout the coal-fields. The miners' leaders on their side received authorisation from a Delegate Con-

ference which sat in London on November 4 and 5 to reopen negotiations on the basis of the lines approved by the Trade Union Council, and on the latter date met a Cabinet Committee presided over by Mr. Baldwin.

On November 6 the Mines Department addressed to the miners' delegates a letter containing the general principles which the Government understood the owners to be willing to follow in negotiating district settlements. After a couple of days of discussion between the Cabinet and the miners' representatives, these proposals, according to a statement of Mr. Cook, were "considerably amended," but the question of hours proved a stumbling-block which could not readily be surmounted. The delegates themselves were not blind to the necessity of making concessions on the subject, but they did not venture to do so without further authorisation. Accordingly on November 9 a halt was called in the negotiations to enable them to consult a Delegate Conference which met on the next day. Mr. Smith, who presided, told the Conference that the Executive in their interviews with the Government had gone as far as they believed they were authorised to go by the last Conference, and now came for fresh instructions. Mr. Cook gave a full report of the interviews with the Government, showing where the difficulties had arisen. The Conference had to choose between breaking off the negotiations and continuing them with the certainty that they could lead to nothing if not to surrender. After long and searching discussion they adopted the latter course, and on the afternoon of November 11 unanimously passed a resolution giving the Executive a free hand.

In his annual speech at the Guildhall banquet on November 9, the Prime Minister painted in strong colours the contrast between the international and the home situation. In the international situation he could see little but good. He laid stress on the great improvement which had taken place in the condition of many European nations since the last Imperial Conference in 1923, and dwelt approvingly on the fact (which he took for granted) that France, Germany, Italy, and England were working together for reconstruction and reconciliation. He even maintained that the prestige of the League of Nations had been increased—a statement with which many supporters of that body would have found it difficult to agree. He admitted that the situation in China gave ground for anxiety, but was able to set against this the fact that in India both political parties seemed disposed to abandon the policy of non-co-operation. On home affairs he said little, but enough to show that he was closely observing the tendencies of the time. He confessed that the events of the preceding few months must be to them a source of humiliation, and he characterised the general strike as a stain on the annals of England, and the coal stoppage as another monument to human

folly, which had plunged the country into vast losses, and would leave behind a heritage of bitter memories of wasted strife and suffering. Still, he did not hold with those who prophesied the early decline of Britain. They had seen many peaceful revolutions in the country, and they would see many more. There were signs that they were passing through a second industrial revolution, and the turmoil of new and undigested ideas was bound to beget misunderstanding and hardship in their midst.

## CHAPTER V.

### END OF THE COAL STOPPAGE.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on November 9, mainly for the purpose of completing the legislation which had been initiated in the spring and summer. The chief Bills which awaited its consideration were the Electricity Bill, the Merchandise Marks Bill, and the Judicial Proceedings Bill. The Money-lenders' Bill had dropped out of the programme, and the Factory Bill, in spite of the definite pledge given by the Government in the spring, was postponed till the coming year.

The House of Commons immediately proceeded to the consideration of the Report stage of the Electricity Bill. Obstructive tactics were employed by a group of Conservative members who had shown their hostility to the Bill in Committee on account of its alleged leanings to nationalisation, but the Government was firm, and refused to make any concessions. In moving the third reading on November 12, the Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, Lieut.-Col. Moore Brabazon, explained once more the main purpose of the Bill which had been obscured under a mass of technical details. The Bill dealt only with the generative, and not with the distributive side of electricity, and its main provision was to establish a Board which would build a grid of intercommunicating lines between the various generating stations of the country. This would have the effect of bringing all stations more or less up to the level of efficiency of the best, and would result in an ultimate cheapening of current to the consumer. According to an amendment introduced since the second reading, the actual scheme would be prepared, not by the Board itself, but by the Electricity Commissioners, who would submit them to the Board. The rejection of the Bill was moved from the Labour side on the ground that it perpetuated the existence of private ownership in a service which ought to be owned and controlled by the community, but the Government, as usual, obtained a substantial majority.

The Cabinet's plan, announced in July, of making broad-

casting a Government enterprise, received the approval of the House of Commons on November 15. The Postmaster-General, in asking for a supplementary estimate of 295,000*l.* for expenses in connexion with the broadcasting services, explained that the Government was following the advice of the Committee presided over by Lord Crawford, which, after having gone fully into the matter, had recommended that, while the Postmaster-General should be left with the ultimate responsibility, the actual administration of the service should be entrusted to a corporation acting as trustees in the national interest. The Minister paid a tribute to the vision and patriotism of the British Broadcasting Company, which, during the four years of its existence, had looked at the problem of broadcasting, not from the trade, but from the national angle. The old Broadcasting Company would receive 540,000*l.* for the property, and the shareholders would be bought out at par. The Government reserved the right to take over the whole of the broadcasting system in case of national emergency. Various speakers in the debate inclined to the view that the exclusion of controversial matter from broadcasting, which was one of the principles of the existing Company, tended to make it dull and to impair its educational value, but the Government could not promise any change of policy in this respect.

On November 17, in the House of Lords, Lord Parmoor and Lord Oxford expressed apprehensions that the League of Nations was not making much progress with its efforts to secure disarmament. They received a reassuring reply from Lord Cecil, who pointed out that important practical steps had been taken in this matter since the Locarno Agreement, and as a result of the improved international atmosphere which that event had created. The consequence was that in the past year disarmament had become a practical and actual question, and was being considered not from the point of view of *whether* it could be done, but *how* it could be done. He dated the change from the acceptance by the Assembly of the French proposal for the appointment of a Preparatory Commission. This Commission had proceeded in a business-like way, and was producing valuable reports. He had been struck, at the discussions of the sub-committees at Geneva, by the goodwill displayed by everybody, and the absence of obstruction; the American delegation had been particularly helpful. He thought, too, that the discussions had shown disarmament to be a practical thing, and he believed that success could be achieved on three conditions: first, that peoples and Governments should be in earnest in the matter; secondly, that they should not be in too great a hurry; thirdly, that each country should say what armaments it thought essential for its defence, and that the Preparatory Commission should formulate a scheme according to the demands of the different countries.

On the same day (November 17) the Minister of Health

applied to the House of Commons for liberty to expend any public moneys that might be required for the operation of the Government's schemes for improving the housing accommodation of the agricultural labourers. The Labour Party could not deny that the object of the resolution was commendable, but to show their disapproval of the way in which the Government approached the problem of housing the rural labourer, they moved that the expenditure to be incurred should be limited to 100,000*l.*—a wholly illogical proceeding, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out. The amendment was defeated, as was also one providing that financial assistance should not be given in respect of buildings such as stables, not normally used for human habitation.

The coal stoppage for the second time threw its shadow across the national finances on November 16, when Sir K. Wood, on behalf of the Ministry of Health, moved a supplementary vote of 3,250,000*l.* for making loans to Boards of Guardians unable to carry out from their own resources the relief of unemployment. In explaining the need for this sum, the Minister drew a distressing picture of the state of a considerable part of the country. The amount distributed in poor relief, he said, during the six months ended September 30, 1926, had been 13,000,000*l.*, as against 7,000,000*l.* for the corresponding six months in the previous year. The number of persons at that moment being assisted from the rates in the mining districts alone was over 2,000,000*l.* Some twenty-four Boards of Guardians in the distressed areas had drastically cut down relief, or had refused outdoor relief altogether; others, being unable to meet the increased demands on them from their own resources, had borrowed first from the Banks and then from the Government, which had already advanced about 3,000,000*l.* in this way. Relief in many cases, he remarked, had been granted on loan, to be repaid by the borrowers when they returned to work; it had been found in previous disputes where this policy had been adopted that these obligations had been honourably met. On the authority of the officers of the Ministry, he denied that there were any cases in which Boards of Guardians had failed to relieve destitution, and he repeated the statement made by Mr. Baldwin in August (and which was not refuted in the debate), that the children of the miners were better fed than when their fathers were at work. In a debate on necessitous areas a couple of days later, Mr. Greenwood expressed the Labour view of the Minister of Health's policy by saying that he had administered the Poor Law of 1834 in the spirit of 1834, and that the acts of the Ministry implied that the miners and their families were to be treated, if not as actual criminals, at least as bordering on the criminal class.

In accordance with the resolution of the Delegate Conference on November 11, the Miners' Executive resumed negotiations with the Government on the next day. The Government laid before them



a list of proposals which it did not guarantee to represent the owners' views in all particulars, but which it thought it could bring the owners to accept, if necessary. There was little, indeed, in the proposed terms to which the owners could take objection, as nearly all the points on which they had been insisting were conceded. The Miners' Federation was to do all in its power to promote an immediate resumption of work by means of district settlements, from the negotiations for which the hours to be worked would not be excluded. District agreements were to be regarded as "standard" if they conformed to certain general principles, *viz.*, contained provision for setting up a district board with an independent chairman, for the periodical ascertainment of trading results, for the periodical regulation of the district percentage on a ratio varying between 87 to 13 and 85 to 13, for a minimum of not less than 20 per cent. on the so-called "standard" wage, for the payment of subsistence wages to low-paid day-wage men at the rate paid in April until the end of January, 1927, and for a duration of the agreement of at least three years. The Government on its side undertook to set up an arbitral authority from members of the Industrial Court appointed by the Minister of Labour, which would have power to revise agreements other than standard agreements and including longer hours than those worked in April, 1926. The owners also, according to the Government, offered to pay temporarily the April rate of wages, except in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and North Wales.

The discussion of these proposals commenced at once, and went on until three o'clock the next morning. The miners' delegates tried hard to get them amended in a sense more favourable to themselves, but in the end obtained only one concession of any importance—the omission of a clause stating that workmen would be reinstated as opportunity offered "without prejudice to the men already at work," and the substitution for it of the reinstatement clause contained in the 1921 settlement, which in the opinion of the miners provided them with a better safeguard against victimisation.

On the next day (November 13) the Executive laid the Government terms before the Delegate Conference. Mr. Cook described them as "surrender" terms, and opposed acceptance, saying it was better that the districts should come to such terms as they could independently, as then at least the Federation would have no need to approve of them. But the fight had by this time gone out of the majority of the delegates, since they knew they could not much longer hold the men back from resuming work, and the Conference ultimately decided to lay the terms before the districts with a recommendation for acceptance.

This meant the end of the struggle, though the resistance of the miners was still to give a bright flicker before it finally collapsed.

The result of the voting in the districts was made known on November 18, and was found to give a majority of nearly 150,000 against acceptance of the Government proposals. Large majorities for rejection were registered in Scotland, South Wales, Durham, and Northumberland, in Lancashire there was a small majority against, and in Yorkshire a small majority for acceptance. All the time that the votes were being recorded the drift back to work continued at the rate of thousands a day, and it was obvious that the most obstinate were not prepared to hold out much longer.

In face of this situation, the Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation, which met on November 19, did not regard the vote of the districts as a warrant for continuing the struggle, and passed a resolution recommending all district associations immediately to open negotiations with the coal-owners in their respective districts. In order, however, to save some semblance of authority for the Federation, the Conference charged the districts not to enter into a final settlement until a further National Conference should have been held, at the same time commissioning the Executive Committee to frame general principles for guiding the districts in their negotiations. This body accordingly, on the next day (November 20), submitted to the Conference six recommendations dealing with wages, notice, and reinstatement, but not touching the question of hours. After three hours' discussion the Conference adopted these proposals, and urged the districts to enter into negotiations with the employers as soon as possible on this basis. No notice was taken of the Government's offer to set up a tribunal, which was, in fact, formally withdrawn about this time.

The Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation met again on November 25 for the purpose of examining any district agreements that might have been made, but its services were not required. Negotiations were still proceeding in all the districts, but no agreements had yet been definitely concluded, and the attitude of the employers made it clear that, in any case, no revision by the Federation would be tolerated. The Conference therefore contented itself with passing a resolution expressing its indignation at the terms offered by the owners in several districts, and broke up without making any arrangements for another Conference. This was tantamount to declaring that the stoppage was at an end as far as the Federation was concerned; and any doubts that might have been held on this point were settled by the action of the Lancashire delegates, in sending a telegram at the close of the Conference to their association in Bolton instructing the men to sign on immediately on the terms negotiated with the owners.

Although nearly half the miners were by this time back at work, the Home Secretary, on November 26, once more—for the last time, as it proved—asked the House of Commons to renew

the Emergency Regulations. He had, he said, already decided to allow them to lapse when a new disturbance occurred which made him think that they were still necessary. The renewal of the Regulations was condemned by Labour members as being itself a hindrance to the restoration of good feeling in the coal-fields. As it turned out, both sides were alarming themselves unnecessarily. On November 27 the Government removed the restrictions on the purchase of coal, considering that the amount already being produced from the pits rendered any further rationing unnecessary. In the course of the ensuing week agreements were concluded in all the districts, and by the beginning of December the stoppage could be said to be definitely at an end, just seven months after it had begun. Before the end of the week the return to work had become so general that on December 2 the Home Secretary thought it safe to revoke all the penal Emergency Regulations, leaving only those which dealt with the export of coal; and these also were revoked after the lapse of a few days.

The terms on which the miners went back to work were substantially the same as those which were offered to them by the owners after the passing of the Eight-Hours Act in July, and were much more favourable in some districts than in others. They included in every case a working day of seven-and-a-half or eight hours, but involved either little or no reduction of wages from the April level. The agreements were in all cases for a term of years, and were not subject to revision by any tribunal. Thus the determined stand of the miners cost them dear, since the terms they finally obtained were in most cases, on the balance distinctly worse than those which had been offered to them in April before the stoppage began, and they also lost their chance of obtaining a tribunal to which they could appeal against terms which appeared iniquitous. The owners, on the other hand, gained their way completely on all points in dispute, and had the further satisfaction of seeing the virtual disappearance from the scene, for the time being, of the Miners' Federation, which had long contested with them the right to control the destinies of the industry.

During the seven months that the bulk of the miners were without their regular employment, they had derived support for themselves and their families from various sources. Some hundreds of them found lucrative occupation in digging outcrop coal, but this was a dangerous practice which led to several fatal accidents. Huge sums were granted in relief to miners' dependents from local rates to which, ironically enough, the colliery owners themselves were, in many cases, the largest contributors. Besides the contributions of the trade unions, large sums were subscribed by the general public to relief funds opened by the Labour Party and other bodies. A gift which attracted particular attention

was one of ten pounds which the Prince of Wales sent early in the stoppage, along with a message expressing the hope that the struggle would not end in the humiliation of either party. Generous assistance was rendered by the trade unions of Russia, which sent in all nearly a million pounds to the Miners' Federation at different times during the stoppage. Other European countries gave but little, and the campaign of the delegates in America was a comparative failure, resulting in the raising of only a few thousands of pounds. The voluntary levy decreed by the Trade Union Council towards the end of the stoppage also proved of very little help.

The coal stoppage—or coal strike, as it was more frequently termed, even by the men themselves—was held in some quarters to be a direct attempt of the workers to gain control of an industry by means of the strike weapon, or “industrial action,” as it was technically called; and by the workers themselves it was regarded as resistance to an attack on wages, and an attempt to lower the workers' standard of life. From either standpoint the stoppage was a failure. The breakaway in the Notts coal-field in September occurred at a “psychological moment” for the owners and the Government; had this district remained firm a little longer, the Federation might have been able to dictate its own terms. But so soon as even a small section of the Federation lost faith in Mr. Smith and Mr. Cook, the owners regained confidence, and the drift back to work, slow as it was in comparison with the numbers idle, was sufficiently steady to prevent any weakening on their part until the miners could hold out no longer.

Measured by the number of working days lost or by the detriment caused to the national wealth, the coal stoppage of 1926 was by far the most disastrous industrial dispute which England ever experienced. Apart from the miners, whose loss in wages was computed at over 60,000,000*l.*, about half a million workers in other trades were kept out of employment for several months through the dearth of coal—over and above the “standing army” of a million unemployed—and England's export trade declined woefully owing to the inability of merchants and manufacturers to execute orders. The effects on the national revenue were not yet apparent, but they were already envisaged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the gloomiest foreboding.

As to the third party in the struggle, the Government, some indication of what the public thought about it was afforded by three by-elections which took place just at this time. At Howden-shire, a rural district in Yorkshire, the Conservative candidate headed the poll with almost the same vote as his predecessor. At Hull, Commander Kenworthy, standing as a Labour candidate, secured an even greater number of votes and a larger majority than he had obtained at the last election as a Liberal. At Chelmsford, a half-rural, half-urban constituency, the Labour candidate

was indeed still at the bottom of the list, but he doubled his poll at the expense alike of the Conservative and the Liberal candidate.

The Parliamentary Labour Party interpreted these results as a sign that at any rate the urban electorate was ready for a change of Government, and began to agitate for a General Election. For the better ventilating of this desire, it determined to move a formal vote of censure on the Government in Parliament. This decision was not reached without considerable searching of heart, as it was realised that a debate on the coal stoppage at this juncture would not be conducive to promoting peace and harmony in the industry. In the end, however, political considerations carried the day, and a motion was duly tabled censuring the Government for its policy during the lock-out, in particular for its disregard of the findings of the Royal Commission, for its partiality towards the mine-owners, for its failure to control coal prices, and for passing the Eight-Hours Act; and at the same time calling for the nationalisation of the mining industry.

The debate took place on December 8. Mr. MacDonald, in bringing forward the motion, laid stress chiefly on the failure of the Government to put into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and on its vacillation, which gradually changed into complete subservience to the mine-owners. The action of the Government, he said, had prolonged the strike by stiffening the backs of the combatants. It had convinced the miners that the owners were in power not only in their own headquarters, but in Downing Street, and in the House of Commons. Its action had cost the country hundreds of millions of pounds. It had prevented an agreed peace, and had thwarted the desire of the country that humanitarian, as well as economic considerations should enter into the settlement. He therefore called upon the Government to ask for the verdict of the country, confident that it would receive the doom which its actions merited.

Mr. Baldwin made no attempt whatever to answer the Opposition leader's indictment, which he affected to treat as a mere piece of "window dressing." Instead of defending himself, he assumed the offensive, and subjected the conduct both of the Miners' Federation and of the Labour Party to a searching criticism from which, naturally, neither came out unscathed. He was especially severe on Mr. Cook, whom he painted as the villain of the piece, less for his conduct during the stoppage than for his violent language during the preceding twelve months. Mr. Herbert Smith he described as "straight, very shrewd, and very suspicious," with a Yorkshireman's disinclination to settle in a hurry. He read the Labour Party a somewhat patronising lecture on the danger of listening to extremists, and declined Mr. MacDonald's challenge to go to the country save "in good time," whenever that might be.

Mr. Lloyd George associated himself with Mr. MacDonald's condemnation of the Government, and said it was idle for the Prime Minister to screen himself behind the mistakes of the Labour leaders, as the Government was responsible to the nation and to Parliament, and had at its command powers, resources, and authority which neither Mr. Cook nor Mr. Williams possessed. He was, however, unable to support the motion on account of its reference to nationalisation ; and he was doubtful whether it was wise at that juncture to bring forward a motion of censure at all.

Mr. Churchill, unlike his chief, took Mr. MacDonald seriously, and made out a more or less plausible case for the Government, at the expense of ignoring a good deal of what he had said during the discussions in the first half of September. The Government, he said, had always been of opinion that elasticity in the matter of hours would be beneficial to the industry, and even to the workmen in the long run, and had not regarded the Report of the Commission as being the last word of wisdom on the subject. He denied that there had been any breach of pledge in September, as he had told Mr. MacDonald from the first that the Government had no power to coerce the owners to an agreement. All they could do was to add conditions to the Eight-Hours Act, and that was the exact proposal which they offered to the House of Commons and the Miners' Federation, in the shape of the offer of a National Tribunal, which the Opposition treated with such derision. The fact that the coal-owners put up their terms as the dispute was prolonged was due to the common tendency in such cases, and was not to be blamed on the Government. And the miners had gravely prejudiced their case in the eyes of the public by allowing themselves to be influenced by Russia ; but for this, he believed that public opinion would have compelled the owners to come to the Conference which the Government proposed.

The censure motion, the result of which was a foregone conclusion, was hardly meant as more than a demonstration ; but more practical value was attached by the Labour Party to an agitation which it carried on at this time for the release of all the prisoners convicted under the Emergency Regulations. Mr. MacDonald, before moving his vote of censure, asked the Premier in the House of Commons whether he would procure an amnesty for these men, and was told in reply that the Government did not propose to interfere with the sentences imposed. Nothing daunted, a deputation from the Trade Union Council the next day interviewed Lord Birkenhead (who was acting as Home Secretary in the absence, through illness, of Sir W. Joynson-Hicks), and pressed on him the same demand, pointing out that many of the prisoners were suffering for actions that would not be counted as offences in ordinary circumstances. Lord Birkenhead retorted by pointing to a case of an attempt to wreck a train, which might

easily have had fatal effects. However, after a long discussion, he promised his interlocutors that every case specially recommended by them should be most carefully considered and reviewed. A few of the prisoners were actually released in the course of the next few weeks, but the majority of those who had not completed their sentences were still in prison at the end of the year.

After disposing of the Electricity Bill, the House of Commons, had turned its attention to the Merchandise Marks Bill, which the Government persisted in pushing through in spite of the protests of the entrepôt trade, paying more attention to the representations of agriculturists and manufacturers who desired to take advantage of the popular demand for British and Empire goods and produce. In the Committee and Report stages the Opposition—chiefly from the Labour benches—exposed the immense difficulties which would be involved in specifying the country of origin of many classes of goods, especially those of a composite character, and the Government accordingly introduced a huge number of amendments designed to safeguard the trader and to hedge round the powers of the Committee which was to deal with the marking of goods. Labour members continued to denounce the Bill as protectionist in character, but this was no objection against it in the eyes of the Conservative majority, and it was duly given its third reading on November 24.

The Judicial Proceedings Bill, which had got through Committee in the summer, did not come up for its Report stage till December 10. Opposition was still offered to it by a small group of members, led by Sir E. Hume-Williams, who saw in it an infringement of the liberty of the Press, but the great majority of the House considered the sacrifice of liberty worth making in the interest of public morality. The only amendment of importance adopted was one proposed by a Labour member, that responsibility for the publication of offensive matter should rest on newspaper proprietors, editors, publishers, and master printers, but not on the working journalist or printer; and the third reading was passed without a division.

In the closing days of the Session (which ended on December 16), the House of Commons found time to dispose of three other Bills of considerable importance. One was the Sale of Food Bill, based on the report of the Food Committee; its chief provision was to make it obligatory on retail traders to mark on the wrapper the exact weight of a large number of the articles which they delivered—a practice already adopted by most sound traders throughout the country. A second was the Catholic Relief Bill, designed to give Catholics the freer use of certain charities. The third was the Bill for guaranteeing a loan of 10,000,000*l.* to Kenya and 4,500,000*l.* to Palestine. The debate on the Report stage of this Bill (December 9), gave Labour members once more an

opportunity of expressing their strong disapproval of the way in which the natives were treated in Kenya ; nor would they accept the assurances of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that the white settlers there were not abusing their power. Their attempts, however, to except Kenya from the benefit of the guarantee were unavailing, though they secured the insertion in the Bill of an undertaking that fair conditions of labour should be observed in the execution of all works carried out under loans raised in pursuance of the Act.

On December 2 the Minister of Health asked the approval of the House of Commons for an Order reducing the housing subsidy by 2*l.* on the 6*l.* for twenty years which were given under the 1923 Act, and by 1*l.* 10*s.* on the 9*l.* a year for forty years given under the 1924 Act. He explained that the present value of the reduction in both cases would be 25*l.* The object of the Order, he said, was to bring about a reduction in the cost of building houses. Since January, 1923, the cost of an average working-class house had risen by about 127*l.* The greater part of this rise could not be explained by such increase as had taken place in the cost either of building materials or of labour. He thought, therefore, it must be due to the subsidies, by reducing which he would both cause houses to be built more cheaply and save money to the Exchequer. The Labour Party, led by Mr. Wheatley, and supported from the Conservative benches by Lord Cavendish-Bentinck, strongly opposed the reduction of the subsidy, on the ground that, while it would no doubt bring down the cost of building, it would cause instability in the building trade, and so prevent houses from being built. An amendment was moved to exempt municipal bodies from the effect of the Order, but this was defeated, and the original motion was carried by 181 votes to 111.

The Labour Party was anxious before the close of the session to table a motion for dealing with necessitous areas, in order to force a vote on the subject. The Government, however, would not grant facilities for this, and the party was therefore reduced to raising the subject on the motion for the adjournment, when no vote could be taken. On December 16 Mr. Graham called attention to the financial plight to which certain local authorities had been reduced through the occurrence (through no fault of their own) of labour disputes in their area, and urged the Government to take steps to transfer at least part of the burden of the necessitous areas from the local rates to the national taxes—a stock proposal of the Labour Party. The Minister of Health received the proposal very coldly. The indebtedness of the unions after the coal stoppage was, he said, not so great on the whole as might have been anticipated, and where it was beyond the power of the unions to cope with, he thought this was due to their own extravagance. He intimated that in his own opinion a permanent solution of the difficulties of necessitous areas should be sought



in the substitution of block for percentage grants, and in a better allocation of burdens as between unemployment insurance on the one side, and the Poor Law authorities on the other, without increasing the actual contribution from the Exchequer.

By dint of assiduous labour, and as was thought in some quarters, with undue haste, during the closing days of the session, the House of Lords carried through all the Bills which had been sent up from the Commons, and they duly became law before the end of the year. The Electricity Bill, although it was sponsored by Lord Weir, the personification of anti-Socialism, met with strenuous and able opposition from the partisans of private enterprise, and these succeeded in introducing into the Bill certain important, but not drastic amendments, most of which were subsequently accepted by the Commons. The Merchandise Marks Bill and the Judicial Proceedings Bill were also severely criticised in the House of Lords, though they were ultimately passed without alterations. The chief critic of the latter Bill was Lord Burnham of the *Daily Telegraph*—the only remaining newspaper proprietor in London, as he informed the House—who doubted whether it could be made to work without inflicting hardship. Even he, however, did not carry his opposition to the point of voting against the Bill.

Before separating for the vacation, the House of Lords, on December 14, gave its assent to a motion brought forward by Lord Weir declaring that it viewed with grave anxiety the long-continued state of unemployment and the decrease of productivity in some sections of national industry, and expressing its belief that improvement must come in the main from a better appreciation on the part of employers, employed, and trade unions of their respective industrial responsibilities. The debate turned chiefly on the causes of unrest among the working classes, a subject on which Lord Cecil and the Bishop of Southwark, who had nothing to do with industry, showed themselves much better instructed than the great industrialist, Lord Weir. On the question of industrial responsibilities nothing of consequence was said in the debate, and the House contented itself with endorsing a suggestion of Lord Weir that there should be a round table conference of men of goodwill from all parties to seek a solution to the practical questions with which industry was faced.

On December 2 Sir A. Chamberlain left London for Geneva in order to take part in the forthcoming Conference of the League of Nations, and, as usual, broke his journey at Paris, where he had interviews both with M. Poincaré and M. Briand. He discovered again that there was almost complete identity of views between himself and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs on the policy to be pursued in matters which jointly concerned their respective countries. In a statement which he made before he left Paris, he declared that the whole of the improvement which

had taken place in the European situation since the Locarno treaties was based upon the close co-operation of France and England; and he envisaged the possibility of knitting Germany and Italy more closely to them in order to complete the work which they had undertaken—without reference, apparently, to the League of Nations, of which he made no mention.

The despatch, in October, of a British representative to China did not immediately produce any improvement in the situation there from the British point of view. Anti-British feeling continued to grow more intense, and in the last week of November rumours were rife in England that the British residents in Hankow and other places in South China were in grave danger. The Foreign Secretary, in reply to questions in Parliament, stated that the Government was keeping in that region a force which it thought adequate for the protection of British subjects, but were most loth to interfere in the internal affairs of China. The latter half of the statement was received by the Labour Party with scepticism, but the Government soon proved its sincerity by issuing, on December 18, a Memorandum to the Powers which had signed the Washington Agreement of 1921, calling for the adoption of a more enlightened and liberal policy towards the new nationalist movement in China. This movement, it suggested, should be met "with sympathy and understanding;" the idea that the economic and political development of China could only be secured under foreign tutelage should be abandoned. The pretence, also, of dealing with a Central Government which had no real existence should be given up, and such regional arrangements as were possible should be made with *de facto* Governments, and any reasonable proposals which the Chinese authorities, wherever situated, might make should be considered in a sympathetic spirit, even if contrary to strict interpretation of treaty rights, in return for fair and considerate treatment of foreign interests by them. The Memorandum contained an annexe which showed that as far back as May 28 the British Government had protested to the United States against a proposal to extend the foreign control of China's customs revenues.

Before the end of the year the Liberal Party in Parliament once more reminded the country of its existence by publishing its internal dissensions. Speaking at a dinner given in honour of Mr. Vivian Phillips, the Chairman of the Liberal Party organisation, on December 13, Lord Grey proclaimed openly that there could be no reconciliation between himself and Mr. Lloyd George. He regarded that gentleman as a disruptive force within the party, in virtue both of the undesirable policies which he launched and of his retaining control of a separate party fund. Apart from his land policy, his overtures to the Labour Party, and his attitude towards the general strike, he had even since the resignation of Lord Oxford given further ground for complaint by suggesting

that the ideal of the Liberal Party should be to hold the balance of power and to make terms with the Labour Party, and by delivering an ill-considered speech on the situation in China. So far, therefore, as he himself was concerned, he would not say there was unity when he did not believe there was unity, and he advised Liberals to go on working and speaking for Liberalism in the trust that large public issues and a general agreement about principles would bring the unity that was desired. This was obviously a counsel of despair for those Liberals who were not willing to enrol themselves under the banner of Mr. Lloyd George, but no better was forthcoming.

The last political event of importance in the year was a great Labour triumph in a by-election at Smethwick, an industrial constituency on the outskirts of Birmingham, where the Labour majority was increased from about 1,500 to over 6,500. The contest attracted an unusual amount of attention owing to the feverish efforts made by the Conservatives to keep out the Labour candidate, Mr. Oswald Mosley, who incurred their particular aversion as a political and social renegade from their own ranks, being, as he was, a son-in-law of the late Marquess Curzon, and having once sat in Parliament as a Conservative. The result of the election was naturally taken by the Labour Party as a sign that the country was tired of the Government and ready for a change. The Government, however, had as yet no intention of appealing to the country till Parliament had run its course. The experience of the year just past had shown that it could rely with confidence on a large majority in Parliament so long as the Cabinet remained united. This union had been secured during the year largely through Mr. Baldwin's readiness to leave in abeyance his "new Conservative" principles. In the coal dispute the Government had, on the whole, and in spite of some oscillation, shown itself the faithful ally of the vested interests; and by the end of the year the "old Conservative" element was enjoying a decided predominance in the counsels of the party. On the whole, there was, when the year closed, both in the country and in the House, a feeling of some disappointment concerning the year's achievements in the sphere of politics.

# FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

NINETEEN-TWENTY-SIX was a year of consolidation, serving to emphasise the fact that the League was regarded by practically every shade of opinion that counts in every country as a permanent feature of the political landscape and the medium through which even first-class Powers settle first-class issues. The outstanding event was the entry of Germany (Sept. 8), and this was popularly considered to mark a turning-point in post-war history and a new phase in the evolution of the League.

Germany's entry into the League, the preparations for the Disarmament Conference, and the renewed pledging of the Empire to League foreign policy at the 1926 Imperial Conference were merely a confirmation of the line adopted in 1924, and continued in 1925, just as the Thoiry conversations were a natural development of the policy of agreement with Germany initiated at the same date.

It must be admitted that the manner of Germany's entry suggested to some a disquieting connexion between the League and the so-called "old diplomacy." The March Assembly, indeed, failed to admit Germany, owing to a counter-claim put up by Brazil, encouraged thereto by a series of confused intrigues and bargains conducted for the most part in secret and issuing in more or less persistent support by the Great Powers of the claims of Spain and Poland to a permanent seat. Brazil threatened to veto Germany's membership of the Council unless she herself were simultaneously made a permanent member. The upshot of the matter was that the extraordinary Assembly convened in March failed to admit Germany, and that between March and September a special Commission proposed a scheme for re-organising the Council designed to satisfy the claims at issue. The scheme, in the form adopted by the Assembly, did satisfy Germany and Poland, but failed to prevent Brazil and Spain giving notice of their withdrawal from the League, a notice which, if acted upon, becomes effective in the summer of 1928. Moreover, the re-organisation of the Council involving, as it did, an increase of the number of elected members from six to nine,

with an understanding that three of the nine should be Latin-American, and a system of rotation tempered by re-eligibility<sup>1</sup> was, in some quarters, considered as gravely weakening the League by unduly enlarging the Council, and so on the one hand impairing the authority of the Assembly, and on the other promoting the tendency to form an inner ring of Great Powers within the Council.

To this the reply was that the increase in membership of the League and in the complexity of its functions rendered inevitable an enlargement of the Council on objective grounds, and that the system of rotation tempered by re-eligibility was the only way of satisfying the desire of the smaller powers to have a fair share in the responsibilities of Council membership, while leaving a certain elasticity in the arrangements enabling the Assembly, at its discretion, to modify the rule of rotation when there seemed strong reasons for doing so. As all these matters were settled by a majority, or even two-thirds, of the votes of the Assembly, and as questions of procedure, including the formation of committees within the Council as well as the Assembly, were settled by a majority vote, there was every constitutional facility for the smaller Powers to protect their legitimate interests, provided they had the political pluck and sense of solidarity to do so—and if they had not, no constitutional improvements could supply the deficiency.

It was against this constitutional and psychological background that the activities of the League in 1926 must be seen. The most conspicuous of these was the preparatory work for a Disarmament Conference. The question of disarmament had been with the League since the beginning, but remained largely academic until the political developments in Europe to some extent dissipated the embittered suspicions and fears that were the inevitable result of the war. The conclusion of the Locarno agreements and the gradual return of Germany to active partnership in international affairs gave weight to the German Government's insistence—backed as it was by economic considerations and the opinion of persistent minorities in many countries—that a serious effort should be made to carry out the obligation to reduce armaments expressed in Article VIII. of the Covenant and in the preamble to Part V. of the Versailles Treaty, where German disarmament is referred to as a preliminary step to make possible a general reduction of armaments.

A political committee was accordingly set up composed of Government representatives and charged with preparing the programme for a Disarmament Conference. This committee, as

<sup>1</sup> Normally an elected member is ineligible for a period of three years after its term of office which is also for three years, but by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly a retiring member or state that is ineligible may be declared re-eligible, although only three of the nine elected members may be so re-elected. Poland was declared re-eligible by the September, 1926, Assembly.

is customary in League procedure, held a preliminary meeting and gave birth to sub-committees whose reports were prepared through the summer and autumn of 1926 and will be considered at a second meeting of the political body—the so-called Preparatory Committee—at the end of March, 1927. The probability is that a Draft Convention, or a series of principles approximating to a Draft Convention, will be drawn up and referred to the Governments, asking them to propose what reductions they consider possible, and that the replies of the Governments will be considered at a third meeting of the Preparatory Committee which will draw up a report and agenda for a Disarmament Conference to be held in the first half of 1928. It is noteworthy that the United States is taking an active part in this work, and that Germany also was represented on the Preparatory Committee even before her entry into the League. Russia also was invited but refused unless the meetings were held outside Switzerland, in view of the unsettled quarrel between the Soviet and Swiss Governments.

A second important branch of work during 1926 was carried out by the so-called Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference. The 1925 Assembly, deciding that post-war conditions had reached a point where it was essential to get a broad international survey of the main obstacles to economic recovery and prosperity, requested the Council to appoint a committee of experts representing not only Governments but all branches of economic life (banks, trade, industry, employers, labour, co-operators) to prepare the agenda for such a Conference and to suggest its date. The Preparatory Committee met twice, and in addition to collecting a vast amount of material, has framed a draft agenda and decided on the date of the Conference—May 4, 1927—as well as suggested its nature. The delegations should be nominated by Governments to speak as experts, that is, give the views of the aspects of economic life with which they are identified. (The Conference should not be intended to draft conventions or initiate action in any field—that would be left to subsequent special Conferences—but should survey the whole vast and complex subject of economic conditions and bring out certain leading facts as regards, *e.g.*, tariffs, industrial combines, raw materials, currency difficulties, population conditions, which would furnish a guide for future action) just as the survey of financial conditions undertaken at the Brussels Financial Conference in 1920 did for questions of finance. It should be noted, however, that the subject of finance was relatively simple, and that above all there is a fairly well-defined and uniform “doctrine” about matters financial in contrast with the enormous complexity of economic conditions and the conflicting schools of thought on almost every phase of such conditions.

As regards the technical work of the League, it should be noted

that the work of financial reconstruction begun in Austria and Hungary was successfully completed, and the Commissioners-General and other forms of control instituted in these countries terminated; that the work of settlement of Greek refugees yielded great results surpassing all expectations, and its successful termination may be expected in 1927; that a similar refugee settlement work with the aid of a loan was started in Bulgaria; that Estonia was assisted to carry out a banking and currency reform with the aid of a loan, and that similar assistance was given to the Municipality of Danzig.

The organisation for Communications and Transit during 1926 dealt with a variety of subjects, such as inland and maritime navigation, buoyage and lighting of coasts, international railway traffic, a new road traffic convention, international communication by telegraph, telephone, and wireless, reform of the calendar, etc. A Conference was held on the unification of tonnage measurement in inland navigation, and another to reduce and simplify passport formalities.

The feature of the Health Organisation's activities, particularly noted by the 1926 Assembly, was their world-wide nature, as emphasised by the development of the Epidemiological Office at Singapore; the establishment of closer relations with the Japanese and other Far Eastern health services; the interchanges in Africa between public health officials of Western and South African, Colonial and Dominion administrations, and the project of an African Sanitary Intelligence Office analogous to that at Singapore; the work of the International Sleeping Sickness Commission at Entebbe (Uganda), and various activities in North and South America. On the other hand, the Conference held in Paris in the spring of 1926 to revise the International Sanitary Convention of 1912, although it provided for the use of, *e.g.*, the Singapore office (Japan and one or two other States would sign the new convention only on this condition), for the collection and distribution of epidemiological intelligence under the convention, failed to make the Epidemiological Service of the League the official source of such information, and instead resorted to the anachronistic and discredited pre-war International Public Health Office at Paris, which has practically no funds, no staff, and consequently is of little practical value. However, as under the convention the real work will still be done by the League organisation and the convention allows for its development, the practical inconvenience will be small. The reason for the failure to create one centralised organisation with a consequent gain in efficiency is probably to be sought in the political opposition to the League of the United States and Soviet Russia.

The Mandates Commission continued to work with the devotion and zeal which are gradually making its reputation, but has had some difficult problems, notably that of the position in the

mandated area of Syria. It was also subject to some criticism by the Mandatory Powers in the Council and Assembly owing to its request for a ruling on the question of whether or not to receive petitioners, and its attempt to condense its request for information in the form of a *questionnaire* to serve the Mandatory Powers as a guide in composing annual reports for the Commission. After considerable controversy, when some of the Mandatory Powers expressed their view that the Commission's thirst for information was excessive, the matter was referred back to the Mandates Commission which, to judge by its utterances, appears determined to obtain the information it requires, either through the written word in the annual reports, or by verbal answers to questions put to the representatives of the Mandatory Powers appearing before the Commission.

The framing of an Anti-Slavery Convention in 1926 marked the final stage of the work undertaken by the League in this matter.

The Committee of Intellectual Co-operation continued to function; its important objectives during 1926 being the co-ordination of bibliography in the different branches of science, so as to make the results of research in any one country readily available in others; the organisation of inter-university relations by exchanges of professors; and the "equivalence" of diplomas, so that university careers may, as in the Middle Ages, become thoroughly international where so desired, and work—forming a sort of basis for unofficial efforts in the same field—on the education of children and young people in the existence and aims of the League with all that this implies as a training in practical constructive internationalism.

Since the framing of the Geneva Opium Convention in 1925 the Opium Committee has done little more than mark time and noted a disquieting increase in the illicit traffic in opium. The efforts of the League have hitherto served to stimulate the ingenuity of illicit traffickers, while until the new conventions are ratified or a further conference held to modify them and suggest new ways of enforcing and "tightening up" the Hague Convention it is not possible to cope with the problem effectively. Meanwhile the striking change in India's opium policy should be carefully noted, as well as the position in China, where a strong Government seems to be impending with which it will be possible to co-operate in order to put down the abuse of opium in the East. It is to be hoped that the United States will soon think better of their present attitude of rather undignified "sulking" and make some definite effort toward further co-operation.

During 1926 there was a continuation, and even increase, in the co-operation between the United States and the League on such important subjects as, *e.g.*, disarmament, but accompanied by a certain sharpening in the official tone and a more or less



ungracious refusal to take part in several committees and Conferences and, finally, to reach agreement between the United States and members of the League on the terms of the former's adhesion to the International Court. The American reservations were considered by the other signatories to imply a political right of veto on the work of the Court and the League which was inadmissible, while the United States Senate and Administration apparently considered some such veto essential and denied its political implications.

Russia, too, was very intransigent since the failure of the March Assembly to admit Germany, and has been prone to exaggerate the power and cohesion of the League (which is looked upon as an anti-Soviet coalition under British hegemony) as much as it previously tended to under-rate the League as a practical reality. Whereas the tone previously was amused contempt, it is now one of alarmed hostility. The situation is further complicated by the quarrel between Switzerland and the Soviet Union which has caused the latter to refuse to attend any League meeting held at Geneva, and therefore to refuse invitations to be represented on a series of important League bodies.

The year 1926 closed with the League confirmed as a permanent reality in international affairs, with a decisive step toward universality in the shape of Germany's entry, but with the obstacles to further universality rather accentuated than otherwise.

## CHAPTER II.

### IRELAND.

#### NORTHERN IRELAND.

IN the opening days of the New Year Lord Londonderry sprang a political surprise by resigning his office as Minister of Education, to which Viscount Charlemont was appointed. Throughout the difficult times that followed the setting up of the Northern Parliament, he had displayed both tact and courage as Sir James Craig's chief lieutenant; and the Londonderry Act, as it is known, which established popular control of education in the Six Counties, though it gave rise to bitter controversy, is recognised on all sides as a notable landmark in progressive legislation.

The Border Agreement of December, 1925, changed radically the position of Nationalists in constituencies which had cherished the hope that they might be transferred to the Free State. Conferences were held in January in Tyrone and Fermanagh on the question of whether Nationalist representatives in these areas should enter the Northern Parliament, but ultimately it was

decided that the policy of abstention should be maintained for the present. In March two Nationalist members for Londonderry took their seats, raising the strength of the party in the House to five.

While the settlement of the border disputes ended friction between the Irish Governments, and encouraged the growth of more friendly relations, it was followed by the snapping of a strong link between North and South. All members of the legal profession at the date of the Treaty were competent to practise in the Courts of both States, but in January at a meeting of the bench and bar of Northern Ireland it was unanimously decided to establish an Inn of Court for the Six Counties at Belfast.

Industrial depression showed few signs of improvement during the year, and this meant a heavy drain on the Northern Unemployment Insurance Fund, which, at the beginning of the year, was over 3,000,000*l.* in debt. After prolonged negotiations with the Imperial Government an agreement was reached that the unemployment funds of the two Exchequers should be maintained in a state of parity for a period from September, 1925, to March, 1926, and the four following years. It is calculated that the annual amount required to effect this will average 875,000*l.*, and the British Treasury reserve the right to revise the agreement should the sum in any year rise above 1,000,000*l.*

In the Budget, which was presented towards the end of May, the Minister of Finance estimated revenue for 1926-27 at 11,669,000*l.*, and expenditure at 9,957,000*l.*, leaving 1,692,000*l.* available for contribution to Imperial services. Mr. Pollock decided not to follow the example of Great Britain and the Free State in levying a tax on betting. In explanation of the deficit of 188,000*l.* in spirits duty, it was stated that since the War the consumption of spirits in the Six Counties has declined by two-thirds.

The outstanding political event of the year was the campaign in which the Protestant Churches united in pressing for a measure of local option on the model of the Scottish Temperance Act. When it became known that the Government's Parliamentary programme included a Bill to make minor amendments in the Licensing Act of 1923, advocates of local option redoubled their efforts, in the hope of exercising pressure that would compel the Government to meet their views. At a Conference, in October, representative of the Protestant Churches and temperance associations, a united demand was made that a scheme of local option should be given legal sanction. Speaking a few weeks later in Newry, Sir James Craig, not only declined to entertain the proposal, but announced that while willing to accept any agreed measure put forward by the licensed trade and the temperance party, so long as he remained Prime Minister "neither the trade nor the temperance party will persuade me to take up this thorny

question again." In this view he added he was fortified by the unanimous support of his Ministers, who agreed with him that one great temperance measure was as much as could be reasonably expected from any Prime Minister, and feared that the re-opening of the controversy might mean a split in the Unionist ranks which would "open wide the floodgates."

It is scarcely possible that the Prime Minister believed this appeal would suffice to turn the local optionists from their purpose. A few days after the Newry speech a second Conference of the Churches reaffirmed the October decision, adding that the demand for local option sprang from conscientious conviction, and could not therefore be altered or abandoned. Temperance enthusiasts insist they have no intention of leaving the Unionist ranks, and are concentrating their efforts upon converting public opinion in the belief, as they put it, that "if the electorate of Northern Ireland demand this great social reform Sir James Craig will be ready, as he has always been in the past, to accept the verdict of the people of Ulster."

While depression was still the rule during the year in all departments of the linen trade, with the exception of handkerchiefs and to a lesser degree of damasks, the shipbuilding yards, in spite of the coal strike, were busier than they have been, and there is a satisfactory inflow of orders to be executed in 1927. The Government increased the limit of capital which might be guaranteed under the Trade Loans Guarantee Acts to 9,500,000*l.*, and extended the operation of these Acts to March, 1928.

A sensation was created in March by the report of the Megaw Commission which had been appointed to investigate charges of corrupt dealings in relation to housing schemes carried out by the Belfast Corporation. The Commission found that the quality of the timber supplied was bad, that certain contractors had enjoyed unfair advantages, that the majority of the Housing Committee had acted improperly, and that a number of officials had shown undue favour to contractors. The Corporation ultimately decided to dismiss the City Surveyor (Mr. H. A. Cutler), together with four leading officials of the Housing Department, and the Town Solicitor (Mr. J. M'Cormick), having leased land which was his personal property to the Corporation, automatically ceased to hold office.

The difficulty of finding rock-bottom upon which to base an embankment for the reservoir in the Mourne Mountains, led in December to arbitration between the Belfast Water Commissioners and the contractors, Messrs. Pearson. Already some 400,000*l.* have been spent on the scheme, and for some time back all operations had been suspended. It was now agreed that the contractors shall carry out exploratory work under the supervision of a board of engineers, which will later formulate modified plans for the completion of the work.

The first census since 1911—the disturbed state of the country made any attempt of the kind impossible in 1921—was taken on April 18, both in Northern Ireland and the Free State. In the interval the returns showed that the population of the Six Counties had increased by 5,350, to a total of 1,255,881.

#### IRISH FREE STATE.

The first effect of the Border Agreement of December, 1925 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 141), was to bring about a new grouping of the political sections opposed to the Government.

Early in January the heads of the Republican organisation failed to agree concerning the tactical plan by which Mr. de Valera sought to concentrate the efforts of the party in an agitation for the abolition of the oath of allegiance, with the offer that on its removal Republican members would take their places in the Dail. The scheme was finally rejected at a Convention held in March, and Mr. de Valera, who incidentally resigned his claim to be "President of the Irish Republic," broke with Sinn Fein, and proceeded to set up a new organisation—Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny). During the year its activities were confined to public meetings, but so far as could be judged, Mr. de Valera was more successful in enrolling recruits than the orthodox Sinn Fein leaders, though both groups were heavily handicapped by lack of funds and by rapidly diminishing enthusiasm for any brand of Republicanism.

Professor Magennis, who led the opposition to the ratification of the Border Agreement in the Dail, extended the platform of the People's Party or Clann Eireann to include Mr. de Valera's demand for the removal of the Dail oath. By this means it was hoped to secure an exchange of preferences in the next election with Republicans, but Fianna Fail refused, by a large majority, to give any support to groups inside the Free State Assembly, even though these may advocate political remedies with which opponents of the Treaty were in entire agreement.

The year began well for Labour, which, in February, succeeded in winning a by-election in County Dublin with a majority of 365. Normally, this should have been a safe seat for the Government, but the choice of a publican as a candidate did not commend itself to the voters, the great majority of whom remained at home. The blow was softened a little by the fact that on the same day the Government nominee was successful in recapturing one of the seats in Leix-Offaly from the anti-Treatyites.

More important than the success in County Dublin was the decision of Labour to remove the restriction which confined membership of the party to trade unionists, and this was followed by a vigorous campaign in the rural districts. Later in the year Labour scored a bigger success by concluding a new agreement

with Northern workers, under which, while the political movement in each area was to be controlled directly by its own Executive, the Trade Union Congress continued to be the supreme body in industrial affairs, and an interlocking arrangement between the Northern and Southern Executives promised to ensure substantial political cohesion. Labour was thus in a position to claim that it was the only group which had succeeded, in spite of Partition, in maintaining unity on an All-Ireland basis.

Towards the end of January a dispute, which raised grave constitutional issues, was brought to a head by the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to admit an appeal in the case of *Lynham v. Butler*, which turned upon the application of the Free State Land Act of 1923 to untenanted land. The Government, with the support of all parties in the Dail, maintained that appeals to the Privy Council should be granted only if some important constitutional principle were involved, and adopted the drastic course of passing an Act which declared that the law was as it had been interpreted in the findings of the Irish Supreme Court, against which the appeal had been entered. Ultimately the incident ended by the decision of the appellant to withdraw the case.

Mr. Blythe's Budget statement in April was heralded by a showy Protectionist campaign, which gained some importance from the fact that it had the blessing of the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, who, as an Extern Minister, is responsible to the Dail and not to the Executive Council. The Government, however, declined to be stampeded, and tariff extensions were confined to an import duty of half a crown per cwt. on oatmeal, and a revenue-raising tax of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. on radio sets. As in England, betting transactions were taxed for the first time, but the ban on cash betting was removed, though the Gaming Act remained in force. By providing for the funding of non-recurrent expenditure, the Minister for Finance knocked four and a half millions off his demand. With revenue estimated at 23,750,000*l.*, this still left a deficit of half a million, but Mr. Blythe was hopeful that in practice expenditure would not be as heavy as he had forecasted, and the Budget would be made to balance. National Loan, originally issued at 95, remained firm at 99, and in December touched 100.

While the Budget debates were still in progress, the Government, towards the end of June, introduced a Bill to provide for the appointment of Tariff Commissioners. This step was taken as part of the new official policy of "Selective Protection." The three Commissioners, members of the Civil Service, were to investigate the claims of industries which sought protection, and report under various heads to the Executive Council, which retained in its own hands the power to grant or reject the application. There were long delays in nominating Commissioners, and

the first meeting of the Tribunal did not take place till mid-December. An official document issued shortly before the meeting stated that the protected industries had found employment for over 9,000 additional workers. On the other hand, Mr. Cosgrave declared in one of his speeches that, while tariffs had been placed on 50 per cent. of Free State imports, the benefit in employment bore no relation to the cost of the experiment.

Another political party made its bow in September. This was the National League launched by Captain Redmond, a son of the leader of the old Parliamentary Party. Though Captain Redmond declared that his League had no connection with former or existing organisations, it was expected that he would receive the backing of elements which supported his father. If Sinn Fein silenced constitutional Moderates, it never succeeded in submerging them. Captain Redmond accepted the Treaty settlement, and his aim was to use it to restore Irish unity by a policy of conciliation towards Ulster and friendly co-operation with England. His group is the first political combination to protest against compulsory instruction in the Irish language, which is now the rule in all elementary schools. The announcement that compulsion would be applied to secondary schools in 1928 met with vigorous opposition from the Protestant churches, and a bitter controversy on the subject was still in progress at the end of the year.

At the September meeting of the League of Nations, the Free State delegation, as a protest against the Cecil-Fromageot plan, contested unsuccessfully one of the vacancies on the Council, on the ground that the scheme of election threatened to establish a hierarchy on the Council and also in the Assembly.

Politically, the Imperial Conference was for the Free State the most important event of the year. The Minister for External Affairs, who had defined his policy as "the implementation of co-equality amongst the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations," had the satisfaction of carrying practically all the points which he indicated to the Dail would be pressed at the Conference.

Bills were introduced to vary certain provisions of the Constitution. Up till 1928 this can be done by a direct vote of the Oireachtas; after that date a popular referendum is necessary. The most important of the amending measures gives power to increase the number of the Executive Council from seven to twelve, which it is expected will result in the abolition of the right of the Dail to nominate Extern Ministers.

With the exception of a few futile attacks on back-street money-lenders, Republican extremists gave little trouble up till the middle of November, when in several counties simultaneous raids were made on police barracks by armed parties, in the course of which two Civic Guards were murdered. The Government

replied by putting in force the provisions of the Public Safety Act, which gives the right in a national emergency to hold suspects without trial. Some fifty arrests were made, but the prisoners were released before Christmas.

In December two important reports, which it is expected will be made the basis of legislation in the near future, were presented. The Greater Dublin Commission, in addition to recommending the inclusion of neighbouring urbanised areas in the capital, proposed the abolition of the Lord Mayoralty in favour of the city manager system with an advisory council. The Banking Commission, which was presided over by an American expert, Professor Parker Willis, and in addition to representatives of Free State Banks included amongst its members a former official of the Australian Commonwealth Bank and a banker representing Northern interests, submitted interim reports recommending the establishment of an "Agricultural Credit Corporation" with Government-guaranteed capital to act as a clearing-house for local co-operative credit societies and in relation to business credit proposed that legislation should be introduced empowering the Government to guarantee bonds to be issued by the Industrial Trust Company of Ireland up to 1,000,000*l*.

On New Year's Day the first Free State Broadcasting Station was officially opened in Dublin. Its call sign was 2 R.N. In the near future it is proposed to open other stations at Cork and Athlone.

The production in February at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, of Mr. Sean O'Casey's play, "The Plough and the Stars," which deals with the 1916 Rebellion, led to violent demonstrations by a section of Republican extremists. An unsuccessful attempt was made by armed raiders to kidnap one of the leading players.

The first Free State census showed that the population of the twenty-six counties, which stood at 2,972,802, had declined by 166,866 during the last fifteen years.

On September 5 a fire took place in a hall in Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick, during a cinema show. Of the 150 members of the audience, 49 were burned to death and 50 received more or less serious injuries.

## CHAPTER III.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

#### FRANCE.

THE history of France in 1926 is a record of violent vicissitudes in the realms of foreign affairs and finance. Two subjects engrossed the attention of the French throughout the year. They were deeply concerned with the fall of the franc, which

continuously slumped until, in July, it hovered about 250 to the pound sterling. They were, perhaps, less concerned, but were still keenly interested, in their relations with the German people. In addition, there were, in the autumn, unpleasant incidents on the Italian frontier (French railwaymen being attacked at Ventimiglia by Fascisti) which clouded the relations of France and Italy. But regarding the year as a whole, foreign affairs related to the diplomatic fortunes of France and Germany.

The year ended much more satisfactorily than anybody could have predicted at the beginning. The first half of 1926 was ominous. Pessimists considered national bankruptcy to be inevitable. Parliamentary institutions were challenged, because Parliament appeared to be incapable of restoring the menaced finances of the country. Parliament indulged in long and fruitless discussions, and refused to pass any specific measures which were placed before it. Democracy was called into question, and there was talk of a Dictator. While financial recovery seemed almost impossible, and the Chamber was regarded by the public with hostility, there was a diplomatic breakdown when, in March, Germany, owing to French intrigue, was prevented from taking the seat in the League of Nations which was a condition of the Locarno Pact.

In the first half of the year, which was so disastrous from every point of view, M. Briand was Prime Minister. Twice he was compelled to resign, once in March and again in June, before his final resignation in July. His tenure of office was always precarious; and having regard to the attitude of the Chamber he probably managed as well as any man at that time could have managed. Still the franc continued to fall when M. Briand formed his third Cabinet of the year (June 23), with M. Caillaux as Finance Minister. M. Caillaux had been hailed as a financial genius. Great expectations had been placed upon him, but precisely as he had failed in 1925 he failed again in 1926. He was unable to win confidence; the franc slumped without respite; capital left the country; the Treasury was empty; the Chamber was in confusion; the populace grew angry. M. Herriot acted as a kind of lightning-conductor when, on July 17, he took the unusual course of descending from the Presidential fauteuil of the Chamber and overthrew the Briand-Caillaux Cabinet. His own Ministry—for M. Herriot was obliged to take up the succession—was overturned after a single day of existence (July 21). The people clamoured in the streets, with the franc at its lowest level, for a party truce; the *Bloc des Gauches*, or the Cartel, had run on the rocks, and France was within an inch of financial disaster.

The contrast between this first half of the year and the second half was striking. When things were at their worst, the President of the Republic, M. Doumergue, called on M. Poincaré to accept



a formidable task. After consultations he decided to form a Cabinet (July 23) composed of men of all parties, except the Socialists and Communists. There were no fewer than six former Prime Ministers in the Government, including M. Briand at the Foreign Office. He concentrated his attention on finances. He worked with remarkable celerity. At once the outcry was stilled and confidence began to return. The franc stopped on the edge of the abyss and quickly took up a tenable position. A sinking fund was established to ease the Treasury. The Chamber, frankly alarmed, did everything it was asked to do, and M. Poincaré passed laws with record rapidity and obtained powers of decree which had previously been fiercely disputed by the Deputies. The Budget, a properly balanced Budget, was voted in thirty-six days, before the opening of the financial year to which it applied. Nothing like M. Poincaré's performance had been seen for generations. If anything, the franc recovered too quickly and the economic life of the country was perturbed—an inevitable penalty, however, for past blunders, a penalty which M. Caillaux had never ceased to prophesy. At the end of the year stabilisation was still to be achieved, but the Banque de France had announced its willingness to buy and sell at approximately 122 francs to the pound and 25 to the dollar. There was, if not legal stabilisation, what appeared to be *de facto* stabilisation.

In the meantime, M. Briand, retrieving his earlier blunders, strove for political *rapprochement* between France and Germany. The Industrialists, on their side, strove for economic accords, and a Steel Trust was established. On September 8, Germany was admitted into the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact became operative. M. Briand, in the same month, had private conversations with Herr Stresemann at Thoiry. In December, at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, it was resolved to withdraw the Inter-Allied Commission of Military Control which had been operating in Germany, and to allow an investigating committee of the League to take over similar duties as from February 1, 1927. There was also serious talk of the withdrawal of British, French, and Belgian troops from the Rhineland, where they are entitled to stay, under the Treaty, until 1935.

Such was the general trend of affairs during the year. It may be amplified by the record of the more important outstanding facts.

On January 12 the Socialist Congress once more rejected the principle of participation in Ministerial responsibility. The *Bloc des Gauches*, or the Cartel, was a combination of the Radical and Socialist forces in the Chamber. It had been put to severe tests by the attitude of the Socialists in 1925. They were willing to give a conditional support to Radical Governments always ready to go into opposition, and would not

of the party to hold office in the Government. Already the alliance was breaking down, and this decision of the January Congress was yet another warning.

On January 16 the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was inaugurated in Paris. It had arisen out of a French proposal to organise, under the auspices of the League of Nations, in the Montpensier wing of the Palais-Royal, a body which should concern itself with the co-ordination of literary, artistic, and scientific efforts in all the countries of the world. Representatives were appointed for many nations, and at the head of the Institute was placed M. Julian Luchaire.

At the end of January the Allied troops withdrew from the Cologne zone which, according to the Treaty, should have been evacuated a year earlier.

Throughout February the Chamber wrestled with the budgetary problems. The Budget under discussion was that relating to 1926, which should have been passed before the end of 1925, but the Deputies could not agree on the nature of the taxes to be imposed nor on the method of their application. Week after week the struggle continued, with interminable debates, many night sittings, and constant danger for the Government; and it was to be pursued in this disheartening fashion for several months. The system of monthly credits had to be adopted, with unfortunate results for the franc. On February 3 the Chamber voted for an obligatory declaration under oath of income, but on February 18 the Senatorial Commission rejected these measures. On February 10 the Chamber decided that rents of houses and apartments should, in spite of the depreciated franc, be raised only 100 per cent. over the pre-war rents. On February 19 a Franco-Turkish accord dealing with outstanding disputes, political and economic, was signed at Angora. On the 26th a debate on the Locarno policy of M. Briand was begun in the Chamber, and on this occasion M. Briand made a notable discourse in favour of reconciliation, a discourse which, following the French custom, was ordered to be printed and placarded on public buildings in every commune of France. On March 2 the Chamber ratified the Locarno agreement by 413 votes to 17—thus demonstrating the quasi-unanimity of Parliament in favour of the Briand policy.

March was a stirring month. On the 3rd the Chamber again endeavoured to re-establish the principle of the fiscal oath. On the 6th, however, the Briand Cabinet was placed in a minority at the Palais-Bourbon on the question of the sales tax, and M. Briand was obliged to present his resignation to the President of the Republic. M. Paul Doumer was the Finance Minister at that time and he had thought right to press his opinion that, in the face of the great budgetary deficits, the sales tax should be raised. The Socialists, and in large part the Radicals, believed

the sales tax to be undemocratic, inasmuch as it was a tax on all articles of consumption and would fall heavily upon the working classes. M. Doumer's argument was that increased direct taxation would be difficult to enforce, could not be collected immediately, and, therefore, would not meet the urgent needs; and, moreover, would not increase automatically as the franc depreciated. The sales tax, on the contrary, would collect itself, would bring money into the Exchequer at once, and would, in the event of a further fall of the franc and a corresponding increase in prices, automatically augment in volume.

The downfall of M. Briand at this juncture was the more serious because, in his capacity of Foreign Minister, he was due that day at Geneva, where forty-eight nations were prepared to admit Germany into the League of Nations and thus render the Locarno Pact operative. In spite of his ambiguous situation, M. Briand nevertheless decided to go to Geneva. There fresh difficulties awaited him. Certain French diplomatic circles had imagined that when Germany took her seat on the Council of the League Poland should be given a permanent seat to counter-balance Germany's influence. Poland was, indeed, anxious to obtain a seat at the same moment as Germany. Thereupon other nations, notably Brazil and Spain, declared that they, too, were entitled to permanent seats, and they announced that if seats were not given them they would resign from the League. Germany, for her part, urged that the bargain was that she alone would be given a seat, and she would not accept it if its significance were diminished. Hence the abortive character of the March meeting of the League of Nations.

The absence of M. Briand during a ministerial crisis was the more extraordinary because the President of the Republic was at Lyons, and M. Herriot, the President of the Chamber, was also at Lyons, in connexion with the opening of the Fair in that city. They hastened back to Paris, and, after the usual consultations, M. Briand, on March 10, reconstructed his Cabinet, with M. Raoul Péret in the post of Finance Minister. M. Herriot had been asked to take the post but had declined it, and M. Cailiaux awaited a more favourable season. M. Louis Malvy was included in the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. When, however, M. Briand presented his Government to the Chamber on March 18, there were fierce personal attacks on M. Malvy on account of his war administration and his subsequent condemnation by the Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice. So keenly did M. Malvy feel these attacks that he fainted in the Chamber. His resignation followed on April 8.

A curious political incident occurred on March 28 when, in a by-election in the second sector of Paris, two Communists were chosen as Deputies, with the support of the Radicals and the Socialists on a second ballot. The alliance of Socialists and

Radicals had always been understood to be antagonistic to Communism, and yet, although that alliance had been enfeebled in the Chamber, it was renewed for electoral purposes, and was even, in virtue of the theory that there were no enemies on the Left, extended to include the Communists. Political prophets saw in this incident the premonitory signs of a subsequent combination of all the parties of the Left. Many Radicals protested. M. Franklin-Bouillon, in particular, voiced the view that Radicals who were at the same time Nationalist should separate themselves from the group which was trending Leftwards.

April was chiefly remarkable for the signature, at Washington (April 29), of a debts agreement between France and America. Three days before a provisional accord on the lines already reached the previous year had been accepted by Paris and London. The agreement with London was contingent upon the agreement with Washington and involved no new point (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 148). M. Bérenger had been appointed Ambassador to the United States, and the accord which he signed with Mr. Mellon contained the following provisions. The amount to be consolidated was four milliards and 25,000 dollars. This sum comprised the war stocks purchased by France. The borrowings were to be reimbursed in sixty-two annuities of varying importance. There was to be no interest paid until June, 1930. From 1930 till 1940 1 per cent. per annum was to be paid, from 1940 to 1950 2 per cent. per annum, from 1950 to 1958  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, from 1958 to 1965 3 per cent. per annum, and after 1965  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. This meant that for 1926 30 million dollars were due, for 1927 35 million dollars, and so on an ascending scale, reaching, in 1940, 110 million dollars, and, from 1943 until 1987, 125 million dollars per annum. On the basis of the existing rates of exchange the sum total in francs was 230 milliards. Certain payments could be carried forward for a maximum period of three years, with interest of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the sums thus carried forward.

Apart from the general objections in France to this agreement, there were special objections. In the first place Article 7 envisaged the possibility of the American Government's selling, on the finance markets of the world, bonds created by France which carried an absolute engagement to pay the stipulated sums at the indicated dates. Obviously this Article would, if applied, put France at the mercy of the American Government. Further, no safeguarding clause figured in the agreement—that is to say, French payments were in no way contingent on German payments to France. Nor did there exist any transfer clause. The payments were to be made in dollars or in gold. France must, therefore, procure on the money markets the necessary dollars or gold. Clearly, circumstances might arise in which such an obligation would be fatal to the franc. It was pointed out that the

Dawes Plan was much more favourable to Germany than the Béranger agreement was to France, because under the Dawes Plan payments may be provisionally suspended and even definitely abandoned if the purchase of the necessary currencies jeopardises the value of the mark. It is not surprising that there was an outcry in France against this arrangement, and that it was impossible for the French Government throughout the year to obtain its ratification in Parliament.

On May 16 M. Péret went to London to discuss the debt with Mr. Winston Churchill, but the position was substantially unchanged. By this time the franc had fallen to 162 to the pound.

On April 10 it was announced that negotiations with the leaders of the Riff, in revolt against French rule in Morocco, had begun. It will be convenient to note here that the Franco-Spanish offensive was pursued in spite of negotiations, and that on May 26 Abd-el-Krim capitulated and was, a few days later, escorted to Fez and placed under the care of M. Steeg, the French Resident-General of Morocco. His surrender came after a series of important victories by the French and Spanish armies, and after his desertion by some of the tribes which had fought with him. Subsequently Abd-el-Krim was sent into exile in the Reunion Island, and was allowed a pension by the French Government.

In the effort to improve French finances the Government thought fit to constitute a committee, presided over by Marshal Joffre, for the reception of voluntary subscriptions (April 10). This expedient was no more successful than previous expedients. At the beginning of June it was resolved to constitute a Committee of Experts to advise on the financial situation. When the committee reported a month later it laid stress on a number of points which, to some extent, guided the later French Governments, and, therefore, may here be summarised :—

1. Revalorisation is impossible and would ruin French commerce and agriculture ; instead, stabilisation must be attempted immediately ; further delay means increasing danger, and perhaps loss of the national patrimony.
2. A balanced Budget must be voted in due season each year, and the Minister of Finance be given preponderant authority in all financial questions.
3. Nearly five milliard francs must be found in new taxes for next year. This necessitates a more severe fiscal system. Direct taxes must be revised in favour of classes now oppressed and greater sums obtained from indirect taxes, death duties, transfer and transport taxes, Customs duties and taxes on monopoly products.
4. National Defence Bonds should be provided for by a special fund, separated from the Treasury, and, with a stabilised currency, should be restored to public favour and steadily renewed upon maturity.
5. Advances of the Bank of France to the State must be reduced, but a temporary operating fund of eight milliard francs, of which three may be taken from the first external loan negotiated, is considered advisable.
6. Stabilisation will require three periods. The first will facilitate the preparations for stabilisation ; the second will enable the Bank of France to buy and sell gold at a fixed rate ; and the third will consecrate by law the creation of the new régime and a new monetary unit.
7. Stabilisation cannot be effective until all other factors in the programme are in operation. The rate of stabilisation cannot be selected yet, but the

experts recommended a more favourable rate than that of the present exchange quotations.

8. The gold reserve of the Bank of France should not be depleted. Available foreign loans and credits for the Bank, as well as private and commercial credits, were believed to be sufficient for the initial operations toward stabilisation. But this will imply the removing of all restrictions upon the free movement of capital.
9. The Mellon-Bérenger and the British debts agreements must be ratified with the smallest possible delay if foreign confidence is to be obtained.
10. Stabilisation will mean a period of economic uncertainty, with danger for some branches of business, but it must be faced. "Work more and save more," must be the nation's slogan.

Another political upheaval occurred on June 15. M. Raoul Péret resigned. There had been pronounced differences of opinion regarding the employment of the resources of the Banque de France. M. Péret, in his official statement, said that in view of the continued fall of the franc and the absence of certain essential co-operation on which the Government had a right to count, he was unable to fulfil his duties any longer. His resignation, in the gravest circumstances, with the Treasury scarcely able to meet its obligations, and the franc approaching the low level of 180 to the pound, involved the resignation of the whole Cabinet. Once more M. Herriot declined the task of forming a new Cabinet. M. Briand, during the crisis, which lasted eight days, tried to obtain the collaboration of M. Poincaré and other Moderate politicians. He failed, and composed a Government of the Left. It is particularly notable that M. Caillaux was placed in the post of Finance Minister. Immediately, M. Robineau, the Governor of the Banque de France, who had considered it to be his business to preserve the resources of the Bank, to assert its independence, and to repel any encroachment of the Government on its prerogatives, was compelled to retire. In his place M. Moreau, the director of the Banque de l'Algérie, was appointed Governor.

From the beginning it was obvious that the new Government was not strong. It asked for a short postponement of the financial debate and was granted this delay. On July 10 it obtained a majority of only 22 on a resolution expressing "confidence in the Government's ability to re-establish the credit and the finances of the State." The Socialists' resolution demanding that a national sacrifice be imposed on the fortunes of all citizens and calling for a mobilisation of the economic forces of the country, was defeated.

M. Caillaux, on July 12, signed a financial accord with Mr. Winston Churchill in London. Under this agreement for the settlement of France's war debt of more than 600,000,000*l.* to Great Britain, France was to make the following payments: 1926, 4,000,000*l.*; 1927, 6,000,000*l.*; 1928, 8,000,000*l.*; 1929, 10,000,000*l.*; 1930 to 1936, 12,500,000*l.*; 1937 to 1938, 14,000,000*l.* There was no clause, such as M. Caillaux desired, to safeguard France if Germany defaulted in payment of reparations, but it

was understood that a modification of the French annuity should be considered in exceptional circumstances. In a letter to M. Caillaux, Mr. Churchill said that in the event of German default equal treatment among creditors should be secured. He would expect other creditors of France to take into consideration a corresponding modification of debts due to them. M. Caillaux expressed himself satisfied, but it must be confessed that there was no real promise of any provisions to which France attached the greatest importance.

What brought M. Caillaux and M. Briand down, however, was the demand of the Finance Minister for dictatorial powers. These dictatorial powers were strongly opposed in the Finance Committee. M. Caillaux presented to the Finance Committee of the Chamber a Bill consisting of two short clauses; the principal clause was to give the Government full powers until November 30. In a long annex it was explained what matters the Government proposed to deal with by decree. By 14 votes to 13 the Committee rejected the Government's text and substituted a clause containing the important difference that the Government's powers should be limited to the issue of decrees with regard to the dispositions named in the annex. M. Caillaux notified the committee that he would ask for the original text to be restored. The franc at that time touched 209 to the pound.

The manner in which the Briand-Caillaux Cabinet was overthrown was highly dramatic. M. Herriot descended from the Presidential chair to urge the refusal of special powers to M. Caillaux, who, on account of the famous document found in the Florence safe entitled "*Le Rubicon*" was suspected at aiming at a Dictatorship. It was very unusual for the President of the Chamber (the Speaker) to take part in a debate, and only an exceptional emergency could justify it. The fight was really between the Executive and Parliament. The Executive, represented by M. Briand and M. Caillaux, maintained that it could not restore the country's finance, stabilise the franc, and settle the question of Inter-Allied debts, unless it were given a free hand to pledge the country's name and credit without prolonged Parliamentary debates. The Parliamentarians, represented by M. Herriot, took up the attitude that they were defending the very existence of the Parliamentary régime. M. Herriot was loudly applauded when he said that he had abandoned his neutrality in order that Parliament should not be deprived of its essential rights and privileges. The Government might collaborate with Parliament, but it had not the right to suppress it. The Moderates, as represented by M. Louis Marin, stood by M. Herriot, and the defeat of the Government—by 288 votes to 243—was therefore inevitable. But whether M. Caillaux was justified in asking for special powers, or M. Herriot in opposing his demand, the result was almost catastrophic. At the Paris

Bourse there were scenes of the greatest excitement. Police were massed about the building. The franc plunged spectacularly.

M. Herriot was called upon to form the new Cabinet, and chose M. de Monzie as his Finance Minister. The hostility that was expressed was extraordinary. When, on July 21, M. Herriot faced the Chamber, groups of citizens formed in the streets by the Elysée Palace and by the Palais-Bourbon. The popular demand was for a political truce. It was high time. M. de Monzie explained the Treasury situation. The French Government had barely 60,000,000 francs left in the Exchequer—a sum that would be expended in twenty-four hours. Suspension of payment was threatened. In order to meet the emergency M. de Monzie tabled a Bill authorising the Banque de France to liquidate credits which had been accorded in Washington by Messrs. Morgan for the specific purpose of steadying the Exchange. That Bill was passed in spite of the defeat of the Government, and the Treasury thus procured 1,300,000,000 francs with which to carry on. The votes cast against the Herriot Government on its first appearance before Parliament numbered 290 against 237.

M. Poincaré was perhaps the only man capable of forming a Ministry of National Union. On the evening of the same day as M. Herriot fell, he began his consultations and on July 23 he had constituted his Cabinet. It contained men of very different political inclinations. M. Briand was maintained at the Quai d'Orsay; M. Louis Barthou, who had been President of the Reparations Commission, was made Minister of Justice; M. Albert Sarraut, a Radical, became Minister of the Interior. Paul Painlevé was War Minister, and Edouard Herriot was induced to forget former differences and to serve as Minister of Education. George Leygues, a former Prime Minister, was Minister of Marine, and André Tardieu, the right-hand man of M. Clemenceau, Minister of Public Works. Maurice Bokanowski, a financial expert, accepted the Ministry of Commerce. Perhaps the most notable triumph for M. Poincaré in his Cabinet-making was his persuasion of Louis Marin, the active representative of the Right, to be Minister of Pensions. The Ministry also included Léon Perrier (Colonies), André Fallières (Labour), and Queuille (Agriculture). Without losing any time, M. Poincaré introduced a Finance Bill under the procedure of extreme urgency. He proposed to make administrative economies by decree, to apply indirect *ad valorem* taxes, and to increase the revenue from the railways, from motor vehicles, from exports, from transference of property and securities, and from sales in general. The income tax was raised, and before the end of the month the Chamber, suddenly changing its attitude, had passed everything that M. Poincaré demanded. Not content with this striking success, M. Poincaré instituted a State Sinking Fund, largely autonomous,



to deal with the floating debt. Its resources were to come in part from inheritance duties and transference taxes and from the Government-controlled tobacco monopoly. The Banque de France was authorised to print new bank notes with which to purchase foreign gold currencies and constitute a reserve. In order that the Sinking Fund should not be subject to Parliamentary interference, M. Poincaré, on August 11, convoked a meeting of the French National Assembly (that is to say, of the two Houses of Parliament) at Versailles. The Sinking Fund was henceforth secured by a Constitutional law. The step thus taken was unprecedented. The franc began to improve and thereafter gradually gained in value until at the end of the year it was, in fact, though not legally, fixed at a little over 122 to the pound.

With regard to the ratification of the American debts agreement, it was evident that M. Poincaré had some intention of submitting the matter to Parliament, but a forceful open letter addressed by M. Clemenceau to the President of the United States, denouncing the settlement and declaring that France would not allow herself to be Turkeyfied, and was not for sale, caused him to postpone such a decision. Parliament went into recess and the autumn months were devoted to many administrative reforms. August was noteworthy for the conclusion of a provisional Franco-German commercial accord. In September the Geneva Assembly was held which voted the admission of Germany to the League. Both M. Briand and Herr Stresemann made speeches which seemed to augur well for the future relations of France and Germany, and on September 17 the French and German statesmen had a private interview which lasted several hours at Thoiry. Contradictory accounts of what passed at this interview have been given. M. Briand subsequently denied that any promise of the evacuation of Rhineland was made; but although, perhaps, no specific pledges were exchanged, unquestionably the possibility of an anticipated evacuation became, from that date, practical politics. On September 30 a European Steel Trust was created. It was an event of first-class importance. The steel industries of Germany (including the Saar), France, Belgium, and Luxemburg, entered into a pact to limit production and restrict competition. Each country concerned undertook to keep out of the home markets of the others, and the present annual production of all the members of the Trust was apportioned between them in agreed shares. Any country producing more than its share was to pay a certain sum per ton of its excess to the Trust, and any country producing less than its share was to receive a proportionate bonus from the Trust.

When Parliament resumed its sittings the good behaviour of the Deputies continued. M. Poincaré introduced the Budget for 1927 on November 13, and section after section was driven through Parliament at an amazing speed. By December 18 the

Budget was definitely adopted both by the Chamber and the Senate. It had been discussed for one month and six days. This constituted a record. It was only the eighth time since the proclamation of the Third Republic that the Budget had been voted before the beginning of the year to which it applied. The final text showed an estimated income of 39,728,310,592 francs, and an estimated expenditure of 39,541,443,921 francs, providing for a surplus of 186,866,671 francs. It should, perhaps, be added that although the call was for economy, Parliament raised the salaries of Deputies and Senators to 45,000 francs.

While M. Poincaré had restored French finances, M. Briand had worked harmoniously with Sir Austen Chamberlain and Herr Stresemann to bring about European concord, and on December 10 it was reported in Paris that the Nobel Peace Prizes for 1925 and 1926 had been divided among these three statesmen and General Dawes.

#### ITALY.

The beginning of the year 1926 in Italy was saddened by the death of the Queen Mother at Bordighera on January 4 (see under Obituaries). This event marked for Italy the passing of an epoch. To the modern Italian who is apparently bent on a radical reform of the existing order and is rapidly and audaciously forging a new constitution, better adapted, as he thinks, to his country and political genius, the death of the Queen Mother appeared as the closing of a period which in everything save in years seemed as remote as the Middle Ages. This process of the re-fashioning of the State, side by side with a policy of peace abroad and of sound finance at home, were the three main currents which marked the history of Italy during 1926.

The transformation of the political constitution of the country was in progress during the year; the foundation of the "Corporative State" will, according to Signor Mussolini's statement at the close of the year, be accomplished in 1927. This attempt to preserve the modern political State by the division of the citizens according to trades and professions, and the representation of those trades and professions in a new Chamber which will supersede the present, based as it is on territorial divisions and democratic election, is an experiment comparable in importance only with that other great political experiment staged in Russia. The first decisive step towards the Corporative State was taken when the "Law Governing Collective Labour Relations" was placed on the Statute Book in April, 1926.

The Law declared strikes and lock-outs illegal, made the adjustment of the relations between capital and labour a matter for the judicial authorities, and placed associations, whether of workers or of employers, under strict State control. The Govern-

ment claimed to be merely giving legal recognition, through this measure, to conditions existing *de facto*, a number of groups of workers having, as early as 1922, agreed with their employers to abandon the weapon of the strike and to accept compulsory arbitration. With the growth of Fascism and the creation of Fascist Trades Unions, the number of such workers rapidly increased, and the movement culminated in the understanding arrived at on October 2, 1925, between the General Fascist Confederation of Industries and the Confederation of Fascist Corporations, the two bodies accepting each other as the sole legitimate representatives of employers and industrial workers. A few days later the Grand Council of the Fascist Party decided that the State should formally incorporate the trade unions in its constitution and control the trade union movement as a whole. This decision was the starting-point of a thorough examination of the question in all its details; ministerial reports were presented to the Chamber of Deputies and to the Senate; the Bill, after examination by a commission of the Chamber, received the assent of that body and of the Senate, becoming law on April 3, 1926.

This Statute, which its framers claim to be the only "integral solution" yet attempted of the fundamental problem of modern society—the relations between capital and labour—would be possible only in a country of the present "historical climate" of Italy. It is not merely a recognition of the facts of the respective positions of capitalists and workers in Italy, but a logical consequence of Fascist ideology maintained by the unassailable domination of the Fascist Party. The violent swing of opinion in Italy from revolutionary communism, aiming at a dissolution of the modern State, to an equally violent reassertion of belief in that system, has already been described in the last issue of the ANNUAL REGISTER (p. 154). "The war," declared Signor Mussolini, in a speech to the Senate in March, "has imbued all Italians with the idea of the Nation." The whole philosophy of the Communist Party is now passionately rebutted; the international solidarity of the working classes is declared to be a myth. "Experience proves to us," declared Signor Rocco, Minister of Justice, "that there exists an intimate sense of solidarity within the Nation, and that this solidarity greatly exceeds any motives of solidarity which might unite the working classes of different nations, especially the working classes of a nation like Italy, which lacks raw materials and Colonial possessions." The problem of Italy was said to be not the distribution of wealth; the socialisation of industry could, at best, result in a 20 per cent. rise in wages, and at worst might finally cripple the nation in its struggle for world trade. The problem of Italy was rather the increase of production and the creation of wealth. In the light of this feeling of national solidarity there can be no question of political strikes whose purpose is a violent overthrow

of the bourgeois class in each country and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship ; nor is there room for any other kind of industrial stoppage, involving, as it would, the impoverishment of the parties involved and loss for the national revenue. The Fascist State will not, like the Liberal State, stand impotent and allow the community to suffer, while capital and labour fight out their battles ; the right of violent self-help which no longer exists as between individuals must also be forbidden as between classes ; and just as the State put an end to private war between individuals, so must it mete out justice to social classes by the establishment of law courts giving decisions on the basis of legal principles. Henceforth, in the event of disputes between employers and employed, the parties must submit the question at issue to the Courts, which shall settle the dispute with strict impartiality ; their sentence must be accepted by the parties and the weapon of the strike and the lock-out definitely discarded.

The success of this bold and radical experiment must depend on the conviction of capital and labour alike that the sentences awarded in industrial disputes are as free from political and class bias as the sentences of the Law Courts in ordinary civil and criminal cases ; in other words, the touchstone of the whole Fascist syndical legislation will be the impartiality of the Labour Courts. In order to remove industrial questions from the atmosphere of arbitration (which is an accommodation of the two forces in conflict, on a basis, not of justice, but of expediency) and to reassert the claims of the party hitherto ignored in such accommodations, namely the State, whose importance, according to Fascist philosophy, transcends those of the disputants, Chapter II. of the Syndical Law provides (Art. III.) that " All disputes arising out of the rules governing collective labour relations which concern either the application of group contracts or other rules in force, or else an application for new conditions of work, are within the jurisdiction of the Courts of Appeal functioning as Labour Courts." It was objected, when this Bill was brought before the Chamber, that the interpretation of labour contracts was too complicated and technical a subject for the ordinary judicial authorities. To meet this objection—which, however, was not entirely admitted—the Ministerial report presented to the Chamber claiming that the Courts " daily gave judgments on matters far more difficult than that of ascertaining the capacity of an industry to pay a certain rate of wages and whether this rate corresponds to the current remuneration of workers," Article XIV. of the Law prescribes that the magistrates called upon to judge in a labour dispute shall be assisted by two experts in the problems of production and labour. In the interpretation of existing labour contracts the Courts were to follow the usual rules of law with regard to the interpretation and execution of contracts. When the dispute, on the other hand, arises from a

claim that the contract is no longer just viewed in the light of the economic situation—a claim which may be made by employers demanding a reduction, or by workers claiming an increase, in the wages rate—the Court shall decide (Art. XVI.), “according to equity, harmonising the interests of employers with those of the workers and protecting in each case the higher interests of production.”

Those capitalists and workers who viewed the Law with some misgiving were reassured in a speech by Signor Rocco in which he declared that the Law was neither anti-proletarian nor anti-capitalist, but merely a “law of social equilibrium.” In fact, it had been better received by the workers than by the employers; neither class, however, need fear that their interests would be subordinated to anything except to the demands of justice. The Labour Courts, as explained in the report presented to the Senate, would not, “in order to give satisfaction to the working classes, imperil the fate of industry . . . which would be the greatest possible blow that could be delivered to the workers themselves.” On the other hand, if “the conditions of industry offer a margin for raising wages, nothing will induce the Court to pronounce in favour of the capitalists.”

The remaining chapters of the Law give practical effect to the ideas illustrated above. Article XVIII. lays down that “strikes and lock-outs are illegal. Employers who, without sufficient justification and for the sole object of obtaining from their employees a modification of existing labour contracts, suspend work in their factories, establishments, or offices, are punished by a fine ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 liras.

“Employees and workmen who to the number of three or more, after previous agreement, cease working, or do their work in a manner calculated to disturb its continuity and regularity in order to obtain from their employers different contracts, are punished by a fine of 100 to 1,000 liras.”

It is as yet too early to pass any opinion on the practical efficacy of these measures; it is worth, however, recording that no strike statistics for 1926 exist, for no strikes took place.

This legislation aims at giving to the producing classes, whether employers or employees, the position demanded by their importance in the national economy. The number of members of the Fascist syndicates has attained 2,600,000, and the number of collective labour contracts concluded for workers of diverse categories by the Fascist corporations amounts to 1,060. The corporations are entrusted with the responsibility for the technical instruction of their members, for mutual aid, education, and thrift, while the Government contemplates in a not too distant future the possibility of political representation of syndicates, “and that,” in the words of Signor Rocco, “not in an arid defence of private interests, but as a vehicle for the expression of those

skilled competences so necessary to the efficient working of legislative assemblies." On July 31 a new Ministry of Corporations was established, Signor Mussolini thus adding one more to his four existing portfolios.

The most important event in the sphere of finance during the early part of the year was the signature, by Count Volpi in London on January 26, of the Anglo-Italian debt settlement, by which the debt was funded at 270,000,000*l.* sterling, the amount to be paid in annual instalments of 4,500,000*l.* ; with a reduction for the first three years but with no moratorium. This agreement disposed of the last international obligation incumbent on Italy as the result of the war, and made it possible to continue the work of financial and economic reorganisation so successfully pursued during the previous four years. As a result of that policy a Budget deficit calculated in June, 1922, at 15,760 million *liras* was converted into a surplus of 417 million *liras*. Inflation had already been checked and the internal debt reduced. The funding of the Italo-American debt (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 160) had already favourably affected the rate of exchange, the *lira*, in January, 1926, standing at 120 to the pound and at 24 to the dollar. The rumours that the Government contemplated an early revaluation of the *lira* were denied, Count Vo'pi, Minister of Finance, continuing his policy of stabilisation at the figures quoted.

A gradual reduction of the note issue was effected ; the total circulation amounted on February 28, to 20,285 million *liras*, as compared with 20,740 on January 31, and by April 30 this figure had been further reduced to 19,998 millions. The *lira* which, had been stable for some months, showed a sudden depreciation during the month of May. Standing, on the first of the month, at 120·84 to the pound, by the 15th it had fallen to 135·16, though by the end of the month it had slightly improved, being quoted on the 31st at 129·62. This unexpected decrease in the value of the *lira* was construed by some as a manœuvre on the part of certain countries to force Italy to stabilise her currency on a gold basis. De Stefani, former Finance Minister, was of opinion, however, that the depreciation was due in the main to Italy's adverse trade balance. The Finance Minister reassured the public that the Government had no intention of pursuing a policy of inflation in any attempt to arrest the fall of the *lira*, though, on the other hand, it was averse from touching the gold reserve formed for the purposes of stabilisation. The Government had already decided, on May 3, to retain a single bank of issue only, the privilege being withdrawn from the Banco di Napoli and the Banco di Sicilia, and conferred exclusively on the Banco d'Italia. This restriction on the issue of notes had the disadvantage of reducing credit and thus hampering economic activity. It was, however, the opinion of industrialists that the Government, in

resisting the temptation to inflate, had taken the wiser course. The fall of the lira which, at the end of July, was quoted as low as 153·68 to the pound sterling and 31·605 to the dollar, continued to cause grave anxiety. The measures taken to control and prevent speculation on the exchanges by prohibiting the sale of Italian money without justification substantiated by documentary evidence, though certainly beneficial, proved to be insufficient to solve a problem of which the real roots lay in the formidable adverse trade balance. The nation was urged to effect economies, and on June 30 measures aiming at reducing imports were issued by the Council of Ministers. Expenditure on luxuries was discouraged, and it was decided to suppress all further issue of licenses for cafés, dancing halls, restaurants, etc. ; a check was placed on luxury building, the trade being required to concentrate on the erection of dwellings for the lower and middle classes. Steps were taken at the same time to secure the more extensive utilisation of Italian raw products. The Government decided itself to set an example to the nation by effecting drastic economies in expenditure, including a severe limitation on appointments to the Civil Service. A vigorous speech by Signor Mussolini at Pesaro on August 18 expressed the determination of the Government to save the currency at all costs. "I shall never," he declared, "inflict on this great nation the bankruptcy of the lira," and called upon the people to support the Government in the "economic battle" with the same enthusiasm with which they had rallied for victory in the war.

In September important legislative action was taken to give effect to the policy announced by Signor Mussolini. The 90,000,000 dollar Morgan loan was transferred to the Bank of Issue in respect of 2,500 million paper liras for notes issued on account of the State ; this enabled the paper circulation to be reduced from 6,728 million liras—the figure given on July 31, 1926—to 2,229 million liras, the gold reserve of the Bank being raised to 2,400 million gold liras. Secondly, provision was made for a sum of 500 million liras to be placed annually in the Budget of the Ministry of Finance so as to enable the note circulation to be gradually withdrawn. The drastic policy represented by these and similar measures occasioned sinister forecasts of disastrous effects on Italian industry. Supporters of the Government policy, however, held that the tightness of money consequent on currency reduction would lead to its more economical investment, and that the Bank of Italy, in virtue of its special position as the only bank of issue, would be able to regulate credit in accordance with the best interests of trade. The exchange soon showed a favourable reaction to the new financial measures, the lira at the end of September being quoted at 129 to the pound sterling. This rise continued throughout the autumn, and at the end of December the quotation was 107·83 to the pound and 22·238 to the dollar.

At the close of the year the Government embarked on another financial venture in the form of an internal loan, the "Prestito del Littorio," or Lictor Loan. The object of this loan was to enable the Government to effect compulsory consolidation of its short-dated Treasury certificates and bonds, while at the same time avoiding further inflation. The publicity work in connexion with the loan was most ably carried out, and the result promises to be highly satisfactory.

The "Wheat Campaign" (*Battaglia del grano*), mentioned in the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925 (p. 159), was vigorously pressed during 1926. The figures of the bumper harvest of 1925, which amounted to 66 million quintals were, it is true, not repeated; on the contrary, the weather conditions proved most unfavourable, but nevertheless the harvest reached the notable figure of 60·2 million quintals—in the circumstances a very remarkable result.

In foreign affairs the Italian Government followed a consistent policy of peace and good relations. The political atmosphere as between Italy and Germany was disturbed in the early part of the year by the question of South Tyrol, the German and Austrian Press complaining of the "ruthless" measures of Italianisation in this region, which was acquired by Italy as the result of the war. These polemics were made the occasion of a defiant speech by Signor Mussolini before the Chamber on February 6. This was followed immediately by a moderate but firm reply by Herr Stresemann in the Reichstag, and led to a counter reply by Signor Mussolini delivered before the Senate on February 11. The importance of the Italian Prime Minister's affirmations lay not so much in their substance as in their tone, and were jubilantly received by the Fascist Press as a proof that the subservient Italy of pre-war days had given place to a new Italy which had no intention of knuckling down to Germany or any other Power, and which would, if necessary, to quote Signor Mussolini's phrase, "carry the Italian flag beyond the Brenner." This breeze between the two Chancelleries was followed shortly by the "disaster" of Geneva, when Germany, owing to the intransigent attitude of Brazil, failed to gain admission to the League of Nations. When, however, at the September Session, Germany was granted her long overdue membership in the League and a seat on the Council, the Locarno Pact came into force, and the relations between the two countries became normal again. The effectiveness of the Locarno Pact also brought England and Italy into closer contact. This *rapprochement* was among the most notable features of the year, exemplified *inter alia* by an exchange of notes for an economic understanding in Abyssinia, and by the conversation which took place at Leghorn on September 30 between Signor Mussolini and Sir Austen Chamberlain.

During the year Italy concluded a number of treaties, as follows:—



(1) "The Treaty of Friendship and Conciliation" concluded with Spain and signed at Madrid on August 7. The particular object of this Treaty, apart from a general expression of goodwill, seemed to be the initiation of a policy of collaboration in the Mediterranean and of mutual defence in Africa.

(2) "The Treaty of Friendship and of Economic Relations," concluded with the State of Yemen on September 2, by which Italy consolidated her position in the Red Sea and laid the foundation of an economic collaboration.

(3) "The Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration," concluded with Rumania and signed at Rome on September 16. In virtue of this Treaty, according to Fascist opinion, Rumania ceased to be a mere satellite of France, and looked to Italy as the natural holder of the balance of power in the Balkans.

(4) "The Commercial Treaty" with Greece, signed on November 24, in virtue of which Italy obtained equal commercial facilities in Greece with the other Great Powers.

(5) "The Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration" concluded with Albania on November 29, which was construed in Yugoslavia as a menace to her interests in Albania, and which led to the fall of M. Nintchitch, who was chiefly responsible for Yugoslavia's policy of *rapprochement* with Italy.

(6) "The Treaty of Conciliation and Arbitration" with Germany concluded at Rome on December 29.

Those observers who prophesied that this "Napoleonic Year" (to employ Signor Mussolini's own phrase) would witness a gradual restoration of democratic Government have been belied by the facts. On the occasion of the commemoration of the late Queen on January 16 the "Aventine" deputies attempted to return to the Chamber, but were forcibly ejected by the Fascist members amid scenes of disorder. Two days afterwards Signor Mussolini prescribed the conditions on which the dissentient members would be allowed to return. These conditions included the recognition of the Fascist Revolution, an admission that the "moral question" did not exist, and the complete rupture of all relations with the "Fuorusciti" or Italian opponents of the existing regime who have taken refuge abroad. On March 16 the Matteotti trial was opened at Chieti, the verdict being delivered on the 24th of the month. Two of the four persons accused were sentenced to six years imprisonment, the others being acquitted. The chief counsel or the defence was Signor Farinacci, the Secretary of the Fascist Party; his plea consisted principally of a violent attack on the character and views of the late Socialist deputy. The result of the trial, which was more or less a foregone conclusion, disposed of a question which had caused incalculable damage to the prestige of the party abroad and had gravely menaced its position at home. Shortly after the trial the Fascist Grand Council held fresh elections, and Signor Turati succeeded

Signor Farinacci as Secretary of the party. This choice was construed by some as the first step towards a relaxation of the previous rigid autocracy, a hope which was later found to be premature when, in November, extraordinary measures for the suppression of all opposition were taken as a result of an attempt at Bologna on the life of Mussolini by a lad of 15 during the course of the Duce's Napoleonic progress in Emilia. Two similar attempts had been made earlier in the year, one on April 11, by an Irishwoman of unbalanced mind, when Signor Mussolini was leaving the opening ceremony of the International Surgical Congress at Rome; and the other also at Rome, in September by an Italian political refugee. The legislative measures taken in consequence of the third attempt included not only the imposition of the death penalty on all persons making attempts on the life of the King, the Queen, the Heir Apparent, and of the Head of the Government, and imprisonment for periods ranging from five to fifteen years for participation in conspiracies having a similar object, but also various penalties, including imprisonment, loss of citizenship, and confiscation of property, on Italian subjects acting in any manner calculated to injure the prestige of the State. (For the hearing of such charges a special tribunal was instituted, composed of five officers of the National Militia, with a President chosen from among men holding the rank of generals in the Army, Navy, Air Force, or the National Militia. The various opposition papers which had been frequently sequestered in the course of the year, were at the same time definitely suppressed. Opponents of the present regime to the number of 522 were removed from their homes and placed under surveillance, and the "Aventine" members of the Chamber deprived of their mandate. Thus "normalisation," in the sense of a return to pre-war constitutional methods seemed more remote than ever; democratic elections or "paper chases," to use Signor Mussolini's famous phrase, were, in September, abolished, even within the party itself, the Duce declaring in a recent interview that subordinates were to be appointed by their superiors "whilst the supermen elect themselves." The system of elective mayors was also abolished, and the experiment of appointing the mayors by Government choice out of a list submitted by the inhabitants was tried in the smaller centres. The experiment was pronounced to have justified itself and the system will be made universal in Italy.

Interest in aviation was intensified during the year which was notable for the historic flight of the "Norge," under the command of General Nobile, from Europe across the North Pole to America, and for Italy's victory in the Schneider Cup race. The reorganisation of the Army and the Navy was vigorously pursued, and further progress made in the constitution of the Mercantile Marine, two mammoth liners—the *Augusta* and the *Roma*—being launched in the course of the year.

## CHAPTER IV.

## GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

## GERMANY.

THE resignation from the Cabinet of the Nationalist Ministers in the autumn of 1925, in consequence of the conclusion of the Locarno Pact, had rendered a reconstruction of the Cabinet necessary, but this had not yet been effected by the beginning of 1926. While the foreign policy of Dr. Stresemann commanded the firm support of a majority ranging from the German People's Party on one side to the Social Democrats on the other, the differences in internal policy between the German People's Party, which in social matters adopted a somewhat reactionary attitude, and the Social Democrats were so marked as to render nugatory the efforts of the middle parties to construct a Government on the basis of the "Big Coalition." The Social Democrats refused to enter the Government and assume the responsibility of office because they feared that by so doing they would, owing to the enormous amount of unemployment, lose the votes of large numbers of electors to the Communists. In the middle of January Dr. Luther again undertook the task of forming a Ministry. He at first chose as Minister of the Interior the leader of the Democrats, Herr Koch, but Bavaria objected to this on the ground that Koch, as they alleged, was in favour of unification, and they therefore thought that he would be a menace to the independence of the States. Not till January 19 did Dr. Luther eventually succeed in forming a Cabinet, after the Democrats had reluctantly brought themselves to submit another name in place of Koch. The new Government was composed as follows : Chancellor, Dr. Luther ; Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann (German People's Party) ; Home Affairs, Dr. Kuelz (Democrat) ; Finance, Dr. Reinhold (Democrat) ; Trade, Dr. Curtius (German People's Party) ; Labour, Dr. Brauns (Centre) ; Justice, Dr. Marx (Centre) ; Defence, Dr. Gessler (Democrat) ; Post Office, Stingl (Bavarian People's Party) ; Communications, Krohne (German People's Party) ; Food and Agriculture, Haslinde (Centre). The new Ministers were Herr Kuelz, who had been Senior Burgomaster of Dresden ; Herr Reinhold, the ex-Finance Minister of Saxony ; and the Berlin lawyer, Herr Curtius.

The weakness of the new Government became apparent before many days had passed, when on a vote of no-confidence brought forward by the Opposition consisting of the Nationalists, the Racial Party, and the Communists, it obtained a majority of only 10. Even this majority it lost when, at the beginning of May, it brought forward its "Flag Ordinance," which instructed German missions abroad to show, in addition to the black-red-gold

flag of the German Republic, also the black-white-red trade flag with the black-red-gold jack. This regulation was prompted by the complaint frequently raised that the German colours introduced in 1918 often failed to receive sufficient notice in foreign countries. The Government persisted with the plan in spite of energetic protests from the Democrats, the Social Democrats and the Centre, as also the Prussian Government. The action of President Hindenburg in signing the regulation prematurely accentuated the conflict. The middle parties called on the Government to resign, but the Chancellor paid no heed to them, as the Cabinet was solid behind him. But when, on May 12, the Reichstag passed a Democrat vote of censure by 176 votes to 146, the Cabinet resigned.

The task of constructing a new Government again proved extremely difficult. It was first attempted by the Minister of Defence, Herr Gessler, and the Mayor of Cologne, Herr Adenauer. The Social Democrats were now willing to enter the Government, but the German People's Party did not show themselves sufficiently accommodating in social policy, so that the "Big Coalition" once more failed to come off. On May 17, Dr. Marx, the former Chancellor, who had been Minister of Justice in the late Government, became Chancellor of a new Cabinet which in other respects was identical with its predecessor. In the course of the summer Dr. Bell (Centre), the Vice-President of the Reichstag, was appointed Minister of Justice and Minister for the occupied districts. At the instigation of President Hindenburg, the Reichstag appointed a committee for the purpose of devising a standard flag which should satisfy all parties.

The new Government regarded itself from the first as nothing more than a stop-gap. Representing only a minority, it had to seek support from the Left or the Right as occasion demanded. The objective of the party leaders was still, however, to create a "Big Coalition," which meant, in effect, bringing the Social Democrats into the Government. But at first, partly owing to the unwillingness of the German People's Party, partly to excessive demands on the part of the Social Democrats, efforts in this direction proved fruitless. No change took place in the situation for some time, although the Government suffered defeat over the question of compensating the Hohenzollerns and later over that of unemployment relief. It was the entry of Germany into the League of Nations which at length created a new situation. The Nationalist Party now expressed approval in principle of Dr. Stresemann's foreign policy. A *rapprochement* between the two People's Parties was the natural consequence of this step; and towards the end of the year the formation of a "bourgeois block" and the re-entry of the Nationalists into the Cabinet again became political possibilities.

In the interval, however, the country had been shaken to its

depths over questions of internal policy. The Luther Cabinet would probably not have fallen over so comparatively insignificant a matter as the flag regulation, had not political feeling in Germany been raised to the highest pitch of excitement over the question of the compensation of the royal princes. The revolutionary Governments had neglected during their period of power to determine the respective rights of the States and the princes to the property formerly belonging to the latter. The princes had begun, some years before, to sue for the return of their property, or what they claimed as such. In almost all cases the Courts took up a purely legal standpoint, and without paying any attention to the events of 1918 recognised the "Cabinet orders" of the old regime as still valid, and assigned to the former rulers of Germany large estates, castles, and objects of value, which the State had seized in 1918. The complicated nature of these processes at law can be judged from the fact that up to November, 1925, Prussia alone had expended on law costs involved in cases with the Hohenzollerns 1·8 million gold marks.

Next to Prussia, Thuringia was in the worst plight. In 1919 an agreement had been made by which the State obtained certain properties and the members of the royal house obtained a very considerable annual income, hunting rights, and several castles. Subsequently, the legal advisers of the princes contested this agreement in the law courts, and the courts declared it invalid as being "contrary to public policy." In Mecklenburg a prince who, in the war, had fought on the Russian side, came forward as heir to certain properties, and made extensive claims against the nation which, in strict law, could not be gainsaid. Conditions were similar in the great majority of the German States.

The Republican Parties felt it imperative to settle these questions by means of legislation. When they first took the matter up at the beginning of the year, three courses were open to them : to legislate in the name of the Republic, to allow the individual States to settle without resort to the law courts, or—as proposed by the Communists—to make no compromise at all, and to expropriate the princes without compensation.

In the middle of January the Social Democrats, the Communists, the General Federation of German Trade Unions, and other bodies determined to avail themselves for the first time of the right provided in the Constitution to demand a referendum. This made it necessary for the middle-class parties, who were seeking for a compromise solution, to hurry on with their plan. The one on which they finally decided was to set up for hearing the claims of the princes a special court which, in giving judgment, should be guided not only by purely legal, but also by political, considerations. This plan obtained the approval of the German People's Party, the Centre, the Democrats, the Bavarian People's Party and the Economic group. These did not of

themselves constitute a sure majority, and strenuous efforts were therefore made to win the support either of the Social Democrats or of the Nationalists.

In the meanwhile the hearing of the claims brought by the princes went on ; in Thuringia alone twenty-five cases being heard simultaneously. Special significance attached, therefore, to the "moratorium" decreed by the Reichstag, by which all processes pending were postponed till the end of the year, a period which was subsequently extended to cover the first half of 1927.

The negotiations for a compromise plan dragged on slowly, as whatever was proposed required from one or other of the parties a little more than it was prepared to concede. The chief difficulty concerned the composition of the proposed court, but differences arose also over the questions of its competence and its power to give judgments with retroactive effect. Meanwhile the preparations for the referendum were proceeding apace. The proposal to be laid before the people was for the complete expropriation of the princes for the benefit of the community. In this way the princes would suffer the same fate as all investors and the majority of persons of means before the war whose wealth had been annihilated by the inflation. According to the Constitution, a request for a referendum must be backed by a fifth of all entitled to vote, *i.e.*, by about four million voters. This "request" was canvassed between March 4 and 17, and produced twelve and a half million signatures, *i.e.*, more than three times the number required. It was now the duty of the Government to fix a date for the referendum. It delayed as long as possible, in the hope that a majority would be found in Parliament for some serviceable compromise. At length, however, the Marx Government, soon after its entry into office in the second half of May, fixed the referendum for June 20.

To realise the tension of public opinion in these days, it must be remembered that just at the time of the "request" the meeting at Geneva took place at which Germany failed to secure entry into the League of Nations, as was so strongly desired by the majority of the people. This failure was the signal for the moving of a vote of censure on the Foreign Minister, which was supported by the Nationalists, the Racial Party, and the Communists. This still further embittered conflict between the parties of the Opposition and of the Government. In the course of April the Ministry of Justice decided that the Bill for the special court on which the Government parties had agreed entailed an alteration in the Constitution. This seemed to make all their efforts hopeless, as the Bill, in order to be passed in the Reichstag, now required a two-thirds majority, which was unattainable in the existing state of things. At the same time the Prussian Government announced that the agreement which it was on the point of making with the Hohenzollern was more favourable

than the compromise suggested by the parties. In spite of this, the Government adhered to the idea of setting up a special court, and made every effort to prepare a Bill for this purpose before June 20. Both Opposition parties, the Social Democrats and the Nationalists, refused to accept the Bill. Negotiations in the Law Committee of the Reichstag were broken off on April 28, as there was no prospect of agreement. On May 6 the Reichstag rejected all the motions and amendments brought forward on the question of the compensation of the princes. The Middle parties found themselves in an exceedingly difficult position. Among the Democrats the out-and-out Republicans supported the referendum, but the party as a whole could not ignore the opinion of those who saw in the plebiscite a menace to private property. The party left the matter to a free vote of its members, and in consequence experienced a number of serious losses. The great majority of the Centre abstained from taking part in the referendum on religious grounds and out of fear for the property of the Church.

Before the date arrived for the referendum, the Government brought forward another proposal, which was also rejected, giving to the proposed special court very wide powers, and President von Hindenburg published a letter against the referendum which added fuel to the bitterness and hostility already existing between the parties. In order that the proposal for expropriation without compensation should become operative, it required the assent of not less than 50 per cent. of all entitled to vote, *i.e.*, of 19·84 million voters. The actual number of affirmative votes was only 14·44 million. The proposal, therefore, fell to the ground, but all the same the voting represented a great success for the Social Democrats and Communists. The figures showed marked differences between different portions of the Reich. In Berlin the number of affirmative votes was 67 per cent. of all entitled to vote, in Leipzig 57 per cent., in Hamburg 56 per cent., in Lower Bavaria, on the other hand, only 13 per cent., and in the Coblenz-Treves district 19 per cent.

The troublesome question of the compensation of the princes still remained to be settled, as the obstinate struggles of the previous six months had not advanced matters a single step. After the failure of the Left campaign, the negotiations for a compromise settlement were resumed with more prospect of success. The Social Democrats, however, rejected the new proposals also, as they differed but little from those of the previous Government. The Cabinet thereupon threatened to resign or to dissolve the Reichstag, but instead of carrying out this threat, on July 2, before the Parliamentary vacation, it withdrew its Bill, leaving matters just as they were.

Prussia thereupon immediately resumed the negotiations with the Hohenzollern which had been broken off at the end of 1925. They resulted in the conclusion, in November, of an agreement

which satisfied both the princes and the State, and which obtained the approval of all parties in the Landtag except the Social Democrats and Communists.

The economic situation was not calculated to relieve the strain to which the conflict just recorded had subjected all sections of the population. At the beginning of the year the number of commercial bankruptcies and failures was still rising—in January, 1926, there were 2,029 bankruptcies and 1,553 receiving orders—and there was a rapid growth of unemployment. But the number of bankruptcies immediately afterwards began to fall, and towards the end of the year had become almost normal; in fact, the keynote of the year 1926 might be said to be a “return to the normal.” The crisis which still continued was essentially a credit crisis. A moderate but unmistakable improvement took place as the result of numerous foreign loans, comprehensive “rationalisation,” and well-devised cartel agreements. The severe taxation of the post-inflation period had produced unfavourable results which the new Finance Minister, Herr Reinhold, set himself to remedy. In his tax proposals he proceeded on the basis, not of what the Republic needed, but of what the Central Government, the States, the communes and the business world could stand, and endeavoured, not without success, to effect an equilibrium between the financial needs and the taxable capacity of the State. Reinhold broke with the fiscal policy of his predecessor, Herr von Schlieben; he reduced the turnover tax from 1 per cent. to .75 per cent., and wholly or partially removed the luxury, salt, and wine taxes. He reckoned that these reductions would mean a loss of 500 millions to the Exchequer, which the Opposition did not think he would be able to make good. Hot debates over tax proposals accompanied the disputes over the compensation question. With the adoption of Herr Reinhold’s proposals at the end of March, the Budget of the Reich was once again, for the first time since 1911, punctually disposed of. Revenue and expenditure balanced in this Budget at 4,942 millions, against 2,672 millions in 1913. This enormous increase of 84.9 per cent. is easily explained when it is remembered that the expenditure resulting from the war and the occupation of the Rhineland alone accounted for 49 per cent. of the Budget of 1926.

The conclusion of a number of important trade agreements (with Switzerland, with Spain, and with Denmark, and a provisional one with France) led to vehement tariff battles in the Reichstag, which had in the end to be settled by a compromise. The coming into force of the autonomous tariff, containing duties far higher than those of the pre-war period, was postponed, and only the duties on feeding stuffs and provisions were increased. The trade balance had again become favourable in December, 1925, for the first time since the war. At the beginning of 1926 the surplus of exports became even more marked, but was gradu-



ally replaced by a slight deficiency, though this also represented a considerable improvement on the foregoing years. Whereas in the first half of the year people were still disputing whether the worst had already been reached or was still to come, reports from almost all branches of industry in the second half of 1926 showed a decided revival. Naturally this revival was not shared by all branches of industry equally. It was most noticeable where the trustification movement had made progress. Recognising that only by the closest combination of all their resources could they permanently secure success, the German iron and steel manufacturers sacrificed the independence of which they were formerly so proud, and entered the Steel Trust; this showed that the idea of making business pay by means of "rationalisation" was influencing the leaders of industry in Germany also. The combinations in a horizontal direction had to a certain degree found their limit, as most of the industries which it would pay to continue had already done so. Still, further combinations may even yet take place. A striking example of the way in which these combinations increased the competing power of the concerns which joined them was furnished by the combine in the chemical trade (*I. G. Farbenindustrie*), which became one of the largest businesses in the world. Certainly it was fortunate in possessing excellent men at the head.

The problem of unemployment demanded the attention of the Government and its officials throughout the whole year. The number of unemployed had risen by a fifth in the last months of the previous year, and in January passed the two million figure. In addition to these two million, there were another two million who received additions to their wages, and a similar number of workers on short time. A drop from these record figures began in April. The Government drew up a plan for providing work, and placed considerable sums at the disposal of the States and the communes for emergency undertakings. The difficulties experienced in raising the sums required for the support of the unemployed accentuated the conflicts between the Central Government and the States. Bavaria especially carried on a bitter campaign against the "Finance Pact," which in its opinion set its share of the Central Government's revenue too low. The attempts to introduce certain administrative reforms and to simplify the machinery of the civil service were also on many occasions opposed by the States and provinces. The tension between Bavaria and the Reich was greatly increased by the fact that the Bavarian Premier, Herr Held, often on his own responsibility took up a different attitude to questions of European politics from that of the Foreign Minister of the German Republic. Of equal seriousness were certain points of difference between Prussia and the Central Government, notably regarding the distribution of votes in the Reichsrat, and above all the

appointments to the Board of Management of the German railway company.

This body was at the beginning of the year the object of vehement attacks on account of its policy in regard to personnel and wages and of its over-hasty reduction of staff. It was weighed down with the burden of reparation payments, and traffic was only about 60 per cent. of what it had been before the war. On June 3 the General Director of the German Railway Company, Herr Oeser, died, and the Board of Management on the very next day appointed a successor in the person of Dr. Dorpmüller. The Government and the political parties protested against this unseemly haste, and it was not till several months later that the new General Director was confirmed in his post. The Government on its side, overruling the right of Prussia to propose a candidate, had placed Dr. Luther on the Board of Management. These proceedings contained in themselves ample matter of dispute between the Central Government and Prussia.

The Prussian Government displayed great activity in various directions. In May plans for a "Putsch" formed by the "Wicking" and "Olympia" patriotic associations were brought to light. The prohibition of these bodies hastened the break-up of all the associations the dissolution of which was one of the standing disarmament demands of the Ambassadors' Conference. In connexion with the proceedings against the associations, bitter attacks were made from the Right on the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Herr Severing, and he resigned in October on grounds of health, after having been six years in office. His successor was the Berlin Chief of Police, Herr Grzesinski, who likewise belonged to the Social Democratic Party. Closely connected with the activities of the patriotic associations were the "Feme" murders. After long public clamour the authorities determined at the beginning of the year to take proceedings against the offenders. A high reward was offered for the arrest of several of the fugitives suspected of participation in the numerous murders which had been committed in the years 1922 and 1923 in the "Black Reichswehr," a kind of illegal volunteer formation. After extensive preliminaries and several partial hearings, full trials were held in November at Landsberg, which, however, did not completely dispose of the matter.

During the whole year the Left parties carried on a bitter campaign against the Minister of Defence, Herr Gessler. When it became known that here and there volunteers were still admitted into the army of the Republic, and in particular that the son of the ex-Crown Prince had taken part in the manoeuvres in the summer of 1926, Herr Gessler was forced to make a change in the army command, and in October General von Seeckt was replaced by General Heye, hitherto commander of the East Prussian division. Even this, however, did not put an end to the campaign

of the Left parties against the Minister of Defence and the other persons responsible. The Social Democrats asserted that relations were still maintained between the army and the patriotic unions ; they made sensational statements about connexions between the army and high officials of the Russian Soviet Union, and every day demanded with more energy a thorough republicanising of the army. This struggle reached its climax towards the end of the year when the question of enlarging the Government again became acute, and the Social Democrats made their entry into the Government conditional on the retirement of Herr Gessler.

The great and unmistakable successes of German foreign policy—the evacuation of the Cologne zone, entry into the League of Nations, the conversations of Thoiry, and the withdrawal of military control—were not without their effects on the Nationalists, who gradually abandoned their attitude of opposition and showed a disposition to enter the Government. The question of enlarging the Government, which had been in abeyance during the summer, was the most burning topic of internal politics during the last quarter of the year. The tacit understanding which had been made between the Government and the Social Democrats in the autumn was dropped by the latter when the Government, with the help of the Nationalists, carried through their much-contested Bill for protecting youth against vicious and immoral literature. An increased number of voices were raised in the German People's Party for a union of the Right and the entry of the Nationalists into the Government. The Government, however, still needed the support of the Left for carrying through certain important social measures—a labour law and the creation of labour courts. An effort was made by the party leaders Wirth (Centre), Haas (Democrat), and Loebe (Socialist), to form a working alliance between their three parties, but, like similar endeavours on the Right, it was of too academic a character to have any practical influence on the political situation. Thus a crisis became inevitable, and it actually broke out immediately after Stresemann's return from the December meeting of the League Council in Geneva, in spite of his latest successes in the field of foreign policy. An unusually excited debate took place in the Reichstag in which the army was almost the sole topic of discussion. The refusal of both Social Democrats and Nationalists to support the Government rendered its fall inevitable, and Marx found himself in a minority of 78. Thus the year ended as it had begun, with a Government crisis of which the issue could not be foreseen, since neither a Left nor Right Government could hope for a majority.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, Germany entered on 1926 expecting soon to reap the fruit of the Locarno agreement in two forms—her own acquisition of a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations, and the evacuation of the

occupied zones, or at least the substantial reduction of the occupying forces. Neither step proved quite so simple as she had anticipated. On February 3 it was decided by the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Reichstag, after the question had been raised in Parliament, that the Cabinet was empowered by the law of November 28, 1925, to take the necessary steps to enter the League of Nations without further consulting the Reichstag. Accordingly, on February 8, Germany's application for admission to the League was formally forwarded to Geneva. The report which came soon after that France and Britain intended to procure the election of Poland, and perhaps some other Power, to a permanent seat on the Council simultaneously with Germany gave a great shock to German public opinion, and on March 2 Dr. Luther, in a speech at Hamburg, complained strongly that Germany was not receiving fair treatment. The German delegation which went to Geneva on March 7 refused to accept election to the League Council on the conditions desired by France and Britain, and returned home empty-handed. Their action was supported even by those parties which favoured Germany's entry into the League. On April 15, however, the Government accepted the invitation to take part in the League Commission of Inquiry, and later it assented to the scheme for the allotment of seats proposed by Lord Cecil, and at the League meeting in September Germany was duly elected a member of the League with a permanent seat on the Council.

The evacuation of the first (Cologne) zone by the British troops was completed by January 31, amid general rejoicings, in which the German Press did not forget to pay a tribute to the behaviour of the British troops during the seven years of occupation. Shortly before this date the German Government had made representations to the Allies with a view to procuring a reduction of the garrison of over 70,000 men which still remained in the second and third zones. On January 28 the Allied Powers intimated that they were prepared to reduce the garrison when Germany entered the League, if not earlier. In the course of the year, however, the Investigation Committee of the Allied Powers found reason to complain that Germany was not carrying out its disarmament obligations in the matter of fortifications, and the occupying force had not been reduced by the end of the year. The vexation which this caused in Germany was to some extent compensated by the interview which Dr. Stresemann had with M. Briand at Thoiry after the League meeting in September, and which promised, if M. Briand was supported at home, to inaugurate an era of friendly co-operation between France and Germany.

On April 24 Germany concluded a new Convention with Russia for the purpose, as Dr. Marx said subsequently, "of adjusting German-Russian relations to the new political situation

created by Locarno." The basis of relations between the two countries continued to be the Treaty of Rapallo, but each now undertook definitely to remain neutral if the other was made the subject of aggression, and not to join in a financial or economic boycott against the other. This new Convention was the subject of much adverse comment in foreign countries, and to disarm suspicion Dr. Stresemann stated emphatically that Germany still adhered to the principles of Locarno and the Statutes of the League of Nations, and in a speech made on May 1 he pointed out that so far no valid argument had been adduced to show that the Treaty was in conflict with these principles and statutes, at the same time denying that there were any secret clauses between Germany and Russia. The agitation against the Treaty in other countries subsequently died down, and Germany's new tie with Russia did not prevent her from entering, before the end of the year, into much more friendly relations with Italy, and, to an almost equal extent, with Great Britain and France.

#### AUSTRIA.

The most significant event in Austrian affairs during 1926 was the removal of League control and the departure from Austrian territory of Dr. Zimmermann, the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations. The League Council had decided in 1925 that the time had nearly arrived when Austria might be left to stand alone, and at the Council meeting in June, 1926, Sir Austen Chamberlain made the formal proposal that control should terminate on June 30. His speech depicted the almost hopeless situation in which the League had found Austria when that body undertook the reconstruction of Austrian finances in 1922. It was well, Sir Austen said, "to recall what hard necessity required of the Austrian Government and people in order that they might render homage to the courage with which the Austrians had executed their obligations." Dr. Zimmermann, in a speech to the Council reviewing the situation in June, 1926, said that Austria was financially sound, despite her unsatisfactory economic condition. Only 13 per cent. of the League Loan had been used to meet current deficits; large sums had been used in productive expenditure and a considerable balance still remained available for similar use. The bonds of the Loan were quoted at considerably above par. The successful conclusion of this first League reconstruction effort was made the occasion of warm demonstrations of friendship for Austria by the representatives of the Powers.

The right to re-establish control under certain conditions (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 175) was retained by the League. So long, however, as the state of the national finances continues satisfactory, Austria will be left undisturbed in the exercise of

her restored financial and economic liberties. In January, 1926, Mr. Robert Charles Kay was appointed Adviser to the National Bank of Austria (a post which the League also insisted should be continued for a further three years), and took up his residence in Vienna in June. The former adviser, a Dutchman, was non-resident, so that in this respect closer relationship between Vienna and the international money market was established. The Social-Democrats, after making demonstrative protests against the conditions attached to the abolition of control, accepted the situation and abandoned their opposition to the necessary Parliamentary measures.

Austria's economic development during the year continued to be hampered by the high tariff walls with which she was surrounded, and the first object of her foreign policy was still to procure from her neighbours more favourable treatment for her articles of export. The only definite success which she had to record in this field during the year was the conclusion, on January 6, of a Commercial Treaty with Switzerland, stipulating for mutual tariff concessions. A Commercial Treaty was also concluded with Hungary in the summer, and in the latter half of the year, a Treaty with Yugoslavia. Minor tariff arrangements were made with seven States during the year, more important commercial agreements with Holland and Norway, and finally a Commercial Treaty with China. In order to arm itself with greater bargaining power in economic negotiations the Government, on April 15, introduced a Bill empowering it to make certain changes in the tariff in a protectionist direction, and this was passed in July, the Social-Democrats supporting it in spite of their Free Trade principles, on the ground that the policy of Austria's neighbours made it necessary.

A condition laid down by some of Austria's neighbours for the granting of commercial concessions was the cessation of propaganda in favour of union of Austria and Germany. The Government, which was in any case divided on this question, was not unwilling to see it temporarily shelved. The official attitude is that while Austria still claims the right to decide this question without foreign interference, it is not possible for her to do so at present. Every public reminder of Austria's claims was deprecated by the Government, but various legislative measures which were adopted during the year sought to bring Austrian institutions into line with those of the German Republic. Austrians and Germans enjoy equal rights in both countries in such matters as education, State insurance, and pensions. In various ways, Austrians and Germans are being placed in a privileged position as regards foreigners in one another's countries. Neither country is in a hurry to see their union realised; there is a great deal of spade work to be accomplished first of all. In March, Dr. Ramek visited Berlin, but he skilfully framed his speeches in such a way as to avoid

either disappointing German hopes or alarming Austria's neighbours. With a view to disarming possible Czech hostility, he paid a special visit to Prague *en route*.

The cautious attitude of the Austrian Government towards union with Germany rendered possible a notable political *rapprochement* with Czechoslovakia. The Austrian Social-Democrats, who are always afraid of trouble with, or domination by, Austria's anti-democratic neighbours, Italy and Hungary, saw an additional security for democracy in Austria in the friendship of Czechoslovakia. Despite Czech hostility to the idea of Austro-German union, for which the Social-Democrats showed more enthusiasm than any other Austrian party, and despite the Czech treatment of German minorities, against which Austrian Socialists have frequently protested, they gave the fullest support to Dr. Ramek's Government in this matter. Dr. Beneš came to Vienna on March 4 to sign an Austro-Czech Arbitration Treaty, and was received with a genuine enthusiasm, all the more remarkable when it is recalled that less than ten years ago, Dr. Beneš was an Austrian subject devoting all his abilities and energy to the overthrow of "his" country in time of war.

The good relations between the two countries continued, though in October a certain hostility to the new Austrian Cabinet was manifested in Prague, due to Dr. Beneš's distrust of Dr. Seipel as a Clerical. Austria's denunciation of the existing Commercial Treaty with Czechoslovakia, which occurred at about the same time, also caused temporary ill-feeling in Prague; but this died down on receipt of the Austrian assurance that in no case would the Treaty be allowed to lapse pending the arrangement of more equitable terms. The fact that the new Czech Cabinet has, in itself, a strongly Clerical tinge is an assurance that the presence of Dr. Seipel at the head of affairs in Austria will not prejudice good relations.

In June the country was thrown into great agitation over the education question. In that month, according to legislation previously enacted, religious education was to be banished permanently from the schools. The Christian Social Party were strongly opposed to this step, and with a view to placating them the Minister of Education, Dr. Schneider, arranged that the new school curricula, which had been framed under Socialist influence, should come into force only in industrial Vienna, where the Social-Democrats were predominant, and not in the rest of the country, which was mostly agricultural and Catholic. The greater part of the Christian Social Party were not satisfied with this, and in consequence of their protests the Chancellor dismissed the Minister of Education and disowned the compromise he had made. This, in turn, infuriated the Socialists, who bitterly charged the Chancellor with breach of faith and organised an enormous demonstration in Vienna on June 18 at which the adoption of the education

proposals was demanded. A few days later the post of Minister of Education was accepted by Dr. Rintelen, the Governor of Styria, and he succeeded in calming the agitation, though he left the question at issue still pending. Dr. Rintelen resigned with the Ramek Government in October, and did not take office again under Dr. Seipel.

The difficulties of Austria's economic situation were illustrated during the year by a series of conflicts between the Government and the civil servants. The latter are admittedly ill-paid, and the lot of the army of pensioners, formerly servants of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who have been rejected by the Succession States, is often tragic. The burden of these servants of a great empire is a heavy one for the Austrian Republic to bear alone, but endeavours to induce the Succession States to assume a share of the costs of pensions have met with no encouragement whatever. The Government was not in a position to do much for either class of State dependents; taxation was at its maximum, and the Budget equilibrium had to be maintained on pain of a re-imposition of League control. The insistence on this condition by the League has undoubtedly helped to stiffen the Government's resistance to demands which it could only attempt to satisfy at grave risk to the country. In June, Dr. Ramek rejected all the demands put forward by the civil servants and pensioners, but in October the agitation was revived, and a strike ultimatum presented. The impossibility of satisfying the State employees was made the formal ground for the resignation of the Ramek Cabinet on October 15.

The principal ground for the resignation of Dr. Ramek's Cabinet, was, however, the revelation of certain financial scandals which formed an unpleasant background to Austrian politics throughout the year. The first whisper of these was heard in January, when the Social-Democrats launched a campaign against the Foreign Minister, Dr. Mataja, on account of certain transactions with the Biedermann Bank. The Government inquiry which was held subsequently completely exonerated Dr. Mataja, but Dr. Ramek resigned on January 6, and on January 15, took office at the head of a new Cabinet. He himself took over the post of Foreign Minister from Dr. Mataja, who resigned on account of ill-health. Dr. Ahrer was replaced by Herr Kollmann as Finance Minister. The rumours of financial scandals persisted, and the Social-Democrats continued their attacks on the Christian-Social (Government) Party for having used the funds of public institutions to support "party banks" which had got into difficulties. In July, Press attacks were made on the Central Austrian Savings Bank; a run on the bank commenced, and Dr. Ramek authorised intervention by the National Bank of Austria, which quickly allayed the panic. Since the Central Bank acts as a deposit bank for all the Austrian Savings Banks, the Social-



Democrats could not deny that it was essential for something to be done to allay public anxiety, but they attacked Dr. Ramek for having acted without Parliamentary sanction. A Committee of Inquiry was set up, and in the course of its investigations it was revealed that the Central Bank's difficulties arose largely from the fact that it had lent large sums to Herr Bosel, a speculative banker who had been badly hit in the franc speculation of 1924. For this Dr. Ahrer, the late Minister of Finance, was blamed; the only charge brought against Dr. Ramek was that his action in rescuing the Central Bank itself was unconstitutional. The Bosel transaction was a different matter, and other irregularities on the part of politicians and officials came to light during the same investigation. The Parliamentary Committee invited Dr. Ahrer, who had emigrated to Cuba, to give evidence before them, but he declined. At the time when the excitement over these revelations was at its height there occurred the fresh trouble with the civil servants, and the Ramek Cabinet availed themselves of the opportunity which this afforded them to resign (Oct. 15).

Dr. Seipel, the distinguished priest-politician who had successfully guided the Austrian Republic through its most difficult periods, took office once again on October 20 in a Coalition Cabinet composed, like the last, of Christian-Socialists and Pan-Germans. He took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, while his Cabinet was strengthened by the inclusion of Dr. Dinghofer, the leader of the Pan-Germans, who became Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Justice. He made a good impression by his announcement that he intended to keep politics and business apart, and even the Social-Democrats soon acknowledged that he was restoring Parliament to public respect. He had not been many days in office before he was able to effect a compromise with the State employees who were on the point of striking.

Austria's adverse balance of trade remains. Coal imports diminished as a result of the progress made in the work of electrifying the railways, largely financed by the League Loan. The electrification of the Arlberg railway from Innsbruck to the Swiss frontier especially enabled a great saving of coal to be effected. Though coal imports decreased, the value of other goods, and especially of manufactured goods imported, increased slightly during 1926.

Special efforts were made to develop Austria's tourist traffic. Two mountain-cage suspension railways have been constructed and opened during the year, one on the Raxalpe near Vienna, and the other on the Zugspitz, near Innsbruck; while a special Austrian tourist bureau was opened in London in November. In October, British hotel proprietors were the guests of Austria, following in the wake of American *hoteliers* who had paid a similar visit. In the endeavour to maintain Vienna's reputation as an

international centre of learning, special facilities were offered to international Conferences to meet in the city. Out of nearly sixty which did so in 1926, that of the International Law Association, in August, was the most important.

## CHAPTER V.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—LATVIA—LITHUANIA —  
POLAND — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGO-  
SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—ALBANIA—BULGARIA.

### THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

THROUGHOUT the year a struggle went on between the two sections of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.—the Majority and the Opposition. The debates of the Fourteenth Congress (December 18, 1925, to January 2, 1926) ended with the victory of the Majority, led by the General Secretary of the party, M. Stalin.

Some of the leaders of the Opposition lost their influential positions. The Commissar for Finance, M. Sokolnikov, was replaced by M. Brjuchanov. M. Kamenev, another leader of the Opposition, was removed from his offices as President of the Council of Labour and Defence (S.T.O.) and Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissaries, and was appointed Commissary for Internal and Foreign Trade. M. Rykov, the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, took over the position of President of the Council of Labour and Defence, and thus, like his predecessor Lenin, combined both offices. The position of Rykov's right-hand man in both offices was given to M. Kuybyshev, a staunch supporter of Stalin, who promoted him to the post of Head of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party, a kind of censorship over all members of the party. The number of members of the Political Bureau of the Party was increased to nine. The choice of the Congress fell on Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, Tomskey, Kalinin, Voroschilov, Molotov, Trotsky, and Zinoviev. Thus two leaders of the Opposition were still included in this influential body, while Kamenev remained a prospective candidate. The Congress passed a resolution that the policy of compromise with the peasant class should not be abandoned; 599 members of the Congress voted for this resolution, and 65 against it.

The position of both Zinoviev and Kamenev in the party was further weakened by the fact that they failed to secure re-election as Presidents of the Leningrad and Moscow Soviets respectively, posts which they had occupied since the beginning of the Bolshevik regime.

In July the Opposition made a new move. A secret meeting took place in the vicinity of Moscow, and the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the party held a special session (July 14-23) in order to consider the situation.

In consequence of this the Opposition was accused of having violated party discipline and of having attempted to organise a fraction secretly. Zinoviev was charged with having attempted, in his capacity as Head of the "Komintern" (the Third International), to incite the foreign Communist sections against the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

Drastic measures were adopted against the delinquents. Zinoviev was expelled from the Political Bureau of the party, and M. Laschewitch, Vice-President of the Revolutionary Military Council, who had arranged the secret meeting, was deprived of the right of occupying any Government post or party office in Russia. In place of Zinoviev M. Rudsutak, a Latvian, formerly Minister for Transport, and a strong supporter of Stalin, was elected member of the Political Bureau.

The Opposition, however, was not yet crushed. On October 1 a meeting of about a hundred workmen was held in a small factory in Moscow, at which Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Pjatakov, Smilga, and Sapronov attacked the policy of the Central Committee of the party and of Stalin. Similar meetings took place also in Leningrad. This meant a new violation of the promise given by the Opposition to abstain from any party discussions. The public response to this agitation was, however, weak, and the Majority arranged mass meetings all over the country in which the action of the Opposition was condemned. The leaders of the Opposition had to appear before the Central Committee of the party and to declare a truce to all party struggles. A resolution of the Central Committee published on October 16 recapitulated this declaration made by Trotsky, Zinoviev, and their colleagues. The Committee expressed disapproval of any attempt at revising the principles of the Leninist programme, and prohibited any fractionary movements. On October 23 the leaders of the Opposition were warned to abstain from any further insubordination to the rules of the party; the activities of Zinoviev in the "Komintern" were declared inadmissible; Trotsky was expelled from the Political Bureau, and Kamenev was struck off the list of the candidates for that body. This decisive blow at the leaders of the Opposition, after they had capitulated, came somewhat unexpectedly.

On October 26 the Fifteenth Congress of the party met and approved of the measure adopted by the Central Committee. Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev were given an opportunity to speak and express their views, but the overwhelming majority of the Congress sanctioned the policy of Stalin, which aims at a close amalgamation of the workmen and the peasants. The end of the

year thus witnessed the complete victory of Stalin and of his closest supporters, Rykov and Bukharin. The latter had succeeded Zinoviev as President of the "Komintern." He was also the editor of the official party organ, the *Pravda*. All the responsible offices were occupied by reliable adherents of Stalin, partly Georgians like himself (his real name is Dshugashvilli). A Georgian, A. J. Mikoian, was appointed Commissary for Internal and Foreign Trade in the place of Kamenev, and another friend of Stalin, Odshonikidse, was appointed Commissary of the Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection, and Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissaries and of the Council of Labour and Defence. Odshonikidse also took over the important post of Head of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party from Kuybyshev, who after the death of F. E. Dserjinski, on July 20, was appointed President of the Supreme Council of National Economy. His successor as Chief of the Political Department, the G.P.U. (formerly Tcheka), was Menjinski, likewise a Pole. Another loss to the Soviet Government was the passing of L. Krassin, the Soviet representative in London (November 24), one of the most prominent figures in the political life of Bolshevik Russia [see under Obituaries].

The Second Session of the Z.I.K. (Central Executive Committee) met on April 14-24 in the Kremlin. A report on the position and administrative reorganisation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was heard and discussed, this being the first time that a big national problem has been handled by this body. Other matters of vital concern which came before the Session dealt with juridical and economic problems. The decline of the *tchervonetz* as compared with the gold parity was viewed with apprehension, as also the fact that in spite of the greatest restriction of imports the gold reserves had to be considerably drawn upon in order to maintain commercial intercourse with foreign countries. No measures of consequence were, however, taken by the Z.I.K. One of its decrees declared all Northern Polar Territories to belong to Russia, with the exception of those which had formerly been recognised as belonging to other States.

The elections to the Soviets were remarkable for the successes of non-party candidates, particularly in the lower Soviets. Thus there were elected in the Soviets of the villages 89.9 per cent. non-party men against 6.2 per cent. Communists; in the Soviets of the "Wolost" (groups of villages), 75.72 per cent. non-party men against 18.4 per cent. Communists; in the Soviets of the districts, 49.8 per cent. non-party men against 45.7 per cent. Communists; and in the Soviets of the Governments, 36 per cent. non-party men against 62.2 per cent. Communists. In the town Soviets 53 per cent. non-party men and 47 per cent. Communists were elected. In his report on the elections, M. Molotov declared that the increase of non-party men in the Soviet institutions had

reached its limits. The proportion of the population which voted at the elections for the town Soviets was 48·7 per cent., and at those of the village Soviets 47·3 per cent.

In the domain of foreign affairs nothing of real significance happened during the year. Negotiations with France concerning the regulation of the old Russian debts and the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty were opened on February 25 in Paris, but no progress had been made by the end of the year. Relations with Great Britain continued to be strained, especially after the support given by the Trades Unions of the U.S.S.R. to the miners. The United States have not altered their attitude towards the Soviet Government. Of the South American Republics, Uruguay recognised the Soviet Government *de jure* in August. The Polish-Rumanian Convention of March 26, which was concluded after the expiration of the Treaty of March 3, 1921, was the subject of much comment in the U.S.S.R. The negotiations between Italy and Rumania were likewise followed with close attention. Great distrust was manifested towards Poland, particularly after the *coup d'état* of Pilsudski, whose anti-Russian bias is notorious. On May 21 the Government of the U.S.S.R. despatched a Note to the Baltic States proposing the conclusion of Security Pacts. Finland, Latvia, and Estonia had not, by the end of the year, taken any decisive steps in this direction, but a Pact was concluded on September 28 between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania. A similar non-aggression Pact was concluded with Germany on April 10. (For text of this Treaty, see under Public Documents in this volume.) It was the aim of the Government of the U.S.S.R. to secure peace in Eastern Europe by such Pacts, a policy which runs parallel to Locarno and the League of Nations.

The U.S.S.R. were invited by the League of Nations to the Conference on Disarmament and to the World's Economic Conference. They accepted the invitation and representatives to the latter Conference have already been nominated. With regard to the Disarmament Conference, however, the Foreign Commissary made the participation of the U.S.S.R. dependent on whether it would take place in Switzerland, for the Russians declared they would not send delegates there as long as the conflict with the Government of that country was not adjusted. The *pourparlers*, opened between both countries with the mediation of France, failed, and M. Tchicherin informed the League on April 13 that the U.S.S.R. would not participate in the Conference of Disarmament. Simultaneously, M. Voroshilov, the Commissary for War, declared that the U.S.S.R. must abstain from the Conference because the Army, which consisted of 562,000 men, could by no means be reduced.

The year witnessed a decline of the influence gained by Soviet diplomacy in Northern China in previous years. A conflict arose between Chang Tso Lin, the Dictator of Mukden, and the Soviet

Director of the Eastern Chinese Railway, M. Ivanov. The latter was arrested, but soon released (Jan. 25). On August 27 Chang Tso Lin confiscated the merchant fleet of the Eastern Chinese Railway, and put the schools under Chinese administration. M. Tchicherin protested twice (on Aug. 31 and Sept. 7) against these acts of Chang Tso Lin, but no reply was received either from Peking or Mukden. The position of the Soviet representative in Peking became precarious, and M. Karakhan left Peking on August 31 for Moscow. The Russian representative in Tokio, M. V. Kopp, also returned. The negotiations with Japan over Sakhalin did not meet with success, as the Soviet Government perceives that Japan stands behind Chang Tso Lin. The relations with Persia have not been so friendly as previously, since, it is asserted, the new ruler of this country, Riza Khan, is somewhat pro-British. The interview between M. Tchicherin and the Turkish Foreign Minister, which took place in November in Odessa, though welcomed by the Soviet Press, brought no important results.

On the death of General A. A. Brussilov, on March 17, S. S. Kamenev, a Colonel of the Tsarist Army, who distinguished himself as Commander of the Red Army on several occasions, was appointed Head of the Chief Administration of the Red Army. His deputy is V. N. Leticev, formerly a teacher, who began military service during the revolution. The Commander of the Maritime Forces of the Navy of the U.S.S.R., W. I. Sow, a former blue-jacket of Kronstadt and supporter of Zinoviev, was removed from his post and replaced by R. A. Muklevitch, till then Deputy-Commander of the Aerial Forces.

The Budget for 1925-26 balanced at 4 milliards of roubles, against 2.8 milliards of roubles in 1924-25. The revenue from direct taxation amounted to 583 millions, and from indirect taxation to 986 millions. The arrears of taxes amounted, on May 1, to 105 millions.

In the Far East, after three years' preparatory work, an administrative reform was carried out by which, instead of four Governments, nine districts have been established : Kamtchatka, Nikolajewsk, Sakhalin, Zejsk, Sretiensk, Tchita, Amur, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok. The basis of this reform is the establishment of homogeneous economic units, and the present administrative division of the whole of the U.S.S.R. is to be remodelled in accordance with this idea. A new Soviet Republic, the Tadschikistan S.S.R., has been formed in the south-east of Soviet Central Asia, in the mountain country of Pamir and the Altai, an autonomous territory of 120,000 square versts, with a population of 700,000.

#### LATVIA.

On December 18 a new Socialist Government came into office, with M. Skujenieks as Premier and M. Cielens as Minister of Foreign

Affairs. The programme which it laid before Parliament proved to be comparatively moderate. It was known to be pro-Russian in sympathy, but it was reminded by the Press to take warning from Kovno of what happened to Governments that betrayed the national interest.

#### LITHUANIA.

The Liberal-Socialist Government of M. Slezevicius, which was in power during the greater part of the year, pursued a policy of friendship towards Russia, and concluded, in the autumn, a pact of non-aggression with that country. It was violently overthrown by a military *coup d'état* carried out in Kovno in the night of November 16-17 under the leadership of Colonel Glovatsky. The authors of the *coup* alleged as their ground of action the administrative laxity of the Government, which, they said, had permitted the development of a dangerous Communist conspiracy; they professed, in fact, to have evidence that a Communist outbreak was planned for January. The insurgents overthrew the Government of M. Slezevicius and arrested all its members, who, however, were released almost immediately. After the first excitement had passed, Parliament was summoned, and it duly met, though certain sections of the members refused to attend. It elected M. Smetona as President of the Republic in place of Dr. Grinius, who had resigned, and a Cabinet was formed by M. Valdemaras of the Clerical Party. About 250 Communists were arrested, and of these four were executed. Apart from this, no complications, either internal or external, followed the *coup*.

#### POLAND.

Two events stand out in the history of Poland in 1926—her admission to the Council of the League of Nations and the *coup d'état* of Marshal Pilsudski.

Although Poland had never of herself thought of applying for a seat on the Council of the League of Nations, yet when the idea was suggested by France early in 1926 it was taken up in the country with enthusiasm. During the debate in the Diet in February on the ratification of the Treaty of Locarno—which was decided on only in the face of considerable opposition—a resolution was passed with the support of all parties expressing a firm desire that a permanent seat on the League Council should be given to Poland. In spite of the strength of this popular demand, the Polish representative at the League meeting in March, Count Skrzynski, the Premier, presented the Polish claim with a tact and moderation which won him good opinions from all sides. His reward came at the next meeting of the League in September, when Poland was elected to a temporary seat on the Council for

three years, with eligibility for re-election at the end of that period.

Poland's relations with her neighbours underwent little or no change either for the better or the worse during the year. Efforts made to bring about a more friendly feeling with Germany had led to little result by the end of the year, while nothing of consequence was done to relieve the tension between Poland and both Lithuania and Soviet Russia. Apprehensions were roused in Poland by the conclusion of the Soviet-Lithuanian agreement, but these were dispelled by the Lithuanian *coup* which took place later in the year. On the other hand, Poland in the summer renewed her alliance with Rumania and concluded a treaty of amity with Yugoslavia.

While nearly all parties were agreed on the main features of foreign policy, acute differences prevailed on matters of internal policy, and these were from the beginning of the year reflected in the Cabinet itself, which consisted of a coalition of most of the parties, from Conservatives to Socialists. The former desired a relaxation of the eight-hour day law, in order to increase production, and also an increase in indirect taxation, but the Socialists objected strongly to both measures. With the Government thus drifting to an *impasse*, Marshal Pilsudski judged the moment opportune for re-entering public life after a prolonged retirement. Early in the year he allowed his name to be put forward as a candidate for the post of General Inspector of the Army. He had a strong supporter in the Minister of War, General Zeligowski, who removed from their posts a number of officers supposed to be unfriendly to the Marshal. His candidature was favoured by the Left Wing of the Cabinet but opposed by the Right. At the end of April the Socialist financial proposals were rejected in Parliament, and the Socialist Ministers resigned. The rest of the Cabinet, being unable to carry on government without them, soon followed suit. On May 10 a new Cabinet was formed by M. Witos, a former Prime Minister and leader of the Peasants' Party. Marshal Pilsudski immediately gave an interview to several Warsaw papers in which he sharply criticised the new Government. Before another day had passed the Marshal and the Premier were in open conflict, and the populace and the army took sides. The Marshal put himself at the head of a number of regiments and surrounded Warsaw, finally entering the city on May 12. Street fighting took place in which over 300 persons were killed and over a thousand wounded. M. Witos was besieged in the President's Palace, and after a short time the President of the Republic, M. Woiciehowski, resigned, leaving Marshal Pilsudski master of the situation.

The Marshal's first step was to form a new provisional Cabinet with M. Bartel as Premier and himself as Minister of War. On May 24 M. Rataj, the Marshal of the Diet and acting President,



summoned the National Assembly to meet on May 31 to elect a new President. There were two candidates, Marshal Pilsudski and Count Bninski, a Posen landowner. The election duly took place on May 31, and Marshal Pilsudski was elected by 292 votes to 193. To the general surprise he refused to accept office on the ground that under the Constitution the President had not enough work to do. A new election was thereupon held on the following day, and the choice of the Assembly fell on M. Moscicki, a professor of engineering and a supporter of Marshal Pilsudski, who was sworn in with great ceremony at Warsaw Castle on June 4.

After being re-formed on a more permanent basis, the Cabinet of M. Bartels drafted a number of amendments to the Constitution, the most significant of which was that during the recess the President could issue decrees having the force of law which should subsequently be presented to the Diet for approval. After these measures had been passed, the country returned to a more settled condition. Parliament continued to function during the rest of the year, but all real power was in the hands of Marshal Pilsudski, who in October, on the defeat of the Bartel Ministry, himself assumed the office of Premier. As time went on he drifted perceptibly away from the Socialists and nearer to the parties of the Right, but he remained on the whole the most popular figure in the country.

The economic situation of Poland continued to be serious throughout the year, the amount of unemployment being considerable. Some relief was afforded in the latter half of the year by the stoppage of coal mining in Great Britain, which gave a stimulus to the demand for Silesian coal, enabling Poland to show a favourable trade balance at the end of the year.

*Danzig.*—On March 3 the new League of Nations Commissioner, Dr. Van Hamel, arrived in Danzig to take up his duties. In September, Danzig applied to the League to sanction a loan of 60,000,000 gulden, but the League only consented to authorise half this sum, and insisted on a postponement of the issue of the loan until certain conditions had been fulfilled, one of the chief of which was a reduction of the bureaucracy. The economic situation was unfavourable during the year, chiefly owing to the conditions in Poland and the depreciation of the zloty. In January the Vatican decided to make Danzig a separate and independent diocese, subject only to the Holy See. Mgr. O'Rourke, who had been Apostolic Delegate since 1922, was appointed first Bishop of the Free City.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

M. Švehla's new Government, consisting of a National Coalition, which took office in December, 1925, adopted in all essentials

the programme of the previous Government, but it became increasingly difficult to carry out the details of this programme, not only because of the divergencies among the Parliamentary Opposition, but also because the Coalition was composed of parties with very diverse programmes. The elections of November, 1925, had strengthened the bourgeois parties and weakened the Socialists, whose influence in the Cabinet naturally declined in consequence. Compromise on many questions was inevitable, and this policy made legislation difficult. The new adjustment of the salary scales and terms of employment for civil servants, which formed a necessary supplement to the legal enactments of 1924, did not advance beyond the preparatory stage. Other legal measures which had been promised for several years and on which, to a certain extent, the economic life of the Republic depended (*e.g.*, grants for the promotion of building, the taxation Bill, and the Bill to regulate the length of military service), likewise made little progress. The only measure to the credit of the Government was the regulation of the language question in which the language rights of the racial minorities were finally adjusted.

The greatest obstacle to the harmonious working of the Coalition was the renewed endeavour of the Agrarians to extend the system of protective tariffs to agriculture. The Agrarians demanded a flat rate tariff, a scheme which the Socialists could not accept. Consequently, when M. Švehla resigned the Premiership on account of ill-health, the Socialists left the Coalition Cabinet and brought about the resignation of the whole Government (March 17).

As the Czech parties which were left after the withdrawal of the Socialists had no Parliamentary majority, and other parties had hitherto shown no readiness to enter the Government, it was decided to appoint a Cabinet of officials, the members of which, with the exception of Dr. Beneš, the Foreign Minister, who was a member of Parliament, were recruited from the ranks of administrative civil servants. The new Government consisted of thirteen members; the head of the Government was Dr. Jan Černý, who was appointed on March 19, and who had already acted in the same capacity during a similar crisis in 1920 and 1921. The two most important ministerial posts, Foreign Affairs and Finance respectively, continued to be held by members of M. Švehla's last Government.

M. Černý's Cabinet, aware of its provisional character, restricted its activity mainly to dealing with State administrative affairs and pressing questions, such as the imposition of flat-rate Agrarian tariffs and the adjustment of priests' stipends. It was enabled to do this through the support of the majority parties, the Agrarians and Clericals, comprising all the non-Socialist and more or less Conservative Czech elements, together with the Slovak followers of Hlinka (the most Conservative Party in the Czechoslovak

Parliament), the German-Magyar Agrarians, the German Traders, and the German Christian Socialist groups.

The break-up of the National Coalition was but evidence of a profound crisis in the political life of Czechoslovakia. The Fascist movement, hitherto weak and without competent leadership, attempted to win over the masses by means of violent agitation and extreme nationalist demagoguery. The campaign was carried on even against the President of the Republic and the Foreign Minister, who were regarded as the main representatives of the Czechoslovak democratic idea. The contest was intensified by the Gajda affair. M. Gajda, the deputy-chief of the Czechoslovak General Staff and the former Commander, first of the Czechoslovak troops in Siberia and then of Koltchak's army, was charged with very serious political offences. As a result of an inquiry Gajda was retired and subsequently degraded in rank; whereupon the Fascists selected him as their leader. The progress of Fascism was a disturbing fact to the Right Wing of the National-Democratic Party, despite its anxiety to exploit Fascism in its quarrel with President Masaryk and Dr. Beneš, no less than to the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, where disagreements induced Dr. Beneš to resign his mandate in July, and finally led to the removal of Deputy Stribrny (in September), who had been to all intents and purposes the leader of the party. In contrast to the chaotic conditions of the political parties was the success of the eighth Sokol Congress, which was held at Prague in the early part of July. The Fascist agitators had counted upon securing the Sokol movement for their policy, but the Congress proved to be a great manifestation in support of President Masaryk and of the common-sense nationalism for which he stood.

The unsatisfactory political situation underwent a change for the better when M. Svehla, the former Prime Minister, who had returned from abroad restored to health, formed a Government (Oct. 12), which was backed by a majority in the Assembly, including even the National-Democrats and the Slovak Clericals. The most significant feature of this Government was the active participation of the two German Parties (the Agrarians and the Christian Socialists), who hold the majority of German mandates; two Cabinet posts were assigned to them, that of Public Works (Dr. Spina, an Agrarian), and of Justice (Dr. Mayr-Harting, a Christian Socialist). The acquiescence of the German public in Czechoslovakia in regard to the inclusion of two German deputies in the Cabinet indicated the change of orientation among the greater part of German politicians, while abroad this event was rightly interpreted as a sign of the increasing consolidation of the Czechoslovak State. The new Government, consisting of fourteen members, comprises also four prominent experts who are not members of Parliament, but who hold important Cabinet posts

(Dr. Beneš, Foreign Affairs ; Dr. Engliš, Finance ; Černý, the Interior ; and Peroutka, Trade).

No great changes can be recorded in the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia during 1926. The relations with Hungary remained unchanged ; the political and economic obstacles to a permanent *rapprochement* continued to operate. The case of the bank-note forgeries in Hungary, owing to its profound political implications and the method of its settlement by the Magyar authorities, was not conducive to an improvement of the relations between the two countries. In a Parliamentary statement on February 16, Dr. Beneš justified the interest of Czechoslovakia in the investigation of the case and the punishment of the culprits. He showed that there was an obvious connexion between this case and the forgeries of the Czechoslovak bank-notes in 1919-21, by which Czechoslovakia incurred material damage. While emphasising the political aspect of the affair, Dr. Beneš nevertheless expressed his willingness to conclude a Central European Locarno with Hungary at any time. This suggestion met with no response from Hungary. But the punishment of the culprits and the assurance that measures would be taken to prevent the recurrence of the crime eased the situation sufficiently to make possible the continuance of further discussions for a Commercial Treaty with Hungary. Although no definite agreement was reached, a provisional Convention on the subject of commercial relations was concluded on August 26.

The political relations with the neighbouring Republic of Austria remained friendly. The arbitration agreement with Austria which was reached on March 5, during the visit of Dr. Beneš to Vienna, is in its essentials only a detailed elaboration of the principles already contained in the Lany Agreement of 1922. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, returned the compliment to Dr. Beneš by visiting Prague on March 30. The revision of the commercial agreement between the two countries formed the question of outstanding interest, especially when, on November 6, the Austrian Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the existing agreement.

With Poland likewise relations were friendly ; the agreements made in 1925 were ratified on April 13 when the Polish Foreign Minister visited Prague. The Little Entente continued to be for Czechoslovakia, in co-operation with Yugoslavia and Rumania, the pivot of Central European policy. A number of questions which had arisen in European politics during the previous year (the bank-note forgeries in Hungary, the international salvaging of Austria and Hungary, the crisis in connexion with the Council of the League of Nations and the question of its membership) showed the efficacy of this regional political grouping, and formed the subject of Conferences between statesmen representing the Little Entente countries (at Timisvar in February, at Bled in

June, and at Geneva in September). The joint action taken by the States of the Little Entente on the League of Nations met with success. The right of the Little Entente to a non-permanent place on the Council was admitted, the only stipulation being that the three States concerned should fulfil this function successively. At the autumn elections Rumania was chosen to represent the Little Entente on the Council. At the September elections on the League of Nations Dr. Beneš, the Czechoslovak delegate, was re-elected to the Council for another year, so that the actual number of representatives of the Little Entente on the Council is two. The need for stability in Central Europe led, in 1926, to the renewal of the Little Entente for another three years.

Close relations between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were carried a step further by a special Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Parliamentary Committee which was established as a sequel to the visit of Czechoslovak deputies to Yugoslavia in the autumn of 1926. The purpose of this committee is to bring about a systematic extension of the relations between the two States. With other countries likewise Czechoslovakia made Arbitration Treaties, notably with Sweden (January 2), and with Denmark (November 30).

#### HUNGARY.

The scandal of the French bank-note forgery, which was discovered at the end of 1925, threw its shadow over Hungarian history throughout 1926, seriously affecting both its internal situation and its external relations.

After a long and stormy trial, in the course of which the accused vainly tried to shelter themselves under the plea of patriotic-irredentist motives, a number of the defendants were found guilty and punished (May 26). The ringleaders, Prince L. Windischgrätz, a member of Parliament and ex-Minister, and J. de Nádosy, chief of the Hungarian police, were sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Twenty minor culprits, many of whom were only tools of these two, received sentences of from two years to one month imprisonment, with corresponding fines. Several of the prominent persons who had been implicated, though acquitted, could not clear themselves at the bar of public opinion; among these were Bishop Zadravetz, Count P. Teleky, ex-Premier and predecessor of Count Bethlen, N. Baross, General Manager of the Royal Hungarian Postal Savings Bank, Szörtsey, President of the Association of all the patriotic-irredentist and secret societies, and General Hajts, chief of the military cartographical institute. The proceedings at the trial even led many to doubt whether Archduke Albrecht, Governor-President of the Association of the above-mentioned irredentist-fascist societies, was not at least cognisant of the plot. On the other hand, the

attempts made by Count Bethlen's political and personal enemies (especially the Legitimist leader, Count T. Károlyi), and a section of the Press in France and the Little Entente countries to prove his complicity in the forgery failed completely. Yet he seems to be justly chargeable with a certain levity in entrusting the repression of the plot—of which he had sufficient warning—to a fanatic like Nádosy, universally known to be the protector-in-chief of the irresponsibles who were plotting such mischief for the State.

However, by his subsequent conduct, Count Bethlen proved once more that, whatever his secret sympathies might be, he knew how to subordinate them to the interests of the State. As the fact was patent that all concerned in the forgery scandal belonged, without exception, to one or other of the irresponsible extremist societies, he undertook, in deference to an outraged public opinion, to purify these of their subversive tendencies. An inter-party Conference was called together by him for this object, but before the date fixed for it arrived (April 19), the internal political situation had become so envenomed that the Opposition refused to take part in it, and Count Pallavicini went even so far as to assert that it was nothing but a farce. Archduke Albrecht, however, as the head of the Fascist-extremist organisations, did not wait for the Conference, and resigned his office immediately, as did all the leaders compromised by the scandal, thus considerably weakening the pro-Albrecht monarchist movement which had threatened to become so dangerous in 1925.

From this time the Legitimist-royalists concentrated their efforts on attacking the Government with unprecedented violence, both in Parliament and the Press, and, aided by the Liberal, Democratic, and Socialist Opposition (although for different reasons), more than once came near to overthrowing Count Bethlen and his Cabinet.

Thanks, however, to the military discipline of his party and the superiority of his tactics, Count Bethlen once more succeeded in outmanœuvring all his opponents. He made concessions, when necessary, and was very lavish of promises, and in response to the clamorous demands of many leaders of the Opposition, went so far as to declare his readiness to resign as soon as the affair was ended; and when, in spite of all his efforts, Parliament still threatened to get out of his control, he cleverly staved off defeat by adjourning the sittings for long periods (March 24—June 5; June 24—November 18). In this way he succeeded in both gaining time and gradually calming public opinion, the ferment in which was caused chiefly by violent appeals to its passions launched from the benches of Parliament.

He also succeeded in gradually allaying the apprehensions of Foreign Governments and of the foreign (especially British) Press, whose hostility threatened more than once to create dangerous foreign complications.

Being still suspect, in foreign eyes, of complicity in the forgery scandal, Count Bethlen was received very coldly at the March Conference of the League of Nations. Once more, however, Sir Austen Chamberlain came to his rescue, and thanks to his help the resolutions of the financial commission were favourable to Hungary's financial emancipation. These resolutions were reinforced by the decision of the League of Nations taken later (June 14) to consider the financial reconstruction of Hungary as virtually accomplished, and to accept the resignation of the League's controller, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, whose conduct throughout the period of reconstruction had won general appreciation.

This diplomatic success contributed, perhaps more than anything else, to re-establish Count Bethlen's full authority at home; and the personal outrage of which he was the victim in Geneva (June 12) at the hands of the Kossuthist, Mr. Justh, enhanced his popularity. He strengthened his position still further by an even greater diplomatic success, in procuring a *rapprochement* of Hungary with Yugoslavia, following upon the friendly declarations made by Admiral Horthy (August 28) at Mohács. One of the first results of this *rapprochement* was the offer, on the part of Yugoslavia, of a free port on the Adriatic (Spalato), with facilities of access to it by means of reduced railway rates for Hungary (October 10). Active negotiations were at the end of the year on foot for the conclusion of an Arbitration Treaty, and political prisoners had already been exchanged between the two countries.

Being thus assured of the unconditional support of his party, and even of that of the reconciled extreme right, Count Bethlen could risk the formality of resigning with all his Cabinet (October 14). Some sacrifices had, of course, to be made to public opinion, notably that of the direct superior of Nádosy, the Minister of the Interior, T. Rakovszky, but on the very next day (October 15) the Bethlen Cabinet again took office, reconstructed as follows:—

Premier	-	-	-	-	-	-	Count Bethlen
Interior	-	-	-	-	-	-	B. Scitovszky.
Foreign Affairs	-	-	-	-	-	-	L. Walko
Public Welfare	-	-	-	-	-	-	J. Vass.
Commerce	-	-	-	-	-	-	M. Hermann.
Justice	-	-	-	-	-	-	P. Pesthy.
Finance	-	-	-	-	-	-	J. Bud.
War	-	-	-	-	-	-	Count K. Csáky.
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	J. Mayer.
Public Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	-	Count T. Klebelsberg.

Neither the old nor the new Government, in 1926, displayed much legislative activity. But this was principally due to the fact that for nearly five months feeling was running so high in Parliament, on account of the forgery scandal, that the quiet discussion of laws proposed for adoption became almost impossible, and as another five months were lost through the generous

vacations accorded by Count Bethlen, very little time was left for constructive work.

Nevertheless, the year was not entirely barren, as the long-pending Commercial Treaty with France was concluded in great haste on January 22. It carried with it such one-sided advantages in favour of France (in expiation for the forgery of French bank-notes) that the necessity for its revision became clear almost at once. Thanks to the conciliatory policy of M. Briand, this was successfully effected on December 14 to the satisfaction of both countries.

The Commercial Treaty with Austria, the continual postponement of which caused so much annoyance to business circles, was also at last signed on April 13, but with Czechoslovakia the long deliberations led only to a provisional arrangement (August 28). The other tariff and commercial arrangements with Belgium (April), Lithuania, Albania, and Finland, were of comparatively minor significance.

The only other important laws ratified by Parliament were a very slender reduction of taxes as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (November 11), and a readjustment of pensions to currency values, the Budget (June 4), which was fiercely opposed, both by the Legitimist and the Progressive Opposition, and finally the law resuscitating the Upper House. This Bill, in the opinion of such authorities as Count Apponyi (Conservative-Legitimist), and Mr. Rassay (Liberal-Radical), did not take sufficient account either of the true traditions of the country or of its democratic progress during the last decade. The discussion on it took nearly a month, but it finally passed unchanged—including the clauses which gave three of the Habsburgs the right to sit in the Upper House.

Having completed his principal legislative work, and having secured his power through reserving seats for his partisans in the new House of Magnates, Count Bethlen now judged the time ripe for new elections. These ought to have taken place long before, and the sudden decision of the Premier, which was not expected before the spring, took the whole Opposition by surprise. The Government party, on the other hand, being fully prepared and organised, and having the whole State apparatus at its disposal, was able to initiate an extremely vigorous election campaign as soon as the House of Commons was dissolved (November 18), and it gained, in consequence, a victory which surpassed its most sanguine hopes. Never in the history of Hungary has a Governmental party obtained such a sweeping majority. There is no doubt a certain amount of truth in the accusation of the Opposition that this victory was only due to the brutality and arbitrary methods of the Governmental agents, and still more to the fact that in the overwhelming majority of the electoral districts open ballot is still in force (in Budapest, where the secret



ballot is allowed, 60 per cent. of the electors voted against the Government). Still, it must be admitted that the superior statesmanship shown by Count Bethlen throughout this year greatly increased his popularity in the rural districts. The crushing defeat of the real Opposition, both Legitimist and Democratic, Fascist and Socialist—it obtained only 10 per cent. of the seats—assured an undisturbed dictatorship to Count Bethlen, who could now afford to exercise it in Parliamentary forms.

Outside of Parliament there was, during the year, a certain recrudescence of the activity of the more or less secret antisemitic-extremist organisations. The chief instances of this activity in 1926 were the cowardly attempt on the Democratic leader Vázsonyi, ex-Minister of Justice (February 15), which ultimately caused his death; and the bloody scenes of disorder at the University, of which once more the Jewish students were the victims. One of the causes of these excesses appears to be a certain mitigation of the "numerus clausus" law, which was carried out in accordance with promises made by Count Klebelsberg last year (December 13) to the League of Nations—although this mitigation, it is authoritatively stated, only entails the admission of eight more Jews to the University of Budapest, and of only one-tenth of the total of Jewish students who have passed out of the middle schools.

Although it is only in regard to the Jews that the law is openly set at defiance, yet the Protestants also complain of an inequality of treatment in educational matters. According to certain sensational declarations and protestations made by the Protestant Bishop Balthazár (September 23), this is due to the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, and it threatens to lead to an open religious conflict.

The annals of justice show the usual interminable list of condemnations for offences in speech and writing against His Highness the Governor, as well as for Press delinquencies of a political nature. Amongst these latter, the suppression of the Liberal-Radical newspaper *Világ*, is noteworthy for the fact that the author of the article which caused the newspaper's disappearance was ultimately acquitted of the charge brought against him. Many of these judgments were the subject of interpellations in Parliament, and more than once the Opposition brought against the Courts the accusation of bias on one side or the other, according to the religious and political faith of the accused.

The economic, and still more the financial, situation of Hungary improved somewhat in 1926, and this in spite of the fact that the harvest was inferior to that of 1925. Revenue was estimated at 740 milliards of paper crowns above last year's figure, and expenditure at 560 milliards more. This favourable result, however, was attained only by increasing taxation to the utmost limit which the population can bear. Still, the savings of the

population attained this year 22·3 per cent. of the pre-war level, a figure which, however low, is about 9 per cent. higher than last year's.

The productive investments of the State attained a total of 219·9 million of gold crowns, out of which 100 millions were covered by the League of Nations loan (82 millions still remain untouched), 102·4 million gold crowns by last year's Budget excess revenues, and 17·5 millions by the excess revenues of the railways.

The different provinces ("Comitats"), municipalities, and private enterprises have also done their best to procure funds for productive purposes. Most of the loans serving these investments were granted by England and the United States of America, and included the united loan of the Hungarian towns (municipalities), amounting to 49·3 million gold crowns, the loan granted by the English Rothschilds to the provinces (2·25 million pounds sterling), several loans on mortgage for building purposes, amounting to a total of 38·8 million gold crowns, Victoria flourmill loan (34·4 million gold crowns), the agricultural loan (24·7 million gold crowns), and the second loan of the town of Budapest (10 million gold crowns). In addition, the loans granted almost exclusively by England to Hungarian private enterprises attained a total of about 60 million gold crowns in 1926, strengthening more than ever Great Britain's influence in Hungary's economic life since the war. This also explains, according to foreign public opinion, and especially the French Press, the political and diplomatic protection granted to Count Bethlen by the British Foreign Office, and especially Sir A. Chamberlain.

The last important economic event of the year was the introduction of the new Hungarian money, the "Pengö" (December 27), one pengö being equal to 12,500 paper crowns.

#### RUMANIA.

The political domination of the Bratianu brothers, which had commenced to totter in 1925, came to an end in the spring of 1926. In response to an insistent popular demand, they at length, early in the year, decided to hold municipal elections. They fixed the date a few days before the new register became effective, but this did not save them from a severe defeat, the Liberal Party retaining only about two-fifths of the seats. The country was evidently tired of the system of government by executive decrees (*décrets-lois*), and was also dissatisfied with the financial policy of deflation which acted as a drag on commerce, though it favoured the banks and "big business."

After this the Bratianu brothers soon found their position untenable, and they resigned on March 27, after having held office and power for four years. On the same day Parliament

was dissolved, after having, in the course of the session, passed a new electoral law which formed the whole country into a single constituency, giving to the party which secured most votes a preponderance of seats, in such a way as to ensure that there should usually be a working majority of some one party. The King, after conferring with the Nationalist and Tsaranist (Peasant) Parties, finally, to their great surprise, entrusted the formation of a new Government to General Averescu, the leader of the People's Party, who had only counted five followers in the Parliament just dissolved. General Averescu did not form a Coalition with either of the other Opposition Parties, but he induced three Nationalists to join his Cabinet. The elections to the Chamber took place in May, and, under the provisions of the new electoral law, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Ministerialists, who secured 292 seats against 16 for the Liberals and 69 for the Tsaranist and Nationalist Party Coalition. The polls were relatively small, and it was alleged that intimidation was freely used by the Government.

On September 26 the Executive Committee of the Nationalist and Tsaranist Parties met at Bucharest, and finally arranged for a fusion of the two parties—a subject on which negotiations had been going on for years. M. Julius Maniu was to be President of the united party. This arrangement was ratified by the united Congress of the two parties held at Bucharest on October 10. The fusion was directed rather against the Liberals than against General Averescu and his followers. Parliament sat from June 25 to July 15 and again from October 15 to the end of the year, but did nothing of importance. The Government continued the financial policy of M. Vintila Bratianu, though there was a strong movement within the Cabinet for a break with the “Liberal tradition.”

In foreign affairs, however, General Averescu departed somewhat from the policy of his predecessors. He was known to be strongly pro-Italian in his sympathies, and he had not been long in office before a marked *rapprochement* took place between Rumania and Italy. Already on June 15 an agreement was concluded in Rome between Signor Mussolini and the Rumanian Under-Secretary for Finance for funding the Rumanian war debt of 157,000,000 lire to Italy. The sum was to be repaid in fifty annual instalments with a low rate of interest. The Italian Government on its side authorised certain Italian oil companies to grant a loan of 200,000,000 lire on favourable terms to the Rumanian oil companies. In September, General Averescu himself went over to Rome, leaving General Coanda, the President of the Senate, in charge of the administration. The result of his visit was the signing, on September 17, of a Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration between Italy and Rumania, which was to be valid for five years. General Averescu waived the condition

which had been insisted on by his predecessors, that Italy should ratify the Treaty signed at Paris in 1920, which secured Bessarabia to Rumania, agreeing that such ratification should not be given by Italy until she should judge it in accordance with her interests. On this account he was severely criticised by M. Maniu and M. Ion Bratianu. On September 21 General Averescu had an audience with the Pope on the subject of a proposed Concordat.

Early in the year difficulties arose over the funding of the Rumanian debt to the United States, which, at the end of the previous year, had seemed to be as good as settled, and Prince Antoine Bibesco was recalled from Washington. In September Queen Marie paid a visit to the United States which was followed with keen interest in Rumania. The Queen terminated her visit abruptly at the end of November and returned home owing to the serious illness of Tsar Ferdinand. The question of the succession to the throne raised by the King's condition had become by the end of the year an important issue in domestic politics. The renunciation of the throne announced by Prince Carol at the end of 1925 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 196) had been hushed up as far as possible, and the Peasant Party had not ceased to cherish hopes that he would, after all, eventually succeed his father. The Liberals, on the other hand, were strongly opposed to his reinstatement as Crown Prince, and General Averescu also gave it to be understood that he would oppose any attempt to place him on the throne.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

At the beginning of the year the Pasitch-Raditch Government formed in July, 1925, was still in power. During February M. Raditch, during a tour in Bosnia and Dalmatia, made speeches in which he violently attacked some of his colleagues, including the Prime Minister, M. Pasitch. The latter, however, held his peace in order not to lose M. Raditch's support for the Budget. On March 30 the Budget was passed by 186 votes to 90, and immediately afterwards a split in the Cabinet occurred. M. Raditch with his three followers resigned, ostensibly on the ground that Parliament had been adjourned till May 5, instead of till April 12, as he desired, but really because he considered some members of the Cabinet guilty of corruption. As M. Pasitch could not command a majority without him, he also resigned with the whole Cabinet on April 4. The Cabinet was re-formed a few days later by M. Uzunovitch, who had been Minister of Works, with the exclusion of M. Pasitch himself and M. Stojadinovitch, the Finance Minister. Before a week had passed, M. Raditch made another violent attack on one of his colleagues. M. Uzunovitch, less forbearing than his predecessor, immediately resigned, and formed a new Cabinet from which M. Raditch and his three Croat

followers were at first excluded. Two of them, however, almost immediately returned, and, after serious dissensions had taken place in the Peasants' Party itself, two more of its members were allowed by M. Raditch to join the Cabinet on April 16, though he himself remained outside.

Concurrently with these divisions in the Raditch Party, differences arose in the Radical Party by reason of a personal conflict between M. Pasitch and M. Ljuba Jovanovitch, a former President of the Skupstina. At a meeting of the Council of the Radical Party, summoned on April 25 by M. Pasitch to deal with the attitude of M. Jovanovitch towards his leader, the latter was excluded from the party by a majority of two-thirds, whereupon he formed a separate independent Radical Parliamentary group of twelve followers.

On May 5 Parliament reassembled and began the ordinary business of the session. At the very outset the Government was defeated in a debate on corruption, and it resigned on May 15. The resignation was, however, not accepted by the King and the Government continued in office, with the exception of M. Pavle Raditch, who had voted against it and who was replaced by Dr. Sibenik, of the Croatian Peasant Party, on May 17. This reconstruction seemed to strengthen its hold on the public confidence, and in the communal elections which took place in the middle of August, and which were regarded as a forerunner of the General Election, the Radicals at least did not lose ground.

On September 11 a meeting was held in Sarajevo between the Davidovitch Democrats and Dr. Spaho's Moslem Party, as a result of which the two parties agreed to form a Democratic Union.

The Government managed to keep itself in power without alteration till December, with one short interruption, due again to the irrepressible M. Raditch. In October an influential delegation of Czechoslovak Parliamentarians went to Yugoslavia to return the visit paid by members of the Skupstina in 1923. They were everywhere received with great enthusiasm, but at a reception given in their honour at Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, M. Raditch made an embarrassing speech in which he tried to draw distinctions between the Czechs and the Slovaks. M. Uzunovitch thereupon, in order to rid himself of his colleagues of M. Raditch's party, with whom he was not on the best of terms, again resigned, but M. Raditch promptly made amends and induced him to resume office with the same Cabinet.

The most serious Cabinet crisis of the year arose quite unexpectedly over a question of external policy. M. Ninchitch, who through all the Cabinet changes had retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, had made it one of his chief objects to cultivate friendship with Italy. In pursuance of this policy he had visited Rome early in the year, and later had tried to bring about a tripartite agreement with Italy and France, besides doing his

best to procure the ratification of the Commercial Conventions with Italy, which were highly unpopular in Croatia and Slovenia. But Fascist outrages late in the year in "Venezia Giulia" roused indignation among the Serbs also, and this was greatly accentuated at the beginning of December by the news of the agreement which Italy had just concluded with Albania (*vide* Albania). Public opinion in Yugoslavia was greatly excited over this step, which it regarded as an attempt on the part of Italy to isolate Yugoslavia. M. Ninchitch, on December 6, resigned, stating in a letter to the Premier that "in the last few days something had happened to undermine the conviction on which he based his policy," and informing pressmen that his motive was "to draw Europe's attention to the Treaty of Tirana." On the next day the whole Cabinet resigned. In the crisis which followed, M. Pasitch again made a bid for the Premiership, but in the midst of his endeavours death removed him from the scene on December 10, at the age of 82. He was succeeded in the leadership of the Radical Party by M. A. Stanojevitch, one of the most esteemed of the older generation of Radicals. After a Cabinet crisis lasting sixteen days, M. Uzunovitch again succeeded in forming a Coalition Ministry which included four followers of M. Raditch (but not M. Raditch himself), and four Ministers who were not members of Parliament. The Foreign Minister was M. Peritch, who was regarded as a moderate.

Relations between the Kingdom and neighbouring countries were, in the main, good throughout the year. A Treaty was signed on August 17 between the Kingdom and Greece, regulating the question of the Salonica railway and port, but it was not ratified, owing to the change in the Greek Presidency. With Bulgaria also relations gradually improved until they were disturbed by incursions of "comitadji," which caused a Note of protest to be sent to Bulgaria early in August and a collective Note, in conjunction with Rumania and Greece, soon after. Following this incident, which was amicably closed, the relations continued to be favourable.

At the League of Nations meeting in March, Yugoslavia supported the claim of Poland to a permanent seat on the Council. Its position in the League was enhanced by the appointment, at the autumn session, of Dr. Nintchitch as President of the Assembly of the League.

The economic condition of the country improved slowly in the earlier part of the year, but suffered a set-back in the middle of the year owing to the floods which did much damage in the most fertile parts of the country.

On May 1 an agreement was reached for the funding of the War Debt to the United States of America, with favourable terms of repayment extending over a period of sixty-two years. In the middle of the year the Commercial Treaty concluded in

1925 with Austria was ratified, and Commercial Treaties were also concluded during the year with Albania and Hungary, while negotiations were carried on for the conclusion of similar Treaties with England, France, and Belgium.

#### TURKEY.

The beginning of the year found Turkey still involved in the serious dispute with Great Britain over the possession of the vilayet of Mosul. Turkey steadily refused to recognise the award of the League of Nations which had assigned Mosul to Iraq on condition that the British mandate over that country was prolonged for twenty-five years.

Various influences were at work, however, which tended to modify the Turkish attitude. The trouble with the Kurds was one of them. Although the Kurdish revolt of 1925 had been suppressed with the usual Turkish severity, disaffected Kurds kept up a guerilla warfare in isolated mountain districts throughout the greater part of 1926, and there was always a danger of this smouldering spark kindling a fresh blaze. The Kurds on the Iraq side of the "Brussels Line" were a source of particular anxiety to the Turks, who feared that Great Britain would treat them with excessive liberality. In such case, there would have been a danger of these Iraq Kurds becoming propagandists of an independent Kurdist State and fomenting a fresh revolt on Turkish territory. The Turkish Nationalist Press, in fact, at one time insisted that Great Britain was pursuing such a policy in order eventually to obtain control of the Baku oil wells.

About the middle of January, Turkish Embassies and Legations abroad received instructions from Angora to sound foreign opinion on the question of Mosul; the answers received tended to modify the intransigence of Angora. But the main factor which induced Turkey to seek a settlement of the dispute with Great Britain was her fear of possible Italian aggression in Asia Minor. The hopes which she had built on the opposition to the Iraq-Mosul settlement in Great Britain itself were finally extinguished on February 19, when a debate in the British House of Commons revealed that the majority of the "opponents" of the decisions which had been taken were merely critics as to ways and means of effecting an end with which they were more or less in sympathy. A motion approving of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty was carried by 260 votes to 116.

There was a slight revival of Turkish hopes when, on February 12, M. de Jouvenel, the French High Commissioner for Syria, arrived at Angora to open up negotiations for the regulation of the Syrian frontier. The very fact that these conversations were initiated before the Mosul question had been settled made the Turks hopeful that a Franco-British divergence might yet enable them

to secure better terms from Great Britain. A week later a Franco-Turkish Convention over the Syrian frontier question was signed at Angora. It dealt mainly, but not exclusively, with railway and boundary matters. One clause gave rise to jubilation in Turkey. It stipulated that if a conflict broke out between one of the two contracting parties and a third party, the other contracting party would observe neutrality. This was considered in Turkey to be directed at Great Britain—and, of course, at Italy—and to be an indication that France would not march with England in the matter of Mosul. By their acceptance of this clause, the French certainly secured a quicker and more advantageous settlement of outstanding questions than would otherwise have been possible. This instrument was ratified at Angora on June 3.

In the meantime other influences, particularly that of the Italian problem, had induced the Angora Cabinet to insist on a settlement with Great Britain despite the pæans of triumph indulged in by the Press over the signature of the Syrian frontier agreement. A series of inflammatory speeches made by Signor Mussolini on the subject of Italy's hunger for new territory and the necessity of her being allowed to expand had helped the Turks to make up their minds. The manifest recovery of Greece and the suspected hostility of General Pangalos towards Turkey, the Greek negotiations for a Treaty with Yugoslavia, and the Kurdish danger alluded to above all seemed to threaten Turkey with something unpleasantly like isolation in Eastern Europe, despite her Treaties with Soviet Russia and Persia.

On June 6, therefore, the Mosul Agreement was signed by delegates of Great Britain and Turkey. It effected a full and adequate regulation of all questions outstanding between the two countries connected with Mosul and Iraq. (For the text of the Treaty, see under Public Documents in this volume.)

In deference to the Turkish refusal to recognise the League, the Agreement contained no reference to the award of that body, which, in fact, it embodied.

The terms of the Agreement were received in the Turkish Press with very mixed expressions of opinion, but it was generally recognised that the country had got all she could hope for under the circumstances, and that on the whole it was worth her while even to pay a certain price in order to be on tolerable terms with Great Britain at the moment. The instrument was ratified at Angora on June 9 by 143 votes to 2, with 1 abstention. The percentage on petrol royalties was afterwards commuted for a lump sum of 500,000*l*.

On June 18 a sensation was caused by the revelation of a plot to kill the President of the Turkish Republic, the Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha. The former deputy for Lazistan, Zia Hurscheid Bey, was at the head of the conspiracy, in which a large number of deputies, ex-deputies, and members of the Pro-



gressive Party were involved. Many arrests were made immediately ; the facts revealed at the trial of the conspirators, which began on June 24, lead to the arrest of a number of others. The trial lasted till July 13. Fifteen prominent Turks, many of them members of the Committee of Union and Progress and of the Progressive Party, were sentenced to death at Smyrna. They were hanged the morning after sentence, three of them outside the hotel where the assassination of Mustapha Kemal Pasha was to have taken place. On July 29 another prominent conspirator was run to earth, but committed suicide to avoid capture. In August another batch of members of the Committee of Union and Progress were arrested on various charges connected with the conspiracy. In the course of the second trial, which was held at Angora, the judges elicited full details concerning the activities of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was in power at the end of the war, and was, even then, hostile to the Nationalist ideas propagated by Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Four persons were sentenced to death at the end of the trial, and were all hanged next day. Amongst them was Javid Bey, a former Turkish Minister of Finance, and Nazim Bey [see Obituaries in this volume]. One of the chief conspirators, Abdul Kader Bey, who had been in flight since the first arrests on June 18, was captured as he was crossing the frontier into Bulgaria on August 23, taken to Angora—of which place he had formerly been Vali—tried, and hanged on September 1.

There were numerous manifestations of Nationalist feeling and hostility to foreigners during the year. In February, new school regulations ordering that where possible preference should be given to school-teachers of known Nationalist sentiments aroused some comment. In March, a dispute which had for some time been in progress between the Turkish authorities and an English High School for Girls in Constantinople came to a head, and the Turks threatened to close the school unless a Turk, an ex-officer approved by themselves, was employed as a teacher. The Ionian Bank was threatened with suppression unless it increased the proportion of Moslems employed to that required by law. The Ottoman Railway was forced to accept a number of Turkish employees against its will, and foreign capitalists in Turkey began generally to complain of the hostility shown towards them. On February 3 a British journalist who had been voicing some of these complaints in the Press was summarily expelled from the country ; the Turks alleged that he had sent out false news concerning a dispute between Turkish military officers and Turkish police. The correspondent was allowed to return some months later. On August 11 and 12 there was a manifestation against foreign Chambers of Commerce, those of Great Britain, France, America, and Italy being closed. The chief reason given was that the Turkish Government could not allow these bodies to

continue to issue certificates of origin for exports. A week later the Turks allowed these Chambers to reopen on complying with certain fresh regulations, including an alteration of title. There was an agitation against the American Y.M.C.A., and a demand was at one time put forward for its suppression on the ground that it was converting Moslems to Christianity. (Germany and Soviet Russia suffered least from these ebullitions of dislike of foreigners.) They arose largely out of ill-feeling left behind after years of occupation by the Allied armies, and were an expression of the pent-up nationalism released on the abolition of the Capitulations.

In August, following a collision between the French liner *Lotus* and a Turkish cargo boat, an officer of the *Lotus*, Lieutenant Demons, was arrested on a charge of manslaughter. The French Government took up the matter through diplomatic channels and demanded the release of the officer. After considerable opposition the Turks gave way, and released him on bail on September 13. Lieutenant Demons returned to France and the *Lotus* incident was left to be settled by arbitration.

Turkish relations with Soviet Russia were closely followed by the British Press. It is clear that throughout the year there were two currents at work in Turkey—one, the Turkish desire to stand well with Russia, the great Asiatic power—the other, the fear of Italian ambitions. This latter current tended to draw Turkey towards the League of Nations by way of a settlement with Great Britain. She had not committed herself finally in either direction at the end of the year, and despite the Mosul Agreement and the improvement of relations with ourselves, she still remained on excellent terms with Russia.

Sensational reports were published early in November concerning a Soviet League in Asia, which, it was suggested, was being planned at Angora. The occasion for these reports was the simultaneous presence at Angora of the Minister of the Court of Persia, Mirza Abdul Hussein Khan Timurtash, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Sze, the Turkish Ambassador to Persia, the Russian Ambassador to Turkey, M. Sanitch, and the Afghan Ambassador to Turkey. (The suggestion was that the Soviet was planning a League to embrace Russia, Turkey, Afghanistan, China, and Persia.) Nothing more was heard, however, of these sensational reports, and no explanation of this curious assembly of Oriental diplomats was forthcoming. Interest was again aroused ten days later when the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, met M. Tchicherin at Odessa.

A week later M. Tchicherin definitely denied that any Pan-Asiatic or other League had been formed, or any kind of offensive agreement concluded; the statement which he made left the possibility open that some kind of defensive or "neutrality" understanding had been arrived at. It was assumed in some

quarters that Turkey had been pressed by certain Western European Powers to enter the League of Nations, and that Tewfik Rushdi Bey immediately consulted the Russian Foreign Minister with a view to learning what alternative inducement Russia could offer her to remain outside the League.

There was no such remarkable development in the process of "Europeanising" Turkey as occurred in 1926. An edict of the Vali of Trebizond in December abolished the veil in his district, and threatened with imprisonment any woman found wearing the veil after ten days from the date of the edict. In the edict it was stated that the veil was unhygienic and hindered the police in the detection of criminals. An important piece of work accomplished by the Angora Parliament was the adoption of the new Civil Code, based on that of Switzerland, on February 18. It came into force in the autumn. Under its provisions, monogamy and civil marriage were instituted. In the summer the new Penal Code, based on that of Italy, was brought into force.

Both in home and foreign politics, the directing hand of the Ghazi himself was constantly in evidence. The enormous power, the strong personality, and the remarkable abilities displayed by Mustapha Kemal Pasha in the rôle of a dictator were even more noticeable than they were in 1925; equally noticeable was it that no sign was to be found of anyone with the necessary ability to become his eventual successor; had the plot against his life been successful, it is probable that the whole new system which he has built up in Turkey would have collapsed precipitately. The fact that the consolidation of Turkey (which, in itself, has been most successfully effected) hangs on a single life, lends to the Republic that element of instability which attaches to all the various European countries which are more or less subject to a dictatorship.

An agreement between Greece and Turkey regulating the disposal of the property of refugees from one country abandoned on the soil of the other country was signed at Athens on December 1. Negotiations for the construction of railways and ports in Asia Minor were concluded in December, when a Belgian group was given a contract to build a port at Samsun, on the Black Sea, and to construct two railways.

#### GREECE.

At the outset of 1926 General Pangalos, the Prime Minister, realising the growing strength of the opposition to the Cabinet which he had formed after the *coup d'état* which had placed him in power in June, 1925, began to employ openly the methods of a Dictatorship. In January he started to "muzzle" the Press, newspapers being forbidden to publish any statements made by certain of his opponents. The *Elftheros Logos* was permanently suppressed. A secret police service was instituted, nominally as

a precaution against Communism, but really to act as a Pretorian Guard and as an espionage organisation on behalf of General Pangalos.

In this mood, the General attended a luncheon on January 3 which was given in his honour by the officers of the "Republican Guards" at the foot of Mount Hymettos. He was the object of a great ovation, and in his reply declared his determination to set up a Government based solely on the support of the armed forces. There was a triumphant procession of the Republican Guards through the streets of Athens. Next day a *communiqué* was issued stating that the elections definitely promised by General Pangalos for January 10 would be postponed until further notice. The troops were informed that a Dictatorship had been proclaimed which was supported by their bayonets alone, and later in the day this was confirmed in a proclamation to the nation. The reason given was that the General's opponents had given a "political character" to the preparations for an election.

From the start, General Pangalos had to encounter a great deal of opposition. He was at no time a popular figure, owing to his general severity, and particularly to his fondness of capital punishment. His partner in the "veiled dictatorship" of 1925, Admiral Hajykiriakos, refused to appear at the first two Cabinet councils held after the *coup*, and resigned three days later on the grounds that the Navy had not been consulted. From this date on there was constant plotting against the dictator. General Pangalos replied with countless decrees exiling political opponents, amongst whom were, at times, included his personal friends. He was quite undeterred by opposition, and proceeded to institute a vigorous dictatorial policy. He announced that party politics were at an end, and forbade his Ministers to concern themselves with them. He declared that he would balance the Budget by means of drastic economies without fresh taxation. He objected to the use of the term "Dictatorship," preferring to describe his rule as that of a "Service Government" instituted to combat the "Communist menace." He indicated his friendliness to Yugoslavia, and invited her to formulate her requirements in the matter of a "free port" at Salonica.

Minor friction soon arose with representatives of certain British interests. On January 6 the British-trained force of city police in Athens was suddenly restricted to minor duties and the main police work handed over to the old *gendarmérie*, the commander of which was a strong supporter of General Pangalos. The British police school had been instituted in 1918, and the first Greek police trained by it had commenced their duties a year before. On January 16, the Dictator denied that he intended to abolish the school. On May 24 he decreed the abolition of the British Naval Mission and the French Military Mission, on the ground of economy, but retained the police school.

He showed energy in the prosecution of his economy campaign. He ordered his Ministers forthwith to cut down their Budgets for 1926 by 25,000,000 drachma each, and as a measure of economy, he himself suppressed the Ministry of National Economy. At the end of January a forced loan was proclaimed which realised some 1,250,000,000 drachmas—about 3,500,000*l.*—and as a result of this drastic step, there was a marked improvement in the quotation for the drachma within a week. By April 12, however, it had fallen from 300 to the pound sterling—at which figure it stood immediately before General Pangalos's original *coup* of June, 1925—to 376 to the pound sterling. The fall was due to the enormous expenditure on military preparations under the Dictatorship, and its successors were left with a heavy burden of expenditure to which General Pangalos had committed the Government. The economies of General Pangalos turned out to be rather spectacular than practical.

Dissatisfaction with the Pangalos *régime* grew apace. On February 16, M. Papanastasiou, General Kondylis, and twelve other prominent political leaders, were arrested suddenly and exiled to the volcanic island of Santorin on suspicion of plotting against the Government. Courts-martial were set up to deal with all future cases of this nature, which were removed from the jurisdiction of Courts ordinary. At the beginning of March, Admiral Konduriotis resigned from his post of President of the Greek Republic. Repulsing all the efforts of General Pangalos to persuade him to change his decision, he sailed for Hydra a week later as a private citizen, and refused the Government offer of a naval escort. The comments of certain papers on this incident lead to their suppression, and the Press decrees were made stricter than ever.

General Pangalos immediately announced that elections would be held for the vacant post of President of the Republic, and put himself forward as candidate. The political parties, whose activities were curtailed or prohibited under the military Dictatorship, put forward M. Demertjis as their candidate, but withdrew him immediately before the elections in consequence of the methods employed by General Pangalos to make sure of his own success. They ordered all their supporters to abstain from voting, and General Pangalos was able, under these circumstances, to declare himself elected, without any real opposition, on April 11. He dealt drastically with Parliament, prohibiting by a decree issued in April the proposal of any vote of censure on the Government at any time, and at the same time authorising the President—himself—to dissolve the Chamber at his pleasure. On April 19 he took the oath as President of the Greek Republic, and stated that he had no objection to the return of some of the exiles.

On April 9 there was an abortive rising of troops at Salonica. It was quelled within a few hours, and the ringleaders (military

officers) arrested and sentenced. They were amnestied a few days later. More serious plots were in being, however, and their existence became known to General Pangalos, who, in a series of measures alternating between greater liberality and increased repression, sought to strengthen his hold on power. In July he began to make serious efforts to form a Cabinet. M. Zavitsianos and M. Kyriakos Venizelos agreed to try to form a Government, but on finding it impossible to do so, advised the President, on July 9, to hold free elections and to restore the liberty of the Press. After meeting with several other rebuffs, General Pangalos finally succeeded in persuading M. Eutaxias to form a Government consisting of Pangalists. On July 27 the General announced that the "Exiles of Naxos"—his political opponents—might return. On August 8 he permitted a number of suspended newspapers to resume publication, subject to certain restrictions; a few days later, fresh prosecutions were instituted against newspapers and more politicians arrested. On August 11 a man with a loaded revolver was arrested just as he appeared to be on the point of firing at the Dictator. M. Papanastasiou was arrested on August 18 on suspicion of having been involved in a plot of the Athens garrison to overthrow the Government.

Neither hurried concessions nor fresh repressive measures succeeded in postponing the end which had threatened for so long. During the night of August 21-22 the Pangalos *régime* was overthrown by the same process which had given it power—a military revolt. General Kondylis was at the head of the new revolt, and was at once proclaimed Prime Minister. General Pangalos took to flight, but was arrested after a chase at sea near Spetsai, and brought a prisoner to Athens. A number of the Ministers of the dissolved Pangalist Cabinet were also arrested; M. Papanastasiou and other political prisoners were set at liberty. One regiment resisted the new *coup*, but surrendered after a few hours. General Kondylis at once announced his intention of returning to constitutionalism and of holding elections at an early date. Admiral Konduriotis thereupon consented to return from Hydra and resumed the office of President which he had laid down on account of his dislike of General Pangalos's dictatorship. General Kondylis was a schoolmaster by profession. He served with distinction as an officer in the Venizelist army, and had helped in the suppression of the Royalist insurrection of 1923. He was known as a good Republican and as a strong believer in M. Venizelos. On August 26 he formed his Cabinet, which was to hold office pending new elections. General Pangalos made an abortive attempt to escape and was transferred to the fortress of Itzedin, in Crete, his friends who were helping him being arrested and interned.

The Republican Guard, which had put General Pangalos in the saddle and then unseated him in favour of General Kondylis,

began to give trouble as soon as it became apparent that there was not to be another military *régime* in Greece, but a return to constitutional methods. Finding they had been deceived in their hopes, its officers began to plot yet another revolution. General Kondylis ordered the disbandment of the last two remaining battalions, and on the morning of September 9, their barracks were surrounded by troops of the Athens garrison. On being called upon to hand over their arms, the commanding officers, Colonel Dertilis and Colonel Zervas, declined to comply and marched on Athens. They were fired on by the Government troops, and a battle ensued, in the course of which heavy casualties were suffered on both sides. Eventually the revolting troops were overpowered and disarmed. Their defeat was greeted with enthusiasm in the streets.

Having thus secured himself from being made a tool of the military, and from the danger of an immediate counter-revolution, General Kondylis set about making preparations for an election. His Cabinet was largely composed of Venizelists, and it soon became apparent that, though General Kondylis wanted a free election, he feared a return of the monarchist parties to power. He declared that the existing majority voting must be changed for proportional representation, and that only under these conditions would he allow the elections; he felt certain that in this way he could prevent a Royalist victory. In taking this line, he had the support of M. Venizelos from his place of exile in Switzerland. For the next two months, a bitter controversy raged around the question of the electoral system to be adopted, but General Kondylis was adamant on this point, and in the end his view prevailed. As an earnest of his honest intention to give Greece constitutional Government, however, he definitely engaged himself to retire from public life the moment the elections were over and a new Government formed. This promise he faithfully kept.

Although the elections were to be "free," General Pangalos and his supporters were prohibited by decree from standing as candidates. Greek magistrates before whom their applications to be recognised as candidates were made, disregarded the decree and accepted them. Their decision was reversed by another decree and they themselves suspended. This arbitrary interference with the judiciary re-awakened suspicions that General Kondylis was himself prepared to become a Dictator if necessary. The suspension, however, was annulled on October 27.

The elections were finally held on November 7 under the proportional representation system. A large number of parties appeared in the field and complicated the issue, which had become, in the main, that of Republic or Monarchy. The Royalist Parties—who were divided into three main groups—secured 129 seats, and the Venizelist, or Republican Parties, a total of 145. Amongst the Royalist Parties, however, was a powerful one which

deprecated any immediate change in the system of government, so that the Republic really had a sound majority. Nevertheless, it proved impossible to form a Cabinet until December. After endless Conferences between the parties, M. Zaimis, who had often come to the rescue as a non-party Prime Minister in similar crises, took office at the head of a broad Coalition Cabinet comprising Royalists and Republicans on December 4. He received a vote of confidence, passed by 235 votes to 11.

The most important aspect of Greek foreign policy in 1926 was that of relations with Yugoslavia. The negotiations initiated in January under General Pangalos for a "Balkan Pact" between the two countries broke down in February on account of the Yugoslavs' demands concerning Salonica. They insisted that as a preliminary to any pact, Greece should bind herself to hand over the "free" station in Salonica to the Yugoslavs to be manned by Serbian personnel, to regard it as a Yugoslav frontier station, and to allow trains to go direct from it to Ghevgeli, on the Yugoslav frontier, without entering Salonica main station. These demands were rejected as infringing Greek sovereignty and negotiations broke off. With a view to minimising Yugoslav influence, Greece began to encourage Bulgarian aspirations in Salonica.

On May 27 there was a "frontier incident" with Bulgaria, in the course of which a Bulgarian subject and a Greek soldier were killed. The permanent League Frontier Committee on the spot met immediately, and Greece at once announced that it was a mere *komitadji* raid which must not disturb existing good relations. The fact that no tension resulted showed the improvement effected in Græco-Bulgar relations since the Petritch incident of the previous year. Nevertheless, Greece allowed herself to be persuaded to join Yugoslavia and Rumania in the protest note dealing with *komitadji* incidents presented to Bulgaria in August. This question, that of the settlement of refugees in each country from the territory of the other, and the Bulgarian desire for a port on the Ægean, were the only ones which caused any difficulty between the two countries in 1926.

On June 6 Yugoslav and Greek delegates met in Athens to resume the negotiations which had been broken off in February for a settlement of the Salonica problem. These continued until August 17, when a Treaty to remain in force for three years, with the option of renewal, was drawn up. Under its provisions, the railway from Salonica to Ghevgeli was to remain Greek. It was to be managed by the Greek Director of Macedonian Railways, a Yugoslav State Railway representative co-operating when questions arose of Yugoslav transit traffic. Disputes were to be solved by a French umpire to be appointed by the League of Nations. An extension of the area of the Yugoslav free zone at Salonica was accepted in principle. At the same time a defensive Treaty of friendship and conciliation, based on existing treaties, was drawn



up to replace the Treaty of Alliance denounced by Yugoslavia in 1924. Turkey and Bulgaria both evinced some concern on learning of this Treaty, but Paris reports that a secret military Convention was annexed were denied at once. The Salonica agreement was widely considered in Greece to be too generous to Yugoslavia, and although General Kondylis announced after taking office that there would be no change of policy respecting this instrument, he declared in December that it would have to await ratification by Parliament instead of being ratified by decree as originally proposed.

On December 7 a Græco-Turkish Convention for regulating the system of dealing with property abandoned by the refugees of each country in the other's territory was signed after several weeks' negotiation.

#### ALBANIA.

The question of the frontier between Albania and her two neighbours, Greece and Serbia, was definitely settled in 1926. Albania ceded the Convent of St. Naoum on the Lake of Ochrida, and a pact of delimitation was signed by the delegates of the three Powers, and registered with the League of Nations.

Parliament met on March 1, and in the course of the Session a Bill was passed by both Houses establishing a special tribunal for trying political offences. It was reckoned that this step would strengthen the position of Ahmed Zogu as President, and safeguard him against the intrigues of the refugees who were plotting outside of Albania, mostly in Italy and Serbia. The Chamber adjourned on June 10.

In the course of the year a consular, commercial, and extradition convention was signed with Serbia. Trade agreements with the most-favoured-nation clause were also made with Great Britain, Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia.

At the beginning of July, Italy proposed to Albania that she should be granted rights of intervention and special privileges in Albania. This proposal created great perturbation in Albania. A few days later a British cruiser visited the roadstead of Durazzo; but in the course of another few days the British Minister, Mr. O'Reilly, was replaced by Mr. Seeds. In August oil was found in the borings of the Anglo-Persian concession at Patos, north of Valona.

In September a consular, trade, and nationality agreement was signed with Greece. Parliament re-assembled on September 15 and sat till December 17.

On November 20 a revolt broke out among the Malissors of Dukagjin, north and east of Scutari, with Shala and Shoshi as centres. A large force of volunteer irregulars was sent against the rebels, and the revolt was soon suppressed. A state of siege

was proclaimed, and three hundred families from Shala and Shoshi fled to Serbia, to the district which had formerly been Montenegro.

On November 27 a pact was signed between Albania and Italy, by which the latter declared herself interested in the maintenance of the political, juridical, and territorial *status quo* of Albania, and promised to lend that country its assistance, if required. The pact was ratified a few days afterwards by the Chamber and the Senate.

#### BULGARIA.

Bulgaria began the year appropriately enough with a change of Government involving a striking change in national policy. Professor Tsankoff resigned on January 3. There was a general feeling in Bulgaria that the time had come for a new Government which would be able to dissociate itself from the severities which had marked the existing *régime*. Professor Tsankoff had originally taken office as a result of the militarist *coup d'état* which had overthrown M. Stambulsky and the Agrarians. Not without reason, his Government had always been in fear of a counter-revolution. Both the Agrarians and the Communists characterised it as "revolutionary-reactionary," and sought to overthrow it. Professor Tsankoff replied with great severity, and there were many executions; the gaols were filled, many of those imprisoned being persons who had no intention of opposing him by other than constitutional means. King Boris, while grateful to Professor Tsankoff for his having rescued the country from the Agrarians, frequently sought to persuade him to adopt a more moderate policy, and to dispense with some of his colleagues in the Cabinet who were the object of popular hatred, prominent among whom was General Rousseff, to whose repressive measures, as Minister of the Interior, was often attributed the coalition of the Agrarians with the Communists in a series of plots against the Ministry, which culminated in the Sofia bomb outrage of 1925. Professor Tsankoff refused the proffered counsel, and twice asked the King to dissolve the Sobranye. After the second refusal of the Monarch, Professor Tsankoff's majority in the House failed him, and he resigned (January 3). Three days later he was made President of the Sobranye and was decorated by the King.

The new Cabinet, which immediately took office (January 3), was formed by M. Liaptcheff, the leader of the "Democratic Left," a group of bourgeois parties which had steadily become more hostile to Professor Tsankoff, and M. Liaptcheff himself assumed the post of Minister of the Interior. The other Ministers were leaders of the bourgeois parties or of the militarist groups. M. Liaptcheff at once announced that his policy would be one of amnesty, appeasement, and reconciliation. He gave immediate

proof of his sincerity by asking the King, on January 6, three days after he had taken office, to reprieve forty persons who were lying under sentence of death, and to pardon 500 other persons. On January 12 he introduced the Amnesty Bill, which affected several thousand persons in Bulgaria, in prison or in hiding, and several hundred refugees living abroad. In all, 6,325 persons benefited under this Bill; which became law on February 4, only a comparatively small number of the more extreme enemies of the Government being excluded from its provisions. M. Liaptcheff allowed the long-prescribed General Council of the Agrarians to meet, and subsequently restored a good many of the political liberties which had been suspended in the troublous times of his predecessor. There were still complaints of the persecution of moderate Agrarians, but such cases as were found to be authentic were due rather to the zeal of the officials taken over from the Tsankoff *régime* than to the policy of the new Government.

The new policy did a great deal to restore normal conditions at home, though one or two unimportant Communist plots were discovered during the year. Some former Ministers of the Agrarian Government of M. Stambulsky, living in Moscow and elsewhere abroad, continued their hostility, and the Bulgarian Government Press constantly complained that political refugees in Yugoslavia continued to plot against the Liaptcheff Government with very little interference from the Yugoslav authorities. Nevertheless, the policy of conciliation has been justified in the obvious reduction of internal discontent and consequent progress towards consolidation. The Agrarian leaders recognised the honesty of M. Liaptcheff's intentions. On February 9 they published a document setting forth their policy in very moderate terms, expressing their confidence in the Prime Minister's policy of conciliation, and asserting their own desire to see a general appeasement. On February 15 municipal elections were held at which the Agrarians and the Communists gained a great many seats from the Ministerialists. Provincial elections on November 14 also showed the strength of the Opposition which, in the absence of the pressure by the Government officials, secured more than half the votes. Professor Tsankoff's friends regarded the failure of M. Liaptcheff to use the Government machinery to manufacture a majority as a sign of weakness. They urged him, in view of the approaching General Election, to give his portfolio of the Interior to some one who would return to severe measures. M. Liaptcheff refused to abandon his conciliatory policy.

M. Buroff, the new Foreign Minister, lost no time in proclaiming the equally pacific intentions of his Government abroad. On January 13 he gave public assurances to this effect, and of the readiness of Bulgaria to be a party to a Balkan "Locarno." In March he attended the League Council meeting and exchanged views with M. Nintchitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, and

later in the year was received by Signor Mussolini in Rome. Nevertheless, the hopes of a smooth course for foreign policy were not fulfilled. In connexion with the seemingly eternal Macedonian question, several difficult situations arose, one of which looked for a time extremely critical.

The Macedonian *komitadjis*, the irregular but well-organised bands living in the wild frontier country, carried out several raids, as in the past, which resulted in continual friction. The Macedonian Committee and other secret revolutionary organisations established in Bulgaria were certainly responsible, in some cases, if not in all. The aim of those organisations, of course, is the union of those whom they claim as Macedonians, either in an autonomous State within the frontiers of Bulgaria, or in an Independent State. There was little friction with Greece, one frontier "incident" being amicably adjusted, but with the other two countries which have acquired parts of Macedonia, *i.e.*, Rumania and Yugoslavia, serious difficulties arose. Their Press insisted that the Bulgarian Government was responsible for the failure to suppress these grim organisations; in point of fact, these are so powerful that members of the Cabinet interfering seriously with them would run considerable risk of assassination. There was trouble during the summer with Macedonian peasants on Rumanian territory, and a number were massacred by Rumanian troops; at about the same time a Serb nationalist editor was assassinated by Macedonian *komitadjis*. The Bulgarians declared that in their chagrin at failing to stop the League of Nations Refugee Loan or to obtain, through a control of expenditure, an influence over Bulgaria, the Yugoslavs deliberately exaggerated what, considering the events of past years, were very minor incidents which the Bulgarian Government severely condemned but could not prevent. The tension increased in July, when there were many threats in Yugoslavia that the next *komitadji* incident would be dealt with by Yugoslav troops who would cross the frontier to inflict the punishment which the Bulgarians seemed unable to administer. The French made a formal *démarche* at Belgrade counselling moderation, and on August 6 it was stated in the House of Commons that the British Government had informally urged Sofia to expend its utmost energies in the repression of *komitadji* crimes, and had simultaneously represented to Belgrade the extreme peril to Balkan peace brought about by threats to cross the Bulgarian frontier.

Finally the Governments of Yugoslavia and Rumania, joined by Greece, decided to take diplomatic action. On August 11 a joint Note of protest was presented at Sofia, and was supplemented by a second Note from Yugoslavia alone. The joint Note demanded that the Bulgarian Government should instruct its frontier guards to apply greater energy in the pursuit and re-

pression of *komitadjis*, and should itself suppress the Macedonian revolutionary organisations. The Yugoslav Note was in similar terms, dealing with one particular incident and demanding the extradition of three men.

Bulgaria first desired to refer this matter to the League, but accepted the advice of Great Britain and other Great Powers not to do so. In her reply, which was presented on August 27, she declared that there had been only four *komitadji* raids into Yugoslav territory that year as against twenty-five the year before, and that there had been over a dozen raids into Bulgarian territory by Communist bands operating from Yugoslavia. The Note further detailed the measures which the Government was taking to repress revolutionary activities, and expressed readiness to submit to League arbitration at any time.

Thanks to the influence exercised by the Great Powers, the tension gradually relaxed. At the September meeting of the League Assembly, France attempted to establish better relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and the respective Foreign Ministers of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were brought together by M. Briand. Nothing in the nature of the hoped-for Balkan "Locarno" resulted, but the mere fact that France (actuated by a desire to counteract Italian influence in the Balkans) could succeed in so short a space of time in initiating amicable conversations between the two countries, was a proof that the danger of an open rupture which was present in July had entirely passed away.

The approval of Bulgaria's application to the League of Nations for a loan to be employed in settling her refugees from former Bulgarian territory was one of the most important events of the year. Formal application to the League was made in May, and at the June Council Meeting, it was approved. Considerable difficulty arose from the desire of Yugoslavia and the Little Entente to exercise direct control over the expenditure for political purposes, but this was resisted by the League. It was decided to float a loan to yield 2,250,000*l.* secured (by arrangement with the Reparation Commission) by the spirit excise and match monopoly of Bulgaria. The settlement scheme was finally approved at the September Council meeting at Geneva. The Bank of England has already advanced 400,000*l.* to enable the work to be commenced. The refugees totalled over 200,000 after the war, but of these, only 120,000 remain to be dealt with under the League scheme. It is hoped that the final settlement of these unfortunate people will result in a diminution both of the Communist agitation against the Bulgarian Government and of the *komitadji* activities against Bulgaria's neighbours. Two-thirds of the loan will be spent on providing agricultural implements, cattle and seed for the refugees, and on their housing and support until they are able to earn their own living. One-third will be spent on

the land itself in the form of irrigation works, draining, and clearing of scrub land.

The Bulgarian Budget, which was presented to the Sobranye in March, balanced at a little over 10,300,000%. In presenting it, the Minister of Finance outlined a number of economies which he desired to see effected in the public services. Shortly afterwards the customs duties on silks, perfumes, and other luxuries were greatly increased; the tariff for imported woollens and textiles was increased by from 50 to 70 per cent. There was again a considerable adverse balance of trade.

In April, a British group acquired the monopoly of the export of pork and pork products, by arrangement with the Bulgarian Government.

## CHAPTER VI.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM—  
NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK  
—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

### BELGIUM.

THE internal politics of Belgium, as of many other countries during 1926, were dominated by the monetary problem.

Early in the year the Socialists, yielding to necessity, abandoned their policy, which had so largely contributed to their electoral success in 1925, of pressing for relief from direct and indirect taxation for the working classes. They did attempt, however, to bring about some of the military reforms contained in their programme. After giving way to their demands up to a certain point, General Kestens, the Minister of National Defence, refused to make any more concessions and resigned, a step in which he was soon after followed by General Maglinse, the Chief of Staff. This gave rise to a debate in the Chamber which terminated in a vote of confidence in the Poulet Government by 105 votes to 50.

Meanwhile, the economic situation continued to grow worse, and was the cause of widespread apprehension. M. Despret, a senator and a financier of repute, created a League of Public Welfare which called for the appointment of two commissions: one, to draw up a scheme for economies, and with full power to make suggestions to the Government without consideration of party or of private interests; the other, to simplify and improve the fiscal system. Public opinion was roused by a Press campaign, and, in order to restore confidence, the Minister of Finance, M. Janssen, drafted a plan for stabilising the currency, the essential condition of which was the balancing of the Budget. After meeting the bankers, M. Janssen presented his financial projects to the Chambers, which adopted them. In the Senate the ex-

Premier, M. Theunis, laid stress on the extremely serious nature of the proposed operations, and congratulated the Democratic Government on having consented to postpone the execution of its programme of social reforms in order to secure the balancing of the Budget.

Unfortunately, the stabilisation plan, though perfect on paper, soon met with difficulties in practice, the reason being that the negotiations conducted with foreign bankers before the sanctioning of the financial proposals by Parliament had been devoid of any binding character. In the interval these bankers had formulated new demands which, when it came to the point, proved unacceptable. The Belgian financiers also raised difficulties about renewing the 1,800 millions of treasury bonds which fell due on December 31, 1926. This caused a serious fall in the franc, which the Government was unable to arrest. The Janssen plan had evidently broken down, and the Cabinet found itself in a difficult position. The Premier, M. Poulet, thereupon made a statement on financial policy from the tribune of the Chamber, in which he announced that the stabilisation plan had not been dropped, and that negotiations would be continued on a fresh basis. On March 29 the King presided over a meeting which was attended by five Cabinet Ministers, all the ex-Ministers of Finance, and M. Francqui, Minister of State. This meeting confirmed the declaration of the Premier. The stabilisation plan was persisted in, and M. Janssen proceeded to London to confer with the foreign bankers.

The effect of these events was to make the franc fall still more rapidly, and increase the opposition against M. Poulet, who was attacked throughout the country by the manufacturers and financiers, and in Parliament by the Catholic Conservatives and the Liberals. The resignations of the Liberal Minister of the Interior, M. Rolin Jacquemyns, and of the Catholic Minister of the Colonies, M. Carton, widened the breach in the Governmental edifice already opened by General Kestens. On the next day (May 6), M. Janssen also resigned. All the conditions were present for a political crisis without precedent in the history of the country, since the Government which was thus going to pieces was still supported by a considerable majority in Parliament. The resignation of M. Poulet was also expected, but he remained at his post in order to avoid a long interregnum like that of 1925 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 211). But his search for colleagues was fruitless, and he at length consulted the King, who thereupon had an interview with M. Vandervelde, Vice-President of the Council. M. Vandervelde recommended to the King M. Brunet, a man universally respected, who had been unanimously elected President of the Chamber in three successive legislatures. Within a few hours the Government had resigned (May 11), and M. Brunet was commissioned to form a Cabinet of National Union.

He failed, however, as the Liberal Party, though it promised him support in Parliament, refused to let one of its members join the Government. This party thought it would be possible to form an extra-Parliamentary Government, but this hope was not realised. Thereupon the Catholic ex-Minister Jaspar undertook to form a Government of Public Safety, and, being favoured by the continued rise of the pound sterling on the Belgian market, he succeeded in rallying the Liberals to his side (May 20). He secured the collaboration of M. Francqui, a financier whom, on account of his abilities and energy, public opinion designated as the man most likely to save the situation. The number of Ministries was reduced from twelve to nine, the Catholics and the Socialists receiving four each and the Liberals one. The Ministry of the Colonies was attached to that of Finance, and assigned to an Under-Secretary. M. Francqui, the most important member of the new team, who was thought to have leanings to Liberalism, was made Minister without portfolio, with a general charge of Exchequer matters. The State finances were entrusted to Baron Houtart, who had shared with M. Francqui Belgian representation on the Dawes Committee. The Socialist syndicates and co-operative societies, the pillars of the Belgian Labour Party, being faced with ruin owing to the financial position, authorised their Parliamentary representatives to make sacrifices of their programme in order to save the franc. The King took the highly unusual step of addressing to the Prime Minister a letter, which was published on May 23, calling upon the country to display in the grave crisis with which it was faced the high qualities of which it had given proof in 1914, and to afford its material and moral support to the Government.

In the favourable atmosphere thus created, M. Jaspar set to work in earnest. He first of all decided on the *immediate* application of a vast programme of economies, and then proceeded to elaborate measures for financial restoration. After an eloquent statement by M. Francqui and a stirring appeal by the Government, 1,500 millions of new taxes were voted by Parliament in a burst of patriotism. In the Senate the tax resolutions were passed unanimously, and in the Chamber, even the one which encountered the most opposition was passed by 107 votes to 4, with 7 abstentions. An amortisation fund for the public debt to be fed mainly from these taxes was created to absorb the excess currency issued by the previous Government and to liquidate subsequently the floating debt. A commission was also appointed to simplify fiscal procedure. It was also decided to form a National Company of Belgian Railways for the autonomous exploitation of the Belgian railways on the lines of an industrial and commercial scheme. To avoid the delays which the normal Parliamentary procedure would involve, the Government sought from the Chamber special emergency powers. These were granted



by the law of July 16, which conferred on the King for a period of six months the right to issue royal edicts on matters specified by the law after consulting with the Council of Ministers. The Government immediately made use of this power, principally to effect a forcible consolidation of the floating debt.

These measures, along with others of less importance, rendered possible, in October, the stabilisation of the Belgian franc. A new denomination, the "belga," worth 5 francs, was created; it was intended to be at first only book-keeping money, on which all contracts could henceforth be based. The Minister of Finance was authorised to raise abroad a loan of 100,000,000 dollars, to be used for purposes of stabilisation. The charter of the National Bank was modified, monometallism was introduced—silver being reckoned at its gold value—and the State took over a debt of 600 millions contracted by the National Bank. When the Government, at the end of November, made its Budget statement before the Chamber, it was generally agreed that there had been a remarkable improvement in the financial position. There was a surplus of more than a milliard and a half, which was devoted almost in its entirety to the fund for the amortisation of the public debt. The Budget for 1927 provides for a reduction of 2,066 millions in the public debt, in spite of the new charges due to the stabilisation loan and the transference to the ordinary Budget of the whole charge of war pensions. These results, however, have been attained only at the cost of heavy sacrifices, which cannot be endured indefinitely, as the cost of living has risen sharply and there is much hardship.

On November 15 M. Francqui, considering that his task had been accomplished, left the Ministry. On the eve of his departure he addressed to his colleagues a letter published in the newspapers on November 17, which contained certain recommendations, and insisting especially on the necessity of improving the trade balance. The Government were fully alive to this necessity, and created a National Committee of Foreign Commerce for the purpose of developing Belgium's export trade. Towards the end of the year, on November 15, the Ministry of Colonies, which had been made an Under-Secretaryship attached to the Ministry of Finances, again became a separate department, and was assigned to a Liberal deputy from Antwerp, M. Pécher, who, however, died a few weeks later.

In January, the Treaty of Locarno was ratified by Parliament. In moving the ratification in the Chamber, M. Van Cauwelaert remarked that the Treaty would not in any way impair the good relations of Belgium with Holland, which was morally of accord with her on the subject of her new status.

In the course of the year Parliament sanctioned a Bill declaring obligatory the decisions of the Permanent Court of International Justice; the agreement made at Washington on August 18,

1925, for the repayment of Belgian debts to the United States ; a Treaty of commerce and navigation between the Belgium-Luxemburg Economic Union and Latvia ; and the Washington Eight-Hours Day Convention. It also approved of the trade agreement concluded in 1925 with Czechoslovakia and of the Treaty with Holland revising the Treaty signed in London on April 9, 1839.

Taking advantage of the financial difficulties of Belgium, Germany this year, for the third time, made official proposals for buying back the cantons of Eupen and Malmédy which had been joined to Belgium after the war. The offer was significant as being a direct attack on the fixation of the German frontiers made by the Treaty of Versailles. M. Schacht, the director of the Reichsbank, offered a milliard and a half of gold francs. The suggestion was considered at two meetings of the Cabinet in the month of August, and was forthwith rejected. It was stated in the papers that the question of Eupen and Malmédy had been discussed by M. Briand and Herr Stresemann at Thoiry, but this was expressly denied by M. Vandervelde at a banquet of the Foreign Press Union at Brussels.

In foreign affairs the most notable event of the year was the conflict with China, which derived an international significance from the fact that it was to Belgium in the first instance that China sought to apply principles which she afterwards tried to use in her relations with other countries. On April 16 the Chinese Minister in Brussels informed the Belgian Foreign Office that his Government desired to revise, at the earliest appropriate occasion, the Treaty of 1865 regulating the questions of customs, extra-territoriality, and the settlement of Belgians in China which would terminate in October, 1926. Article 46 of this Treaty stipulates that every ten years the Belgian Government may express the desire to modify this agreement. This right, as laid down in the Treaty, seems to be unilateral, but the Chinese Government maintains that it was only so during the first decade, and that since then the two Governments have been on the same footing. The Belgian Government considers this interpretation contrary to the text of the Treaty. With this reservation it declared itself ready to discuss those Articles of the Treaty which seemed to stand in need of revision, adding, however, that it was necessary to wait first till the two international commissions organised by the Washington Conference for investigating Chinese affairs should have presented their reports. The Government of Peking replied that as far as it was concerned the Treaty would terminate automatically on October 27, 1926. Belgium thereupon suggested the conclusion of a *modus vivendi* until a new agreement should have been made. In reply to this proposal, the Chinese Minister at Brussels transmitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Vandervelde, a draft of a *modus vivendi*

which subjected the Belgians resident in China to Chinese jurisdiction. This scheme was rejected. Thereupon Chinese students made a demonstration in the streets of the capital. The Belgian Government then proposed that the points in dispute should be specified for the purpose of being submitted by joint agreement to the International Court of Justice. China refused, as she wished the dispute to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. Belgium thereupon carried the conflict unilaterally, by way of request, before the Court of The Hague, of which China has recognised the obligatory competence. At the end of December, a Communist deputy proposed in the Chamber the voluntary abrogation of the Treaty of 1865 and the recognition of the Government of Canton, provided that it would undertake to protect Belgian interests in China. In the debate on this proposal, which was rejected, M. Vandervelde gave a detailed account of the whole dispute, and expressed warm approval of the pacific spirit and the breadth of view which characterised the British memorandum.

#### THE NETHERLANDS.

The Government crisis caused by the decision, on November 11, 1925, to abolish the representation at the Vatican (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, pp. 216, 217), lasted throughout the year, and will probably prove to have been the longest in Parliamentary history. After the failure of Dr. Marchant, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, to form a Ministry, Dr. de Visser, the leader of the Christian Historicals, had tried in vain to continue the Colijn Cabinet, if only as an "extra-Parliamentary"<sup>1</sup> one. Mr. Colijn had suggested that the Dutch Minister at the Vatican, Jhr. van Nispen tot Sevenaer, should be removed to Vienna, where the legation had become vacant, but that at the same time he should be accredited to the Vatican. The Roman Catholics were willing to accept this compromise providing that the Christian Historicals would pledge themselves to abstain from giving their vote to any resolution of disapproval. The Christian Historicals, however, rejected the proposal. Dr. de Visser then made another effort to form an extra-Parliamentary Cabinet, but again failed, and in consequence abandoned the attempt on January 22. The Queen thereupon requested Dr. J. Limburg to form an extra-Parliamentary Cabinet. Dr. Limburg, formerly a distinguished Liberal Democrat member of the Second Chamber, who of late years had not taken an active part in politics, might be considered as a *persona gratissima* to all parties owing to his great juridical knowledge, his Parliamentary abilities, and his

<sup>1</sup> By an extra-Parliamentary Cabinet in Holland is understood a Government independent of any party, so that no one of its members represents in the Cabinet the party or group to which he may belong.

personal qualities. His acceptance of the mandate was, indeed, greeted with sympathy by the parties of the Right and the Socialists, but met with the strong opposition of his own party, the Liberal Democrats, whom he had not consulted, and who refused to agree to any solution of the crisis except by the formation of a Cabinet on a Parliamentary basis.

On February 16, as the crisis had already lasted for three months and the efforts of Dr. Limburg had not yet been crowned with success, the Socialist group asked for a convocation of the Second Chamber in order to discuss their proposal that the Queen should be advised to dissolve the Second Chamber. This proposal was rejected in the session of March 2. It was, indeed, clear that, with the system of proportional representation, a dissolution of the Chamber followed by new elections would scarcely be calculated to put an end to the crisis. The Socialists and the one Communist member voted in favour of the proposal, the other parties did not condescend even to discuss it.

In the meantime Dr. Limburg had continued his endeavours, but he, too, could not attain his end. He had succeeded in finding persons prepared to sit in his Cabinet, but his idea that the Cabinet should stand or fall by the representation at the Vatican was not shared by his Christian Historical collaborators. On March 3 he requested the Queen to relieve him of his task. Dr. J. B. Kan, the Secretary-General of the Home Department, was next requested to form a Cabinet of functionaries, but he raised difficulties on grounds of public law. Dr. Patijn, the burgomaster of The Hague, having also excused himself, the Queen appealed to Jhr. Dr. D. J. de Geer, formerly a prominent Christian Historical member of the Second Chamber, Minister of Finance and of the Home Department, and the principal collaborator of Dr. Limburg. Dr. de Geer succeeded, on March 5, in forming an extra-Parliamentary Cabinet, composed of himself as President of the Council and Minister of Finance; Jhr. dr. H. A. van Karnebeek (no party), Foreign Affairs; Dr. J. Donner (Anti-Revolutionary), Justice; Dr. J. B. Kan (Liberal), Home Department; Dr. M. A. M. Waszink (Roman Catholic), Education; Professor L. A. van Royen (Liberal), War and also Navy *ad interim*; Dr. H. van der Vegte (Anti-Revolutionary), Public Works; Professor dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruïne, member of the First Chamber (Christian Historical), Labour, Trade, and Industry; and Dr. J. C. Koningsberger, formerly President of the Dutch East Indies People's Council (Liberal), Colonies. Most of the Ministers were new to politics.

On March 11 Jhr. de Geer presented his Cabinet to the Second Chamber, and on April 7 to the First Chamber. He pointed out that his Cabinet was an extra-Parliamentary one, and considered itself merely as a stopgap. It would only remain in office until there should be again a Parliamentary majority prepared to take

over the Government. The programme of the Cabinet was framed in such a way as to enable it to obtain occasional majorities, *e.g.*, further retrenchment and reduction of taxation, further legal regulations for the collective labour contract, and extension of the sphere of the Labour Act. The Cabinet advocated energetic co-operation in all matters calculated to promote the supremacy of law amongst the nations and to lead to simultaneous and mutual reduction of armaments. A fusion of the Departments of War and of the Navy into one Department of Defence was planned, as also a more thorough inquiry into the question of splitting up the Navy into a home and an East Indian fleet, and of a further simplification of the defence arrangements.

In regard to the representation at the Vatican, the Government judged the vote of November 11 to be partly the result of political manoeuvres. Another opportunity would therefore be given to deal with the question essentially on its own merits, and in such a way as not to affect the position of any of the Ministers. The decisive vote was taken on March 19, when the Second Chamber, dealing with the Budget for Foreign Affairs, rejected the credit for the Legation at the Vatican by 48 votes to 41 (Roman Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries). The Liberal Democrats now declared that the arguments of Jhr. van Karnebeek had not convinced them that a Netherlands representation at the Vatican was of great practical use. The Anti-Revolutionaries, in order to give some satisfaction to their Roman Catholic allies, had voted in favour of the Legation, but their Press declared that this was the last time they would give their support, and that, as they had already had trouble enough over this question, they would prefer to see this apple of discord among the groups of the Right disappear. The Christian Historicals opposed once more the representation at the Vatican.

The position of the De Geer Cabinet after this was well established, and was not shaken even by the resignation, on April 22, of Professor van Royen as Minister of the War and, *ad interim*, of the Navy, on a conflict with the Cabinet concerning the fusion of the military departments. His place was taken by Mr. J. Lambooy, a Roman Catholic, who had already held this portfolio in the Colijn Cabinet. The fear that this might be a first step towards gradually changing the extra-Parliamentary Government into one of the Right Coalition proved to be groundless.

The Cabinet further strengthened its position in the Budget debate at the end of the year, when it succeeded in reducing the income tax, the household tax, and the death and donatio duties—the latter in spite of the keen opposition of the Liberal Democrats and the Socialists—by fully 44 millions. At the time the Government refused to sanction any increase of expenditure, the strictest economy, in its opinion, being still despite the favourable results of previous years. T

year 1925, instead of ending with a deficit of 6·8 millions as anticipated, showed a surplus of 41·6 millions on the ordinary, and of 5·6 millions on the whole, service. For 1926 a surplus of 6·4 millions was estimated; at the end of the year the revenue exceeded that of the previous year by 25 millions and the estimate for 1926 by 31 millions.

Where the Cabinet met with least success was in dealing with the military question. Mr. Lambooy published schemes for the reorganisation of the Army and of the Navy and for a fusion of the military departments. His plans were opposed by the Conservative groups as going too far, and by the Democrats as not going far enough. A Socialist disarmament proposal was put forward, but met with strong opposition. In order to show their readiness to take their share in Governmental responsibility, the Socialists for the first time attended the opening of Parliament by the Queen on September 21.

The elections for the First Chamber did not alter the position of parties. The Right lost one member to the Liberals, leaving a majority of 30 members of the Right to 20 of the Left. The parties of the Right in the First Chamber showed more willingness than those in the Second Chamber to maintain the Coalition.

In the course of the debates on the programme of his new Cabinet in March, Jhr. de Geer had, among other things, stated that in the opinion of the Government the Belgo-Dutch Treaty (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 217) should be defended as loyally as possible. Further negotiations with Belgium on the subject had been opened in the autumn of 1925, but they were delayed by the crisis. The result of these negotiations was a Protocol, signed on May 18, by the two Governments and appended to the Memorandum of Reply of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. On May 22, moreover, the Netherlands Government concluded at Paris a Treaty with France, Great Britain, and Belgium concerning the abrogation of the Treaties of April 19, 1839, and putting an end to the neutrality imposed on Belgium and the prohibition of Antwerp from being a military port. Though the Protocol met several of the objections brought against the Treaty, it was not able to allay the violent agitation carried on in the Press, in pamphlets, in meetings, and by way of petitions against the Treaty. The agitators had no objection in principle against an agreement with Belgium, but they were of opinion that the Treaty under consideration required too great sacrifices from Holland and did not safeguard sufficiently Dutch commercial, naval, and even political interests, particularly as regarded the navigation of the Scheldt in times of war or danger of war. When, at the beginning of November, the Treaty began to be discussed in the Second Chamber, its ratification, in the face of an adverse opinion, seemed to be out of the question. Jhr. van Karne-

beek, however, made a masterly defence of the Treaty, which convinced not only members who were wavering in their judgment, but even declared adversaries. The Minister emphasised the great importance of friendly relations with Belgium, to secure which even great sacrifices were worth making on the part of Holland. He did not share the fears that the execution of this Treaty would entail considerable injury to Dutch interests; it would, indeed, bring Antwerp nearer to the Rhine, but also Rotterdam into closer connexion with the Walloon industrial districts. The rights of sovereignty over the mouth of the Scheldt remained unimpaired. Further negotiations the Minister held impossible. Jhr. van Karnebeek carried his point, and the Chamber, on November 11, rejected by 53 votes to 44 a motion brought forward by members of all parties calling for a suspension of the debate and expressing the opinion that Belgium had not explicitly recognised the Netherlands' standpoint in the matter of its right to close in times of war and danger of war the Western Scheldt to the passage of Belgian warcraft and that the Antwerp-Moerdijk Canal, as specified in the Treaty and in the Explanatory Memorandum, would have serious consequences for the Netherlands. The Treaty thereupon was passed by 50 votes to 47 (25 Roman Catholics, 14 Socialists, 10 Anti-Revolutionaries and 1 Peasant against 5 Roman Catholics, 10 Socialists, 2 Anti-Revolutionaries, 2 dissident Protestants, 1 Communist, and all the Liberals, the Liberal Democrats, and the Christian Historicals; three members were absent on account of illness). The Treaty was then laid before the First Chamber which, at the close of the year, had dealt with it only by sections. The agitation in the country against the Treaty did not slacken; it even seemed to be encouraged by the scanty majority in the Second Chamber. The antagonists of the Treaty cherish the hope that the First Chamber will pave the way for fresh negotiations with Belgium.

During the year Holland was elected as a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations. The Dutch Government was represented in the Preliminary Economic and the Preliminary Disarmament Commission of the League. In the latter the Dutch delegation expressed the view that the proportion of armaments to be allowed to each country depended on what is understood by armaments. The reduction of armaments ought to be general and simultaneous. The strength of Dutch armaments was determined by the need of defending Dutch territory against all attacks. Though a Colonial Power, Holland had already taken steps in the direction of a reduction of armaments. It was an essential principle for the Netherlands that the armaments of the mother country and of the colonies should be kept separate and organised independently.

Parliament ratified the renewed acceptance by the Netherlands of obligatory jurisdiction in accordance with Article 36 of

the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice for another five years ; further, the modification of the Pact of the League of Nations voted by the Assembly in 1925, the Convention with twenty-seven other States for the establishment at Paris of an international office for contagious cattle-plagues, and six draft Treaties concluded at Geneva concerning Labour regulations. The Labour Minister, on the other hand, informed the Second Chamber, that for the present he objected to the ratification of the Convention of Washington because this would place the Netherlands in an unfavourable position in respect to competition with countries which had not joined the Convention, and because experience had shown that countries which had joined the Convention did not always give the same interpretation to its various clauses.

The Treaty for control of the trade in arms, ammunition, and war-material concluded at Geneva on June 17, 1925, and the Convention on Slavery sanctioned by the seventh Assembly of the League of Nations were signed by the Dutch Government. The renewal of the Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain, provisional aerial navigation Treaties with Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland, a commercial agreement with Austria and commercial Treaties with Hungary, Siam, and Germany were ratified by Parliament, the latter not without sharp opposition in the country and in both Chambers. Provisional commercial agreements were made with Portugal, Mexico, and Turkey. Treaties with Abyssinia, with Greece, and with Haiti were signed, as also a telegraphic Convention with Belgium.

#### SWITZERLAND.

In 1926 a trade agreement with the most-favoured-nation clause was concluded with Germany, to take effect on January 1, 1927. The tendency of the agreement on both sides was to reduce duties as much as possible. The provisional arrangement made with France on October 30, 1924, regarding the free zones near Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 232), was ratified in the autumn by the French Chamber, but not by the Senate. This delay caused great disappointment in Switzerland, especially as the French Customs officers continued to make arrangements for establishing themselves permanently in the illegally occupied zones (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 220), as if the arbitral award had already been made in favour of France. The imposition of a duty on goods imported from the disputed zones was contemplated as a counter-measure, but was not carried through.

Relations with Italy were for a time unsatisfactory, but improved in the course of the year, as Italo-French relations became more strained. Unpleasant incidents arose out of the struggle in



Switzerland between the Fascist organisations with the consuls at their head and the non-Fascist Italians. A state of tension, which for some days contained elements of danger, arose out of a disturbance created by the Geneva Fascists at a memorial service in honour of Matteotti in Geneva Plainpalais when a fight took place leading to the arrest of the Fascists and one Anarchist. As soon as the Matteotti celebration was announced, the Italian Ambassador had requested M. Motta, the head of the Political Department (*i.e.*, the Foreign Minister) to prohibit it. For this, however, there was no legal ground. The Ambassador thereupon gave notice that the Geneva Fascists would intervene. M. Motta begged him to prevent them ; but although the discipline that prevails among the Fascisti would have made this perfectly easy, they were allowed to carry out their design. Thus a group of foreigners in Switzerland assumed powers which belong of right to the civil authorities, and to make matters worse, Signor Mussolini congratulated the Fascio on its action. What gave particular offence to the Swiss was the fact that among those who attempted to wreck the ceremony were certain Italians who, as officials of the League of Nations, enjoyed diplomatic immunity.

The Italian Press published violent articles against Switzerland, demanding that public addresses in Geneva should be confined to cantonal and federal matters, and threatening to have the seat of the League of Nations removed to another town. This campaign was, for a time, accompanied by a Press outcry against the alleged Germanising ("intedescamento") of the Canton of Tessin, which, even if it was a fact, was a domestic concern of Switzerland. It seemed as if the whole question of the Tessin (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 237 ; 1924, p. 232 ; and 1925, p. 220) was to be reopened, and Italian papers already began to speak of the frontier between the two countries as a mere customs boundary which could be easily altered. Suddenly, however, Signor Mussolini imposed silence on the Italian Press, and assured Switzerland of his friendship. Calm was restored, but it was again interrupted for a short time when it became known that the great military and motor road from Domodossola through the Antigorio and Formazzo valley to the pass of San Giacomo (6,720 feet above sea level), *i.e.*, to the frontier, was nearly completed. This road leads into the very heart of the central natural fortress of Switzerland, the Gothard. When Switzerland was called upon—though not officially—to transform the bridle-path from San Giacomo to Airolo, the southern exit of the Gothard tunnel (about 8 miles), into a motor road, one part of the Press repudiated the demand very emphatically, while another took no notice of it.

Since the murder of the chief Russian delegate to the second part of the Lausanne Peace Conference, Vorovski, and the acquittal of his murderer by the Vaud jury (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER,

1923, p. 238), Soviet Russia had refused to send delegates to Switzerland, on the ground that their security was not guaranteed. In order to deprive the Soviet Government of any excuse for not taking part in the Disarmament Conference and its preliminary labours in Geneva, the Federal Council had officially informed the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that no obstacles would be placed in the way of the Soviet delegation's coming to Geneva, and that full diplomatic protection and privileges would be accorded to it (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 220). As Moscow still refused to send a delegation to Geneva, the Federal Council accepted an offer of the French Government to use its good offices. Discussions took place in January and the first half of February. The Soviet Government laid down two alternative conditions for its sending a delegation to the Preliminary Disarmament Conference: either that the Federal Council should express its condemnation of the murder of Vorovski, and should offer to give pecuniary compensation to his daughter, or that diplomatic relations should be resumed between Berne and Moscow, in which case the Vorovski affair would become the subject of diplomatic negotiations. The Federal Council declined to consider the resumption of diplomatic relations. Discussions then took place on the Vorovski affair through the mediation of the French Government. The French Government finally proposed that the Federal Council should accept a formula in which it "condemned and regretted, as it had always done, the assassination of M. Vorovski, as also the attempt made at the same time on Mm. Divilkovsky and Ahrens. In order to restore good feeling, it was prepared to grant to the daughter of M. Vorovski material compensation, the exact nature of which would only be discussed when the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and that of the Swiss Confederation should negotiate directly on the questions outstanding between the two countries" (*i.e.*, the plundering of the Swiss Embassy in St. Petersburg in 1918, the murder of an official of the Embassy, the robbery of Swiss subjects in Russia, etc.). The Federal Council, at one of its own sittings, had determined to accept this formula, and only deferred the formal announcement of this till the Soviet Government should have accepted it. M. Tchitcherin, however, would not accept the formula; he declared that French mediation had failed, and refused to send a delegation to the Preliminary Disarmament Conference in Geneva. The boycott of Switzerland by the Soviet Government remained in force, as also the prohibition of subjects of the Soviet Union from visiting Switzerland. Throughout the negotiations the bourgeois Press, particularly in the Canton Vaud, strongly urged the Bundesrat not to make concessions, chiefly because it assumed, though without good reason, that France wanted to induce Switzerland to recognise the Soviet Government.

In internal affairs almost the whole year was taken up with struggles over the corn monopoly of the State. The law creating this monopoly was adopted by the Legislature in 1925 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 222), but, as it involved a change in the Constitution, it required to be laid before the people and the cantons for approval. The food difficulties during the war had shown the necessity of making Switzerland less dependent on foreign countries for her corn supply. The best means of effecting this were considered to be the fostering of cereal cultivation in the country by the State guarantee of a purchase of cereals at a figure above world market price; the grant of a milling premium to those who produced for their own consumption; and finally the maintenance of larger stocks of corn; all to be carried out through the Monopoly Committee. On this point there was no difference of opinion; but there was a difference on the question whether the money required should or should not be raised by a corn monopoly, as stipulated in the law. The Federalists, who did not desire to see any increase in the powers of the Central Government, the advocates of Free Trade, and all who were averse to the State's taking any further steps in the direction of nationalisation and who feared the consequences of giving the State the control of the price of corn—and with it of bread—opposed the monopoly proposal, and moved for an Initiative advocating an anti-monopolistic solution of the question. For this they secured the requisite number of signatures, and it will probably be voted on in 1927. The monopoly plan was supported by the Communists and Social-Democrats on principle, by a large part of the rural population, and by the Left Wing of the bourgeois Radicals. The voting on the monopoly law took place on December 8, and resulted in its rejection by roughly 371,000 to 367,000 in the popular vote, and 14 to 8 in the canton vote. Thousands of farmers and working men voted against the monopoly.

The Swiss Social-Democratic Party, at its Conference on November 7, resolved to join the Second International. Its leader, Robert Grimm (Berne), had been chosen Vice-President of the National Council, which meant that in the normal course of things he would succeed to the Presidentship. A strong movement arose against this, particularly in French Switzerland, directed not so much against the election of a Socialist to the Presidentship of the National Council as against Grimm personally. Grimm had headed the revolutionary general strike in November, 1918, which, had it not been quickly suppressed by the military, would almost certainly have led to armed intervention by the Allied and Associated Powers. As the National Council is free to choose its own President, the pressure exercised by the public on its representatives was, strictly speaking, illegal but after some resistance the bourgeois majority complied with the popular wish. At the same time, however, it disregar

the will of the people as constitutionally expressed in the rejection of the corn monopoly, by attempting to prolong indefinitely the existing corn monopoly, which had been created during the war by a Federal Council invested with extraordinary powers, and had since lost its legal basis. This attempt, however, was frustrated by the opposition of the Ständerat. The bourgeois majority first chose, on December 6, another Social-Democrat, and on his refusing to take office, the bourgeois Radical, Maillefer, (Vaud), as President of the National Council. To prevent any mob interference with the election, elaborate police precautions were taken—a new thing in Switzerland. No disturbances, however, took place.

The deliberations on the military penal code, which were now in their sixth year, approached their termination in both Chambers. The National Council passed a Civil Service Act which prohibited civil servants from striking, but on the other hand fixed the salaries of the lower officials at a figure which, in the opinion of the Federal Council, was higher than the Federal railways and posts could stand. The Bill has still to be submitted to the Ständerat. A Federal law was passed dealing with the regulation of motor vehicles, which hitherto had been in the hands of the Cantons. As it involves a change in the Constitution, it will be submitted to a referendum in 1927. The required number of signatures were collected for an Initiative directed against the prohibition of gaming halls. The popular vote on this matter will probably be taken in 1927. The Chambers sanctioned a provisional tariff which will be the basis of trade negotiations till the general tariff is fixed. Finally may be mentioned the rejection by the Chambers, on the recommendation of the Bundesrat, of a proposal to create a Parliamentary committee for foreign affairs.

In the middle of December Switzerland was visited by an influenza epidemic which, though not on the whole serious, was very widespread, so that in some of the larger towns the schools had to be closed.

As President of Switzerland for 1927 the Federal Assembly (National-Ständerat) chose, by rotation, Bundesrat Motta (Foreign Affairs), who thus fills this office for the third time. Bundesrat Schulthess (National Economy) was chosen as Vice-President.

At the League of Nations meeting in March, the Swiss delegation supported the admission of Germany, but opposed any extension of the Council by the creation of permanent or non-permanent seats. In a debate which took place in the Federal Council on April 13, M. Motta stated that it was the Swiss view that permanent Council seats should be granted only to universally acknowledged Great Powers, namely, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States. It was understood that M. Motta would uphold this view in the Com-

mission which had been formed to study the constitution of the Council and on which he had consented to serve.

#### SPAIN.

The year opened auspiciously for Spain with the striking success of the flight to South America. The first weeks were spent in final preparation of this long-projected event, and on January 22 Comandante Franco and his companions left Palos de Moguer, the spot from which Columbus sailed on his memorable voyage, and reached the Grand Canaries the same afternoon. Using a Dornier Wal flying boat fitted with British Napier engines, they flew with practically uninterrupted success *via* the Cape Verde Islands and Fernando Noronha to Pernambuco, and thence *via* Rio de Janeiro to Buenos Aires, where they arrived on February 10. The flight was followed throughout with intense interest in the Peninsula, and attracted attention abroad. Its successful termination aroused immense enthusiasm in Spain and the Argentine; Royal and national honours were bestowed upon the aviators, who were given a rousing reception at Buenos Aires, followed, a few hours later, in Madrid, by a monster demonstration in their honour. The Royal Decree of March 25 regulating the military status of emigrants, and thereby enabling several hundred thousand Spaniards in America to resume their native citizenship, and the Naval Programme authorised on March 28, were both indirect consequences of the Atlantic flight. Comandante Franco's triumphal return on April 5, on board the Argentine cruiser *Buenos Aires*, and his reception by the King at Seville were made the occasion of a naval demonstration and a reaffirmation of Hispano-American sympathies. The same day witnessed the departure of another air-squadron on the no less successful flight from Madrid to Manila.

The semi-civil Cabinet justified its recent creation by seriously tackling the problem of financial and economic reform. A comprehensive scheme of railway and road construction was drawn up and, unlike the programmes of former Governments, was to be actually begun during the year. Hydro-electric development took a leap forward with the establishment of autonomous corporations, each controlling one of the great river-basins of Spain, and the "Confederación del Ebro," dealing with an area equal to one-seventh of the extent of the country and a rainfall of one-half of the total, was to prove a signal success from its organisation on March 3.

Meanwhile, events in Morocco, which had engrossed the attention of Spain and dominated her policy since 1909, began to move apace. Abd-el-Krim, though weakened in power, still retained the prestige of his former victories. The negotiations begun at Ujda on April 27 between representatives of France and

Spain on the one hand and the Rifi delegates on the other broke down early in May over the demands of the latter ; and the final offensive against Abd-el-Krim, set in motion on May 7 simultaneously by the French in the South and the Spaniards in the North led, after short but sharp fighting, to the utter collapse of the Moorish power. On May 26 Abd-el-Krim surrendered to the French, and, though the task of pacification yet remained, the Moroccan problem in the acute form it had taken in the last years, disappeared.

But, as on the occasion of the victory at Alhucemas in the preceding autumn, so now the very success of the Marquis de Estella's policy in Morocco seemed to rouse his political opponents at home to action. Though the Jabala tribes remained in revolt, the occupation of the Army was now largely gone, and from seeking honours and advancement in Africa, the corps of officers turned once more to interference in politics. The question of rewards to be bestowed for meritorious service in the field raised the first clouds of a storm that was to cast its shadow over Spain for the remainder of the year.

A decree published on June 9, forbidding Army officers to refuse promotion by merit, met with determined resistance on the part of the Artillery, who threatened to resign *en masse*. Though there was as yet no open breach of discipline, it was evident that the evil days of the Military Juntas had returned. The agitation culminated in a widespread conspiracy against the Directory, the effects of which were frustrated by its timely discovery on the night of June 23. Some thirty persons were arrested, among them Dr. Marañón, a well-known physician of Liberal leanings, and General Aguilera, a former Minister of War ; while Captain-General Weyler, the " grand old man " of the Spanish Army, who had signed the plotters' manifesto, was placed under supervision. In addition, heavy fines were imposed on the ring-leaders ; half a million pesetas on Count Romanones alone. News of a plot to murder the King and Queen in Paris on their way to London, though not directly connected with the conspiracy, served to heighten the feeling of political insecurity. The anarchist attack on the Dictator on July 31 at Barcelona appeared, indeed, to be the act of a mere fanatic, but the political situation worsened, and weakened Spain's renewed agitation for a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations and her claim to Tangier, put forward on August 15. In pressing these claims simultaneously and somewhat bluntly, the Government encouraged the nation to entertain high hopes, the shattering of which led to bitter disappointment voiced internationally in the abrupt withdrawal of Spain from Geneva on August 31, and at home in renewed disorders.

Unrest in the Army, and particularly the Artillery, had continued to smoulder on the question of promotion, and was now

fanned into the flame of open rebellion. On September 4 the Artillery Corps stationed at Segovia, Valladolid, and Pamplona mutinied, and the country once more found itself in the throes of a military revolution. In this crisis the Marquis de Estella acted with energy. The King hastened to Madrid from San Sebastian, and on the morning of September 5 martial law was proclaimed throughout Spain. Strong action by the Government, and particularly Royal influence over the officers, enabled the revolt to be suppressed without much bloodshed; order was restored on September 7, and on the following day the King was able to raise the state of martial law and return to the seaside. The Dictator had again emerged triumphant from the trial. The attempts of his political enemies to overthrow him had once more failed for lack of support on the part of the general public, to whom his *régime*, though unconstitutional, was evidently acceptable. The Presidential Party of the Patriotic Union organised a national plebiscite, for which voting began on September 13, and lasted for several days; and although the conditions precluded the recording of any adverse votes, the fact that six million votes were obtained in favour of the Dictator was some indication of his popularity. The result was perhaps due to his very unconstitutionality rather than to any general desire to see Parliamentary Government restored; for, though the promise was held out finally to convoke a National Assembly in the second week of November, its non-fulfilment on this, as on previous occasions, roused no feeling in the nation. The disbandment of the Artillery Corps and the suspension of the officers from rank and pay for three months left the opposition unreconciled, but impotent; and from the point of view of political change, the remainder of the year was a period of stagnation.

The Royal visit to Barcelona passed off uneventfully. In equal order proceeded the gradual pacification of the Spanish zone in Morocco with the aid of native levies recruited from amongst Abd-el-Krim's warriors. The ill-conceived Perpignan plot, detected early in November, hardly caused a ripple on the surface of political calm.

The Government could devote its entire attention to the task of administrative reorganisation. Under the young and energetic Ministers of Finance and Public Works real progress was made in this direction. In addition to improvements in the existing means of communication, contracts were given out for the construction of nearly 400 miles of railway and over 4,000 miles of roads. The Compañía Telefónica Nacional achieved a striking success in rapidly reorganising and extending the telephone service throughout Spain; 45,000 miles of new line were laid, and the automatic telephone opened in Santander in the summer, and in Madrid on December 29. The problem of financial reform was attacked at its root by drastic changes in the system of

taxation. Less can be said in favour of the attempts of the Government to control trade. The Decree of July 9 for the protection of national industries brought foreign trade, particularly in steel, to a standstill and rendered a revision of the Anglo-Spanish Trade Treaty necessary. The prohibition, on November 4, of the establishment of any new industrial undertaking or the extension of existing works without the consent of a Government Committee proved to what extremes the policy of protection was being carried. Yet another successful flight, whereby the "Atlántida" squadron reached Fernando Po on Christmas Day, and the final pardon of the mutinous Artillery officers on December 31, formed a fitting close to the year.

#### PORTUGAL.

When the year 1926 opened, Dr. Bernardino Machado had been shortly before elected President of the Republic for the second time, and Dr. Antonio Maria da Silva was the Prime Minister of a democratic Government, the result of the General Election, which had taken place in the previous November.

Two questions were agitating public opinion. One was the doings of a secret society which called itself the "Red Legion," the members of which were committing almost daily, the most repulsive crimes; bomb-throwing with destruction of property, and attempted assassinations, directed chiefly against the officers of the Courts and the police. A reign of terror existed, and it was impossible to bring the culprits to justice, as owing to the threats of the members of the Legion, no jury could be got to serve and no witness dared to give evidence against the criminals.

The Government adopted strong measures and arrested about fifty of the culprits and deported them as convicts to some of the West African colonies. Some have since escaped, some have died, and some have settled down to an honest life and have no wish to return.

The other question was the scandal of the so-called false five hundred Escudos notes. A group of individuals, with their headquarters in Holland, had, through false pretences, induced a respectable firm in London to print Bank of Portugal notes of identical design to those in currency, to the extent of about two million pounds sterling, and a great portion of these notes got into circulation. The Bank of Portugal, as soon as it got wind of the affair, redeemed these spurious notes. Men in high position were implicated, the Minister of Venezuela to Lisbon, and the Portuguese Minister to The Hague. In Lisbon a number of persons, including an ex-Minister of Commerce, were arrested, and at the end of the year were all awaiting trial. The trial of one of the group has taken place in Holland and he has been sentenced to eleven months' imprisonment.



On January 16 an English naval division visited Lisbon to invite the Minister of Marine, Commander Pereira da Silva, to assist at the naval manoeuvres of the Atlantic Squadron taking place off the southern coast of Portugal. The compliment was very much appreciated.

On the early morning of February 2 an attempt was made by a few army officers, sergeants, and civilians on the National Republican barracks at Campolide, near Lisbon, but it was immediately suppressed and prisoners taken. Later in the day it became known that a revolutionary force with artillery had left Vendas Novas, and was concentrating in Almada, a small town on the south side of the Tagus opposite Lisbon. At five in the afternoon the rebels commenced to fire on Lisbon, but while some damage was done, no lives were lost; the bombardment did not last long. During the night the rebels were surrounded by Government troops and surrendered. The head of the movement was a civilian, Senhor Martins Junior, and its object the establishment of a Radical Government.

On April 8 the tobacco question was brought up in the Chamber of Deputies for discussion. The monopoly which had been held by a private company for a great number of years was to expire on April 30, and it was the desire of the Government that it should become a *regie* or Government monopoly. Very disorderly scenes occurred in the House. The Opposition prevented any Minister from obtaining a hearing, and at the sitting on April 30 the disorder was so great that the House had to be cleared by the military. The greater part of the Press and public opinion were against the Government.

During May matters did not improve, and feeling was running high, until on the evening of the 27th, it began to be rumoured that something serious was to be expected.

On the early morning of the 28th news arrived in Lisbon that General Gomes da Costa was in Braga, and had, at the head of the 8th Division of the Army there, started a revolution. Little by little the other military units in the country gave in their adhesion with the exception of the Lisbon garrison, whose attitude was doubtful. They decided to march on Lisbon, and for some days troops were concentrating around Lisbon, and occupying the surrounding positions of vantage, with artillery.

In the meantime the Government had placed its resignation in the hands of the President of the Republic. General Gomes da Costa dissolved the two Houses of Parliament and a triumvirate was formed consisting of himself, Commander Cabeçadas, who had been implicated in the movement of July 19, 1925, and General Carmona.

Shortly afterwards the President of the Republic transferred his powers to Commander Cabeçadas, who, in turn, transferred them to General Gomes da Costa, but the transference was not

recognised, and Portugal, at the end of the year, was without a President, though General Carmona is temporarily acting.

On June 6 General Costa held a review of troops in Lisbon, and on the 17th formally entered the city at their head, meeting with no opposition; on the contrary, he was acclaimed everywhere by military and people. Thus the Revolution had succeeded without a shot being fired.

The events of the following few weeks were somewhat complicated. A Government was formed but the portfolios were being constantly changed, and Commander Cabçadas was dismissed. Matters were not proceeding harmoniously among the leaders, and there was a general feeling that General Costa was acting in too arbitrary a manner, and without consulting his colleagues. General Carmona resigned office, and the greater part of the Cabinet followed him. A crisis was reached when, on the early morning of July 9, General Costa was arrested by General Carmona's orders, and almost immediately sent as a prisoner to the Azores, where he was at the end of the year. Scarcely a voice was raised in his favour.

Under Carmona the country was being ruled by a military Dictatorship, although there are four civilians in the Ministry.

On August 31 news arrived in Lisbon of a destructive earthquake in the Azores; the Island of Fayal suffered most and the city of Horta and surrounding villages were almost totally destroyed. There was very little loss of life.

General Hertzog, Mr. Havenga, Sir William Hoy, and Mr. Heddon arrived in Lisbon on November 26 on their way to South Africa, after attending the Imperial Conference in London. They came at the invitation of the Portuguese Government to talk over the basis of a new convention with Mozambique regarding the Lorenzo Marques Railway, the employment of Mozambique natives for the Rand mines and commercial relations.

#### DENMARK.

The dominant factor in the political and economic life of Denmark in 1926 was the rise in the value of the krone. From 92·6 gold ore, at which it stood at the beginning of the year, the krone had risen by March to 97·2. From this point its progress was slower, but it continued to rise till, in July, it had reached 98·6, and in October it passed the "gold point," thus regaining its old par value.

Naturally, the heavy rise of the value of the krone, which was much more rapid than had been anticipated, involved Danish trade in certain difficulties, as has been the case in all countries which, in the years immediately after the war, have had to go through a similar economic process. At the beginning of the autumn the effects of the deflation made themselves noticeable

in an abnormal prevalence of unemployment, to combat which the Social-Democratic Cabinet of M. Stauning, in the middle of October, presented a number of Bills for enabling it to give support to trade in the period up to April, 1928. It was, for instance, proposed that the Government should be authorised to support industry, handicraft, shipping, fisheries, agriculture, and building with direct loans and credit guarantees to a total of 99 million kroner, and with actual subsidies to the extent of 23·25 million kroner, to be provided by an extraordinary tax on capital exceeding 50,000 kroner. In the Lower House, however, a strong opposition to the scheme soon developed, objection being mainly taken to the proposed direct support of distressed industries and to the levying of an extraordinary tax upon capital. As the Government, for its part, refused to delete any essential part of the scheme, its position rapidly became critical. The Government Party (the Social-Democrats), had 55 of the 149 seats in the Lower House, and it was only with the support of the Radical-Liberal Party (20 seats), that it held a bare majority over the combined Liberal Party (45) and the Conservatives (28). Alone it could achieve nothing, and as all attempts to bring about an agreement with the supporting party failed, the Government decided to go to the country.

The Elections were held on December 2, and resulted in the following state of parties: Social-Democrats, 53 (lost 2); Radicals, 16 (lost 4); Liberals, 47 (gained 2); Conservatives, 30 (gained 2); Sleswig Party, 1 (no change); Justice Union, 2 (gained 2).

Having thus lost its majority, the Stauning Cabinet, which had been in office since April, 1924, resigned. It was succeeded, on December 15, by a Liberal Cabinet under the leadership of one of the best-known agriculturists in the country, M. Th. Madsen-Mygdal, who had held office as Minister for Agriculture in the former Liberal Cabinet of M. Neergaard (1920-24). The new Foreign Minister was Dr. Moltesen, who has taken an active part in inter-Parliamentary work, and was President of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Copenhagen in 1923.

At the opening of the new Folketing on December 17 the Premier made a statement of policy in which he said that the Government's main object would be to provide a remedy for the prevailing trade crisis and the consequent abnormal unemployment. They would aim at a reduction of both State and municipal expenditure in order that taxes and other burdens upon trade might be lessened, and would also revise the financial measures passed during the time of high prices consequent on the war and the currency inflation.

The trade returns for 1926 showed that both the imports and the exports of Danish products had declined by about 22 per cent. as compared with the previous year, while at the same time

the re-exports had fallen off by about one-third. This decline in the value of the turnover may be attributed principally to the rise of the international value of the Danish krone.

On December 22 both Houses of the Danish Rigsdag passed a Bill introduced by M. Slebsager, Minister for Trade, reimposing on the National Bank the obligation to redeem its notes with gold as from January 1, 1927, but reserving to the Minister until the end of 1929 authority to declare that the Bank shall only be under this obligation in respect of blocks of 28,000 kroner or multiples of this sum, and also reserving to the Bank the right to decide whether redemption shall be made in Danish gold coin, in gold bars, or gold in any other form calculated at a value of 2,480 kroner per kilo fine gold. During the debate the Minister stated that he intended under the authority given him by the Bill to sanction provisionally the redemption in gold bars for one year, which period may subsequently be extended.

The distinguishing feature of Denmark's foreign policy during the year was the conclusion of a number of Treaties of Arbitration, modelled on the agreements made on June 27, 1924, between the four Northern countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden for the establishment of permanent Conciliation Boards. These Treaties were this year followed up by further Treaties of Arbitration between the same four countries, according to which all disagreements, without exception, are to be settled in an amicable manner. A further application of this principle was made by Denmark in the Dano-German Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation, which was signed in Berlin on June 2, and in the Dano-French Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation, signed in Paris on July 5, 1926.

In the course of the year new Treaties of Arbitration were also concluded with Poland and Czechoslovakia on precisely the same lines as the Dano-French Treaty, while the Treaty of Arbitration of 1905 with Great Britain was, on June 4, renewed for a period of five years.

#### SWEDEN.

Questions of social policy occupied the foreground of Swedish public affairs during the first half of 1926. The Government's programme for the session of the Riksdag which opened on January 11 included as its chief items the introduction of land law reforms in favour of smallholders and tenants, the ratification of the Eight-Hours Law, and measures dealing with health insurance, employers' liability, and unemployment. Bills were actually introduced for Workmen's Compensation Insurance, Sickness Insurance, and Maternity Insurance, but all three were rejected by the Riksdag on May 21.

In other respects also the Riksdag showed its disapproval of

the Government. In the annual report of the Constitution Committee of the Riksdag on the conduct of affairs by Ministers put forward in the middle of May, the Minister of Justice, Hr. Northin, was charged with having neglected to take proper steps for dealing with an anti-militarist pamphlet of a manifestly illegal character. In a debate on the subject on May 19, members of all parties severely criticised the Minister, but forbore to press matters to a vote of censure.

The fall of the Government actually came soon afterwards on a social issue. Earlier in the year a strike had broken out at some iron mines, and the State Unemployment Commission had decided to send a small number of unemployed to work in certain of these mines which were being picketed by Syndicalists, threatening to deprive them of unemployment benefit if they refused the work. Communist and Syndicalist organisations appealed against this decision, and after some delay the Government annulled it. For this it was severely criticised by the Unemployment Commission, and immediately after the Whitsuntide recess, when the question was raised in the Riksdag, the Premier, Hr. Rikard Sandler, made it one of confidence. After a heated debate, the Riksdag supported the action of the Commission by 84 votes to 50 in the Upper Chamber and 114 votes to 104 in the Lower Chamber, the Liberals joining forces with the Conservative Opposition. The Government thereupon resigned.

On June 7 a new Government was formed by Hr. Ekman, the leader of the Liberal Party. Hr. Ekman at first took over the Ministry of Finance in addition to the Premiership, but later in the year (September 30) resigned this post to Hr. Ernst Lyberg, who up to then had been Minister without portfolio. The new Ministry reversed the decision of its predecessor regarding unemployment relief, but in other respects adopted a social policy which the Social-Democrats viewed without great disfavour. In foreign policy it maintained complete continuity, but in the matter of defence it showed itself somewhat hesitating. Hr. Löfgren, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said in July that every effort would be made by the Government to keep to the dates fixed by the Riksdag for reducing the forces in accordance with the Defence Law of 1925, but if it was found that the military preparedness of the country was likely to be seriously endangered by this course, proposals would be laid before the Riksdag for a new method of defence reorganisation. In the campaign for the County Council elections held in September, the Socialists declared themselves emphatically against any modification of the military reforms outlined in the Defence Bill of 1925, and public opinion seemed to be with them, as they gained 76 seats in the election while the Conservatives lost 43, though the Communists also lost 18.

Sweden made itself conspicuous at the meeting of the League

of Nations in March through the action of its representative, Dr. Unden, in preventing by his veto the execution of France's plan for adding more permanent members to the League Council besides Germany. In a debate in the Riksdag on March 24, Dr. Unden was strongly criticised by the Conservatives for having departed from his original instructions as approved by all parties, but the general feeling of the Riksdag was with him. In the course of the year Sweden entered into new arbitration agreements with Denmark, Norway, and Finland, and made a new Commercial Treaty with Germany.

#### NORWAY.

The year 1926 was eventful in Norwegian politics, being marked by a change of Government, the prosecution of ex-Premier Berge, and the defeat of prohibition. The Storting met on January 11, and the Speech from the Throne, which was read by the King, emphasised the fact that the financial question was still the most important problem in Norwegian politics. The restoration of the finances was, however, progressing satisfactorily, the new Budget being balanced without the imposition of fresh taxes. It had even been found possible to reduce the income tax, the 5 per cent. increase voted by the Storting in 1925 being abolished. The Estimates amounted to 417,500,000 kroner, which meant a reduction of 23,000,000 kroner on those of the previous financial year.

The debate on the King's Speech brought about the defeat of the Radical Government on February 28. The Premier, Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, refused to accept motions proposed by the Conservative and Agrarian Parties for a further reduction of the Budget, and said that he would resign if either of the motions were carried, or if the votes cast for them, counted together, represented a majority of the Storting. The Conservative and Agrarian motions were both rejected, but taken together they had obtained 76 votes against 74. Mr. Mowinckel, in consequence, at once resigned, and advised the King to call for the Conservative leader, Ivar Lykke, and the Agrarian leader, Johan Mellbye. The King asked these two leaders to discuss the possibility of a coalition between their parties. The Agrarian Party declined, however, to co-operate with the Conservatives, and a movement in the Press for a Coalition Cabinet of all bourgeois parties, with Dr. Fridtjof Nansen as Premier, proved fruitless.

Ivar Lykke then formed a Conservative Government, which came into office on March 4. Mr. Lykke himself became Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the other members of the Government were : F. L. Konow, Minister of Finance ; P. A. Morell, Minister of Social Affairs ; I. E. Christensen, Minister of Justice ; Ch. Robertson, Minister of Commerce ; Dean W. Chr. Magelssen,

Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Education ; C. L. Bærøe, Minister of Agriculture ; Karl Wefring, Minister of Defence ; and Anders Venger, Minister of Works.

The debate on the programme of the new Government took place in the Storting on March 16 and 17. The Government declared its principal object to be the improvement of the public finances and reduction of expenditure in all branches of the administration. Mr. Mowinckel maintained that the Government ought to withdraw the Budget estimates for the financial year 1926-27, submitted to the Storting by the former Government. The Premier replied that it was the intention of the Government to effect far-reaching retrenchments, but it was necessary to proceed carefully. The new Government's scheme for reduction of expenditure could not come into force before the fiscal year 1927-28. A motion of no-confidence brought forward by the Labour Parties was defeated by a large majority.

In April the State Monopoly of the sale of grain, which had been established during the war, was abolished, both the Odelsting (the Lower House) and the Lagting (the Upper House), by narrow majorities, adopting the proposal to this effect made by the Conservative and Agrarian Parties. The proposal included a new organisation of the sale of grain with a State subsidy for the home production. The subsidy is covered by an import duty on wheat.

The Odelsting, on July 14, decided, in accordance with the report of the "Protocol Committee," to prosecute before the High Court of the Realm the Conservative ex-Premier, Abraham Berge, and six members of his Government for having, in May, 1923, without the consent of the Storting, deposited 25,000,000 kroner with "Norges Handelsbank" (The Norwegian Bank of Commerce), in order to save the bank from failing. The deposit, which ultimately resulted in a loss to the State of about 20,000,000 kroner was kept secret, neither the King nor Parliament being informed. The "Protocol Committee," in its report, emphasised the fact that Mr. Berge and his colleagues undoubtedly acted from patriotic motives, with the sole object of saving the country from a serious financial crisis. They had no personal interest whatsoever in the "Handelsbank," and their action did not in any way reflect on their integrity. Nevertheless it was, in the opinion of the committee, a breach of constitutional law, and could not be passed over lightly.

The report of the committee was adopted by 62 to 50 votes, as far as Mr. Berge was concerned, and by 58 to 54 votes in the case of the following politicians who were members of the Berge Cabinet : C. F. Michelet, O. S. Klingenberg, C. Middelthon, I. Rye Holmboe, A. Venger and K. W. Wefring.

A motion criticising the conduct of Mr. Lykke also was rejected by 65 to 47 votes. The present Premier had been President

of the Storting in 1923, but was not informed of the secret support of the Handelsbank till several months later, when he was elected chairman of the representative body of the Bank. A minority in the Protocol Committee blamed him for not having told the Storting of the secret deposit when the question of granting an additional relief of 15,000,000 kroner was discussed in Parliament in 1924. Mr. Lykke then advised Mr. Berge to inform the Storting of his previous action, but as Mr. Berge objected, he did not consider himself free to make any disclosure.

The prosecution aroused immense interest, this being the first impeachment before the High Court of the Realm since 1884. The High Court is composed of the members of the Lagting, the Upper House of the Storting, and nine judges of the Supreme Court. The defendants having made use of their right to challenge one-third of the members, the court consisted of twenty-seven persons when the proceedings commenced in October. The trial had not been concluded by the end of the year.

Two of the impeached politicians, K. W. Wefring and A. Venger, who were members of the Lykke Cabinet, resigned shortly after the decision of the Odelsting. They were replaced by W. H. Darre Jensen, who was appointed Minister of Works, and Knud Oyen, who became Minister of Justice, Mr. Christensen leaving the Ministry of Justice to take over the Ministry of Defence.

Even greater interest was aroused by the prohibition referendum which was taken on October 18, and resulted in a crushing defeat of prohibition. In Norway, unlike the United States and Finland, prohibition applied only to spirits, the sale of beer and wine having always been permitted. Prohibition of spirits was introduced during the war as an emergency measure by Order in Council and was made permanent in 1919 after a referendum which showed a majority of 184,344 votes in its favour. In the campaign preceding the new referendum the churches took a very active part, a "Christian Temperance Council" being formed representing the leading missionary societies within the State Church and the Free Churches. The interference of the churches was strongly resented by the anti-prohibitionists, and the leading Conservative papers declined to publish, even as an advertisement, a manifesto in favour of prohibition, signed by about 200 clergymen of the State Church.

It was generally expected that there would still be a majority, although a reduced one, in favour of prohibition. The referendum showed, however, that a landslide had taken place, the anti-prohibitionists capturing many prohibition strongholds. The final result was: 422,206 votes for, and 530,934 votes against, prohibition. The chief cause of the reversal in public opinion was undoubtedly the fact that illicit private distilling under prohibition had shown an alarming increase while smuggling had



decreased. A remarkable feature of the referendum was the attitude of the workers, who voted solidly against prohibition in opposition to their leaders and the official programme of the Labour parties. The referendum was only of an advisory character, but no one doubted that the Storting would accept the verdict of the people and repeal the prohibition law in the course of 1927.

A proposal for the re-union of the Labour Party (Independent Communist) and the Social-Democratic Party was adopted by the national executives of the two parties in December, and was also endorsed by the Executive of the General Federation of Trade Unions. The two parties will hold national congresses in the beginning of 1927 to decide the question finally. The Socialists have agreed to sever their present connection with the Second International, the headquarters of which is at Zurich, as the reunited party is to be attached to no International. The draft programme which has been agreed upon by the appointed representatives of the two parties is highly Radical in tone, but not revolutionary. The responsible Labour leaders seem at last to have dropped the violent phraseology which has proved so disastrous to their party prospects. The two parties have, at present, 32 representatives together in the Storting, while the Moscow Communists, who are still keeping aloof, number 6.

Economically, the year was almost as full of hardship as the preceding one, the rise of the Norwegian exchange to about par causing serious inconvenience to the export industries and to agriculture. A Labour conflict in the spring concerning wages in some of the most important industries was satisfactorily terminated by the intervention of the Government, a general wage reduction of about 15 per cent. being accepted by the workmen.

#### FINLAND.

After a somewhat prolonged Government crisis, a Cabinet was formed by M. Kjösti Kallio on the last day of 1925. The new Government, of which half the members were drawn from the Agrarian Party and half from the Finnish Coalition Party, was Conservative in tendency, and declared its intention of combating any movement hostile to the existing basis of society, and of improving the defensive forces of the country and fostering a spirit of greater unity within the Army. Its power was held from the first on a precarious tenure, since its supporters numbered only 82 in a Diet of 200. Nevertheless, it succeeded in maintaining itself in office till nearly the end of the year, chiefly owing to the unwillingness of any other party or combination to take its place. The legislative achievements of the Government were meagre, but it ratified treaties regarding commerce and navigation with

Hungary, and Arbitration Conventions with Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

In November allegations were made in the Diet of illegal dealings between the Ministry of Defence and a Finnish ammunition factory, as a result of which worthless cartridges had been supplied to the Government. The Minister of Defence, Hr. Hjelmann, denied the charges, at the same time taking on himself the sole blame for any irregularity that might have occurred. The Prime Minister, however, declared that the Government were collectively responsible, and made the matter a question of confidence. On November 23 the Government was defeated by 108 votes to 84 on a motion brought forward by the Swedish Party, supported by the Socialists and Communists, and immediately afterwards resigned. The President thereupon asked Hr. Tanner, the leader of the Socialist Party, which was the largest in the Diet, to form a Government. Hr. Tanner at first tried to form a Coalition Ministry which should rest on the support of a majority in the Diet, but no party would co-operate with him except the Swedish Left. Eventually, therefore, on December 11, he formed a Government on a purely Socialist basis, the Socialists thus coming back to power for the first time since the Revolution of 1918.

In the field of foreign policy the Government of M. Kallio had shown itself reluctant to enter into closer formal relations with other countries, and anxious only to maintain friendship with them on the basis already existing. Nevertheless, it made arbitration conventions with Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and entered into negotiations with the Soviet Government for a Pact of non-Aggression. These, however, were broken off on November 25, as the Soviet Government refused to accept a proposal to submit differences to arbitration, or to agree to the appointment of a neutral President for the proposed Conciliation Commission, points on which the Finnish delegates insisted.

The year witnessed various manifestations of aggressive nationalism on the part of the Finns which led to counter-manifestations on the part of the Swedish-speaking inhabitants of the country. Early in the year a number of officers, including the head of the Finnish Navy, Commodore von Schoultz, were retired owing to their failure to pass a rather severe examination in the Finnish language. In March the Minister of Education, Dr. Ingman, delivered a public speech in which he severely attacked the Finnish Chauvinists for their intolerance in the matter of the language question, but his interference was keenly resented by them and merely provoked them to angry rejoinders. A little later a "True Finland League" was formed to promote the interests of the Finnish people and the Finnish language both at home and abroad. The movement spread rapidly, appealing especially to the young. The Swedish-Finns, on their side, in the

middle of March organised a "Swedish Week" at Helsingfors, during which representatives of Swedish Science, Learning, and Art were entertained privately by the Swedish Committee of Finland, and received by President Relander; and the "Swedish National Party," at its general meeting held in May, reaffirmed its intention to "secure the rights" of the Swedish part of the population, and to work all the harder to this end in view of the growth of the "True Finnish" movement.

At the beginning of October, President Relander made official visits to Oslo and Copenhagen. He was warmly received in both capitals, in spite of the denunciations of Communists, who had not forgiven him for the part he had played in the civil disturbances that took place in Finland at the end of the war.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: PERSIA — AFGHANISTAN — IRAQ —  
PALESTINE — SYRIA — ARABIA — INDIA.

### PERSIA.

THE coronation of Riza Shah Pahlevi as Shah of Persia took place on April 25 in the Gulistan Palace in Teheran. Besides a large concourse of Persian notables, all the members of the Diplomatic corps were present, and, for the first time in an affair of this kind, European ladies were also allowed admission. Riza Shah entered the Throne Room wearing the Nadir Shah aigrette, but on ascending the throne he removed the aigrette and placed the Pahlevi crown on his head, and then took possession of Nadir Shah's sword. The coronation ceremony evoked great popular enthusiasm, and was followed by festivities in the capital which lasted for several days.

The fifth Mejliss was dissolved in the spring, having sat for its full term of two years. Its chief legislative achievements had been to modify the Constitution so as to harmonise it with the change of dynasty, to recognise Iraq, to settle affairs in Mohammerah, to create a Government monopoly in tea and sugar, and to impose a compounded road tax on goods entering all frontiers, in lieu of the old road tolls. Elections for a new Mejliss were commenced in April, and were completed in the provinces with all despatch. In the capital, however, it was found that the military had interfered with the freedom of the electors, and the Shah ordered the election to be held afresh. In consequence of this delay the new Mejliss did not meet till June. Shortly before it opened the Shah thought it expedient to get rid of the existing Prime Minister, Mirza Mohammed Tarrughi, who had become unpopular owing to his failure to deal with the bread scarcity in

the previous year and with the military interference in the elections, and to substitute Mirza Hassan Mostofi with practically the same Ministry.

Although public order was, on the whole, better maintained than in previous years, the country was by no means free from unrest during 1926. In July mutinies took place among the troops in Persian Azerbaijan and in Khorassan. The former was suppressed without difficulty, but the latter developed into a real insurrection. Troops were sent from Teheran, and on July 24 it was announced that the trouble was at an end. Nevertheless, in the next month the Shah deemed it advisable to proceed to Khorassan in person to study the situation. On his way he ordered the arrest of the General Officer Commanding in Meshed on charges of oppression, peculation, and mutiny, and soon after publicly degraded him; and this step seemed to have a pacifying effect in the province. Almost before this revolt was ended, another one was started by the Kajar prince Abu'l Fath Mirza, the Salar-ed-Dowlah, who aspired to restore his dynasty to the throne. It was reported in October that he had defeated Pahlevi Shah's troops and was marching on Kermanshah, but the report was denied by the Persian Chargé d'Affairs in London; and in November the Pretender was arrested by the Iraqi authorities at Erbil and taken to Bagdad.

During 1926 the finances of Persia continued to improve under the able administration of Dr. Millspaugh, who had consented to prolong his mission for another three years from 1925. But for the heavy expenditure incurred for relief of the famine in the previous year, it would have been possible to balance the Budget.

In foreign policy during this year Persia became cooler towards Russia and more friendly towards England. British prestige in the country had been greatly enhanced by the part played by Sir Percy Loraine in the previous year in bringing to an end the Mohammerah rebellion, and English people became much more popular with the inhabitants than they ever had been, while the anti-British propaganda in the Press practically ceased. The Soviet Government paid a compliment to Persia by raising its representative there to the rank of an Ambassador, but in other respects proved itself a disagreeable neighbour. It laid an embargo on the import of rice which did great injury to the district of Gilan; it kept a gunboat in the Persian port of Enzeli on the Caspian, and insisted on using the preferential tariff of 1903, declining to pay the scale of import dues in Persia laid down by the Anglo-Persian Convention of 1920.

The Shah, in his opening speech to the Mejliss in July, laid stress on the necessity for developing transport in the country, and schemes for both road and railway construction were considered during the year, but no definite progress was made. The

only actual improvement in transport to be recorded was the institution of two or three new aerial services in the country by the enterprising Junkers firm.

#### AFGHANISTAN.

The chief event in the history of Afghanistan in 1926 was the conclusion, on August 31, of a Treaty of neutrality and mutual non-aggression between that country and Soviet Russia. The first Clause in the Treaty provided for “neutrality in the event of an armed conflict between either of the parties with a third Power,” while in another clause each party agreed “not to permit, in its territory the activities of elements having for their object hostile action against the other party to the Treaty.” This Treaty was the beginning for Afghanistan of closer relations with Russia, and was followed by a “Treaty of friendship” concluded on September 14, and by negotiations for an Afghan-Soviet trade agreement. These steps did not improve Afghanistan's relations with the Indian Government, which was already looking with suspicion on some of its military activities; so much so that in August Mr. Yunnus, the Secretary of the Afghan Legation in London, had thought it necessary to send a communication to *The Times* stating that the number of Afghanistan's aeroplanes was too small to cause any apprehension, and that the Russians engaged in the air service were employed as pilots or mechanics in the same way as any other Europeans.

Afghanistan suffered during the year from the effects of the great Khost rebellion of the previous year, and little, if any, progress was made in developing the country.

#### IRAQ.

The year 1926 differed from its predecessors inasmuch as no shadow of difference between the Turkish and Iraqi or British authorities darkened it. The agreement of the previous year had been complete and had been loyally accepted by both sides. As one of the consequences of this Treaty, there was set up a permanent Frontier Commission, whose business it was to promote neighbourly relations between the two Powers and their representatives, that is to say, to settle at once any local difficulties that might arise, and this Commission proved an immediate success. Each side vied with the other in endeavouring to smooth out the small difficulties that had arisen. In November the Iraqi Government fell in consequence of a defeat over the election of the President of the Chamber. The defeat may have been influenced by the announcement that had just been made of the Government's intention of introducing compulsory military service. Abdul Muhsin Beg es Sa'adun was succeeded as Prime

Minister by General Jafar Pasha el Askari, who formed a Coalition Cabinet.

#### PALESTINE.

The year in Palestine was overshadowed by an economic depression which was intensified instead of moderating as month followed month. To some extent this depression was a part of the general economic depression which, throughout the year, held the whole of Europe in its grip, but the situation in Palestine was aggravated by the large mass of immigrants, not altogether well selected, which had poured into the country during the previous year. In these circumstances the volume of immigration naturally decreased, while at the same time that of emigration increased, until, in the last months of the year, the latter exceeded the former, and so far as Jews were concerned the nett increase of the population amounted to nil. This development, and perhaps still more the firm attitude adopted by the new High Commissioner towards the Arab Committee, reacted in a softening in the general political situation. Throughout the year there was talk of the abandonment of the Arab policy of non-co-operation with the Government, and more than one effort, none of which, however, proved successful, was made to form as a preliminary, one united organisation representative of all the Arabs of Palestine. Further evidence of the change of attitude on the part of the Arab representatives was given in the tone of their representations to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which differed considerably with regard to violence of language and irresponsible accusations from those of their predecessors.

Apart from the foregoing, Palestine may be judged happy as being without a history during the year 1926. The great prosperity of the two previous years resulted in a surplus—inordinately large for Palestine—of over a million pounds, which went some distance in reducing the floating debt that had accumulated during the first three or four years of the civil administration. This surplus in part helped to render possible a British Government guarantee of a loan which was approved by Parliament in the last month of the year (see p. 133). By means of this loan not only was the remainder of the floating debt to be repaid and a settlement made with the British Government for the railways and other works taken over from the army of occupation, but provision was available for the construction of a much-needed harbour at Haifa and other public works. These will undoubtedly have their effect in the future prosperity of the country, as will also the provision of electrical power and light from the Jordan by a private company with which Mr. Pinhas Rutenberg and Lord Reading are identified, to which, after years of negotiation, the concession was granted in the course of the year.

A reorganisation of the Defence Forces of the country—Gendarmerie and Police—attracted undue attention. It involved the disappearance of the Palestine Gendarmerie, which had hitherto been about one-third Jewish, and the drafting of the Jewish members, or most of them, into the ordinary police. At the same time a Transjordan Frontier Force, intended for service mainly in Transjordan where the population is entirely Arab and Circassian, was raised, and from this force Jews were practically excluded, presumably on the ground that their employment in a purely Arab and Moslem country was undesirable. The intentions of the Government were not quite clear in the first instance, and very strong protests against the proposals were made by the Jewish community, but these died down in course of time.

The departure of Sir Ronald Storrs, District Commissioner of the Southern District, but more generally known as the Governor of Jerusalem—he entered Palestine as Military Governor of Jerusalem immediately on its occupation by the British Forces and had, despite changes in title, remained in practically the same position ever since—was something of the nature of an event in the history of the year. Throughout the term of his office he had been especially active in safeguarding those interests that make Jerusalem so precious to the cultured world. One of his main instruments in this was the Pro-Jerusalem Society, founded by him in the first months of his term of office. During the eight years of its existence it did great service in preserving the archaeological distinctiveness of the city, in restoring and preserving its monuments and re-introducing and encouraging its ancient arts and crafts. The Society was essentially a part of Sir Ronald and, as on his departure as Governor of Cyprus his office was abolished, there seemed no alternative but to bring the Society to an end. It is hoped that the effect it has had in educating and influencing public opinion in Jerusalem and elsewhere will survive it.

The situation in Transjordan, which, although under the same mandate and High Commissioner as Palestine, yet has a separate administration, has been somewhat indefinite throughout the year. The control of the Mandatory Power exercised through British advisers has been made closer and more effective, and in June the Prime Minister, Riza Pasha er-Rikabi, one of the outstanding personalities in the country, resigned, it was said at the instance of the French, who objected to him as one of Faisal's former ministers when he was King in Damascus. At the same time there was talk of a constitution and a Legislative Council, but although some thought and consideration were undoubtedly given to proposals in these directions, nothing had eventuated before the year closed.

## SYRIA.

When the year 1925 closed, there was some promise that the end of the war or the revolt of the Druses and their allies was in sight. But this promise was not realised, and throughout the year the fighting continued with varying success on either side. M. de Jouvenel, the new High Commissioner and the first civilian to hold that office, had the opportunity of securing a settlement at the beginning of the year, but his statesmanship just fell short. One valuable step towards a permanent settlement is, however, to his credit, and that was the public and considered announcement that the French methods of government of the past had to be abandoned and an entirely new system adopted. The capture of Sueida, the Druse capital, in April, had no appreciable result, and the bombardment of Damascus and its looting by Armenian and Circassian mercenaries the following month when some sixteen hundred buildings and a thousand lives were destroyed, and the systematic destruction of the Ghuta, the oasis in the midst of which Damascus lies, later in the year, only exacerbated the situation and gave the wretched villagers who escaped no alternative but to join the Syrian forces.

Side by side with the military operations the French authorities endeavoured, by political means, to secure the pacification of the country. In January a Syrian constituent assembly was to have been elected, but the elections led only to a riot at Aleppo, where the Government offices were sacked, and a boycott at Homs and Hama. The situation at Damascus, of course, precluded any attempt at holding elections there, but abortive negotiations were entered into for establishing a Provisional Government to secure similar ends. The deputies elected for Alexandretta, Antioch, and Kirkhau demanded, with unanimity, autonomy for their Turkish-speaking district, and this was granted to them, although they subsequently agreed to enter the Syrian State. The Lebanon State was outside the sphere of the elections but a friendliness for the French there also, if it existed, remained in concealment. In January a violent newspaper attack on the Governor led to legal proceedings in which fifty of the leading local lawyers volunteered to take up the defence, and as a result the case was dismissed and the Governor cast in costs. A few months later resentment at the French nominations to office in the Lebanese Council of Representatives and Senate led to a Maronite outburst—the Maronites have for long been traditional friends of France—and a demand by them for a withdrawal of the French mandate; and still later the Lebanese formally protested against what they termed the excessive taxation imposed on them, and in particular the charges in respect of their share of the old Ottoman debt. The choice of a Syrian Constituent Assembly was followed by the appointment by the French of a



Provisional National Government, and of a head of the Syrian State in the person of Damad Ahmed Namy Bey, a Turkish prince. M. de Jouvenel announced, as the keystone of the new relations between France and Syria, a Treaty similar to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. This should, of course, carry with it internal independence, the formation of a Syrian army ultimately to take the place of the French, and the admission of Syria to the League of Nations. A later demand was for the re-distribution of territory between Syria and the Lebanon whereby the earliest Lebanese annexations would, in part, at any rate, be restituted and Syria given access to the sea. But demands not very different put forward by representatives of the Druses some months earlier for *inter alia* the complete independence of Syria, the restitution of the State of Lebanon to its original limits, and the withdrawal of the French troops to the coast had been summarily rejected. However, the Provisional Government lasted only two and a half months, for on June 15 it was dissolved, on the ground that some of its members were giving encouragement to the enemy. Damad Ahmed formed a new Government, but this also did not live long, and before the year closed he had formed a third Ministry, which likewise did not offer prospects of a long life.

The administration of the mandate by France came before the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in February, and opportunity was taken of the occasion for extremely severe criticisms of that administration on the part of representatives of the people of Syria. The Mandates Commission was asked to visit Syria so as to examine conditions on the spot. The Report of the Commission was somewhat severe on the administration by M. de Jouvenel's predecessors, but looked forward to an improvement under M. de Jouvenel. The mandate came again before the Commission at its June meeting, when M. de Jouvenel in person represented the French case and explained his policy. M. de Jouvenel, however, did not return to Syria. His successor was M. Ponsot, an official of the French Foreign Office.

In the meanwhile, at the end of May, an agreement between the Turkish Government and that of France which, incidentally, included Syria, was signed at Angora. This provided for reciprocal neutrality in the event of a conflict with a third party, and, of course, eased the frontier situation between Turkey and Syria which, in consequence of raids of a minor character, had been troublesome at times.

#### ARABIA.

On December 23, 1925, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the Wahabite leader, completed his triumph over the already deposed Hashimite dynasty by occupying their capital, Jiddah. From this time he was undisputed ruler of the Hejaz, and in the course of

the succeeding year he greatly consolidated his position and made himself the most powerful ruler in the Arabian peninsula. On January 8 he was proclaimed king at Mecca, and was soon recognised as King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd by all the foreign Powers which had interests in Arabia, except Italy and Egypt. Ibn Saud showed himself in many ways an able and progressive ruler, and in particular set himself to encourage the pilgrim trade, on which the prosperity of the Hejaz chiefly depends, and to overcome the antipathies which had been aroused by some of the actions of his fanatical followers. He established hospitals and built roads for the pilgrims, and as a result of his efforts the pilgrimage to Mecca this year was a success, and enabled the Hejaz to show a revenue of 500,000*l*, more than covering its expenditure.

With a view chiefly to concerting measures for improving the lot of the pilgrims, but also for more general purposes of Moslem interest, Ibn Saud, after his failure in the previous year, made a second attempt to organise a Pan-Moslem Congress at Mecca, this time with success. The Congress opened on June 6 and was attended by delegates from the Sunni Mohammedans of practically all countries. The Congress strengthened the feeling of Moslem, or rather Sunni, solidarity and also heightened not a little the prestige of Ibn Saud. One incident, however, occurred to mar his satisfaction; the Egyptian delegates, who adopted a modern style of living, came into conflict with some of the fanatical Wahabis of Mecca, and left the country in high anger. Not only were political relations rendered cooler by this *contretemps*, but there was reason to fear that it might lead to a diminution in the number of Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca, who brought into the Hejaz money which it could ill afford to lose.

While Ibn Saud strengthened his position at Jiddah, the Imam Yehya maintained himself without opposition at Sanaa. The British Mission under Sir Gilbert Clayton which at the end of 1925 had visited him for the purposes of arranging terms (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 247) met with no success. In the summer Britain again tried to conclude a Treaty of friendship with the ruler of the Yemen, but again failed, because she insisted on his giving up a strip of territory which he had seized near Aden. Italy, which also desired the friendship of the Yemen, was more successful, and on November 4 concluded a Treaty with the Imam which strengthened commercial relations between the Yemen and Eritrea.

Situated between the Sultan of Nejd on the North and the ruler of the Yemen on the South, the Idrisi Emir of Asir found his position untenable, and in October he placed himself under the protection of the former. Ibn Saud further extended his authority in December by meeting a number of tribal chiefs at Riyadh, near Medina, and inducing them to offer him allegiance. In view of the consolidation of his power which had taken place during

the year, the British Government decided that relations between the Wahabis and the British Empire should be defined afresh, and for this purpose the British consul at Jiddah went on December 30 to confer with Ibn Saud at Abyar Ibn Hassan, near Medina.

#### INDIA.

During the year the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading (who was raised to a Marquessate) came to an end, with a quiet frontier, a surplus Budget, and a great and general improvement in political conditions. His successor in April, 1926, was the Rt. Hon. Edward F. L. Wood, afterwards Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, who had a hereditary connexion with India as the grandson of Sir Charles Wood, the originator of the present educational system. Lord Irwin's personality as a man was found acceptable to the man of the frontier during his tour of the North-West: he has already become known as the "*farmer*" Viceroy, owing to the interest displayed in agriculture and the life of the peasantry; and his appeals at the Chelmsford Club at Simla in July, and at the opening of the Autumn Session of the Legislative Assembly in August for better relations between the Hindu and Moslem Communities made a profound impression.

The year opened with the prospect of further disruption of the Swaraj (Home Rule) Party, and of Hindu-Mohammedan antagonism. The Swaraj Party had resolved at Cawnpore, in December, 1925, to re-open a campaign of civil disobedience and a boycott of the Legislatures: but it came to naught. The other political parties, the Moderates, the Independents, and the Responsive Co-operators realised the necessity for joint action; but their negotiations were punctuated throughout the year by the personal differences between leaders. At the March sessions the Swarajists adopted the theatrical, but resultless, step of walking out of the Legislatures. An attempt at reconciliation between the Responsivists and the extreme Swarajists was made in April at Subarnati, in the Bombay Presidency; but it failed through vagueness, and the Indian National Congress was left to be dominated by a dwindling body of extremists. The mutual attitude of the various parties was later affected by the Hindu-Moslem communal strife (to which reference is made later), and the imminence of the elections in November-December for the Central and Provincial Legislative bodies. At the elections the Swaraj Party lost one-third of their strength in the Central Assembly; they lost heavily in Bombay; were decisively defeated in Assam; and became negligible in the United Provinces, Central Provinces, and in the Punjab. In Bengal they were returned in practically undiminished numbers. On the other hand, they strengthened their position in Madras, with 44 out of 94 seats, and had a triumph

in Bihar. In Madras they were unwilling to accept the responsibility of a Ministry. The year closed with the meeting, in December, of the Indian National Congress at Gauhati, in Assam, where the Swaraj Party, some members of which stood for boycott of the Councils, and some for entry and obstruction from within, was in the majority; and Responsivist Hindus and Mohammedans were in small numbers. In the Presidential speech, Mr. Srinivasa Ayangar declared against acceptance of office; and a resolution to that effect until the "national" demand had been conceded was passed by a large majority. No mention was made of mass civil disobedience.

An outstanding feature in the election campaign was the bitterness between Hindus and Moslems. The appeal to the electors was on frankly communal lines. This was a sequel to the various outbursts of fanaticism, for which the year has acquired an unfortunate reputation. On two occasions in April there were serious riots in Calcutta owing to conflicts between the two parties: in the two outbreaks there were 975 casualties, including 102 killed. The Government of Bengal declared a state of emergency. Serious outrages also occurred in parts of Bengal, in Delhi, in the North-West Frontier Province, in the United Provinces, and in the Punjab; and incidents in Malabar, Hyderabad, and elsewhere. All religious festivals in Upper India, Hindu and Mohammedan, by July and August necessitated, both before and during their ceremonies, elaborate precautions to ensure their peaceful celebration. A grave incident occurred on December 28, when a prominent Hindu leader, Swami Shraddhanda (Munshi Ram), the founder of the monastic college of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar, was shot dead at Delhi by a Mohammedan fanatic. The Swami's name had been prominent on account of his identification with the movement for the reconversion to Hinduism of Mohammedans whose forefathers had been converted Hindus. The Secretary of State (Lord Birkenhead) expressed, in the House of Lords, on July 28, the view that, while it would be untrue to deny all connexion between the Reforms and the religious tension, so far as a tangible cause could be assigned, it was to be found in the general unsettlement of ideas and of material conditions which followed the war, and which gave a final quietus to the system of paternal government.

The proceedings in the various Legislative bodies may now be considered. In the Council of State in February a motion by Sir Phiroze Sethna for the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission to establish a scheme for responsible self-government was rejected. The Indian Trade Union Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly: provisions were made in connexion with the safe custody of Union funds and with their periodical audit. In August the Assembly passed an Act providing for the constitution of Bar Councils in the various Provinces: the intention was

to establish Councils similar to the English Bar Councils, thus uniting judges and advocates of different categories in one great profession. As a result of the Reforms Enquiry (Muddiman) Committee, a rule was passed enabling women to stand as candidates for the Legislative Councils, and the Madras and Bombay Councils acted upon it. A resolution to the same end was adopted in September in the Legislative Assembly. Dr. Ammal was the first lady member of the Madras Council. As regards the vote, women are now eligible to vote, both for the Provincial Councils and for the Legislative Assembly in all Provinces except Bihar and the Central Provinces. A permanent Indian Public Service Commission was constituted during the year.

Under the head of Defence, the Budget estimate was 54·8 crores of rupees (one crore = 750,000*l.*), for 1926-27, showing a steady reduction in six years from the 87·4 crores in 1920-21. The Commander-in-Chief informed the Assembly in March that, on a comparison of 1914 and 1926, Indian Cavalry had been reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-one regiments; and battalions of Indian Infantry serving in India from 126 to 100. A Committee of eleven, of whom nine were Indians, under the chairmanship of Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff, sat to consider the means of attracting Indian youth to adopt a military career. Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, the leader of the Non-co-operation Swarajists, resigned his membership of the Committee in March on the ground of the "general interest of the country" and "as a necessary corollary to our recent action in the Assembly." The Report was ready, but not published, at the end of the year. On the North-West Frontier the success of the civilising effect of the road-making policy in Waziristan continued, and raiding abated to an extent which the Commander-in-Chief considered to be not only satisfactory, but remarkable. In February the Viceroy announced to the Council of State that the Royal Indian Marine would be reconstructed, and known as the Royal Indian Navy, with the privilege of flying the White Ensign; that in its first development it would consist of twelve vessels; and that Indians would be eligible to hold commissions in the Service.

In the Indian States there were some changes of moment. In 1925-26 the Begum of Bhopal visited London in connexion with her claim that her third and surviving son, Haji Mohammed Hamidalla Khan, C.S.I., C.V.O., should be her successor. In March, 1926, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy concurred in accepting him as heir-apparent; and in May, on the Begum abdicating in his favour, he became the Nawab. In February, 1926, H.H. Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar, Maharaja of Indore, abdicated in favour of his son, Prince Yeshwant Rao Holkar, who was born in 1906. This followed the implication of some of his officers in a case of abduction at Bombay. In connexion with the claim made in 1923 by the Nizam of Hyderabad for the restoration of Berar,

of which a perpetual lease to the British Government had been negotiated by Lord Curzon in 1902, the reply of March, 1925, by Lord Reading refused to "reopen matters already settled." In September, 1925, His Exalted Highness challenged the application of the doctrine of *res judicata*, and affirmed that the two Governments "stand on the same plane." This was answered by an important State Paper of March 27, 1926, signed by Lord Reading, which stated that "no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing." In September the death occurred of Lieut.-General His Highness Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of Jamnu and Kashmir, at the age of 76. He was succeeded by Colonel Sir Hari Singh, K.C.I.E. Another outstanding figure of the frontier passed away in the case of Maharaja Sir Ugyen Wangchuck, G.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Ruler of Bhutan, who also died in September at the age of 65.

India had special international relationships during the year. At the Imperial Conference which sat in London in the autumn the representatives were the Secretary of State for India, the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan (the leading Hindu nobleman of Bengal) and Mr. D. T. (now Sir David) Chadwick, of the Indian Civil Service. India was represented at the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva and on the Empire Parliamentary Delegation in Australia. In April the Union Government of South Africa agreed to a Round Table Conference on the subject of the status of the Indian population in South Africa; and a formula was settled as a basis of the Conference. A deputation of seven members of the South African Parliament, headed by Mr. Beyers, Minister for Mines, visited India in September, and had an excellent reception. In December the Round Table Conference began in Cape Town: the representatives from India were headed by Sir Muhammed Habibullah, with two other Indians and three Europeans as colleagues. As regards the reopening of Indian emigration to British Guiana, the Legislative Assembly accepted, in 1926, after two years' negotiations, the terms originally offered by representatives of the Colony who visited India in 1924.

In the field of finance, the fiscal year, 1925-26, closed with a surplus of 1.30 crores for the Central Government, the receipts being 131.35 crores, and the expenditure 130.05 crores. In the 1926-27 estimates, there was an expected surplus of 3.05 crores. No fresh taxation was imposed: the cotton excise duty was abolished, which meant the loss of 71 lakhs; and a further relief was given to the Provinces in a reduction to the extent of 125 lakhs in their contributions to the Central Government, which were fixed at 545 lakhs. The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee, appointed in May, 1924, under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Todhunter, presented their report in March, 1926. The guiding

principle in the recommendations was to cheapen the necessities of life by transferring the burden of taxation to luxuries. Another report presented during the year in connexion with finance was the very important one of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, under the chairmanship of Mr. Hilton Young, M.P., with nine colleagues, four being Indians. The main proposals of the report published in August were : (1) the stabilisation forthwith of the rupee at 1s. 6d. gold, *i.e.*, at 8.47 grains gold ; (2) the stability in terms of gold to be secured by making the currency note and the silver rupee directly convertible into gold, but without gold circulating as money ; and (3) the constitution of a Reserve Bank, to have the sole right of note issue. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was the one dissident in favour of stabilisation at 1s. 4d. to the rupee, *i.e.*, at 7.53 grains of gold. In August the consideration of the Currency Bill was postponed by the Government to meet the wishes of the Assembly ; but the Finance Member said that Government must, and would, maintain the 1s. 6d. rate, pending effective discussion in the Legislature. In November the Government of India and the Secretary of State accepted the Commission's recommendations as a whole.

The economic position of India during the year was assisted by a favourable monsoon though there were heavy floods in Burma, Bengal, and the Central Provinces. Sir Basil Blackett, in his Budget speech in March, said that the League of Nations' comparison on a gold basis showed that, while in 1913 India was eighth on the list of countries in the matter of the total value of the foreign trade, she had since risen to the fifth place. The Report for 1925-26 of the India Store Department, issued by the High Commissioner for India in November, 1926, showed the present policy of the Government of India to be (a) the encouragement of competition ; and (b) the limitation of the sending of indents to London in order to encourage the building of indigenous industries. In 1926 the export of cotton suffered on account of the disorganisation caused by the large cotton crop in the United States of America. Tea did well : also coal ; though jute had its troubles with a record jute crop of nearly eleven million bales. In connexion with opium, the Government of India made two important pronouncements : after an agreement had been made with the Government of French Indo-China, public auctions in Calcutta were discontinued from April, 1926 ; and from that date no opium could be exported to the Far East except under a direct sale agreement with the Government of the importing country. In June, 1926, the decision was made to reduce progressively exports of opium from India except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, so as to extinguish them altogether within a period of ten years. The policy will result in the disappearance of two crores of rupees in revenue. In connexion with the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme, after previous local inquiries, the

Government of India appointed in August, 1926, a Committee of Enquiry, with Sir Grimwood Mears as chairman. In September an interim report was issued recommending the reclamation of three of the eight blocks. The Committee sat both in India and London.

Under the head of Transport and Communications, there was the acquisition by the State of the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway, at a cost of four crores of rupees. In February the first electric railway in India was opened in the harbour branch, Bombay to Kurla, 10 miles, of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. In October the broad gauge was extended to the foot of the Himalayas at Sili-guri, marking the completion of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  years' work on conversion from the metre gauge; and in December by the opening of a new feeder line of 50 miles, Sialkot was put in direct communication with the capital of the Punjab. Transport by air was the subject of a comprehensive examination in a memorandum of the Air Board published in December, 1926. It emphasised that the time had come for the Government of India to accept responsibility for subsidising commercial air services subject to conditions regarding Indian capital and employment, and the training of Indian pilots and other personnel. As regards sea transport, progress was made in developing the ports of Vizagapatam, Cochin, and Chittagong; and steady progress was made in the great King George's Dock at Calcutta, with a labour staff of 12,000 men. The Government of India decided to open a training ship at Karachi in 1927, so as to meet the desire of Indians to take a larger share in their transport systems.

As agriculturists form about three-quarters of the population of India it was appropriate that the announcement in April, 1926, of the Royal Commission on Agriculture should coincide with the arrival as Viceroy of a statesman who had made a special study of agriculture. The chairman is the Marquess of Linlithgow; and of his nine colleagues, five are Indians. The reference was generally to examine and report on the conditions of agricultural and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations. In February the Government of India decided to develop the Dehra Dun Forest Research Institute as a centre of instruction in tropical forestry second to none; and in August the first examination of Indian candidates under the scheme was held. Cognate with agriculture is the subject of irrigation. In April in the first completed unit of the Sutlej Valley irrigation scheme the Suleimanke Canal headworks were opened by the Governor of the Punjab. All the units are to be completed by 1933.

This review should not close without a reference to the measures taken for the emancipation of slaves. By March, 1926, through the exertions of Mr. Barnard, of the Burma Frontier Service, nearly 3,500 slaves of the Hukawng Valley in Burma gained their free-



dom at a cost to Government of Rs. 200,000 (15,000*l.*). A similar expedition started under the same officer towards the end of the year for the triangle between the two sources of the Irrawaddy River in the North-East of Burma, in order to persuade the Kachin tribal chiefs to abolish the local system of slavery. Finally, the Khan of the Kalat State in Baluchistan in November, 1926, abolished private property in slaves in his territory. These measures coincided with the liberation, in Nepal, of a slave population of 60,000.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

#### CHINA.

IN the course of 1926 the balance of power between the various contending factions among which China was partitioned underwent considerable modification, chiefly owing to the phenomenal successes of the Southern Nationalist Party in the latter half of the year. At the opening of the year the distribution of the various governing powers was as follows: Chang Tso-lin held Manchuria, and also exercised a suzerainty over Shantung, which was, however, actually ruled by Chang Chung-Chang. Wu Pei-fu was in possession of the central provinces of Hupeli and Honan, including the city of Hankow, and Sun Chuan-fang of the five provinces stretching east and south-east of Shanghai—Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, Anwei, and Kiangsi. Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General, who had identified himself with the northern Nationalist Party, was in control of Chihli, including the cities of Tientsin and Peking. The southern provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Kweichow were under the southern Nationalist Government, which had its headquarters at Canton. The western provinces were each under its own virtually independent Governor, though one of these, Yen Hsi-hsan, had to contest with Feng Yu-hsiang the mastery of Shansi. At Peking there was a constitutional Government which claimed to represent the whole of China, but which possessed only nominal authority, with Tuan Chi-jui as Chief Executive.

Fighting took place in January between the forces of Feng Yu-hsiang and those of Chang Tso-lin, and the latter suffered a serious reverse on January 19 at the battle of Shanhaikwan. This success, however, availed the "Christian General" little, as Wu Pei-fu now took the field against him, co-operating with his old enemy, Chang Tso-lin, with the object of recapturing Peking from the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party. The Kuomintang troops managed to delay Wu's forces in Honan for more than a month, but early in March they were threatened with an attack

from the rear by the forces of General Li Chin-lin, who was marching up from Shantung to Tientsin, and to save themselves from being cut off they were forced to retire on that city. At the same time, Chang Tso-lin sent forces under the command of his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, from the Manchurian border southwards towards Peking; and on March 17 Manchurian warships intercepted a Russian steamer from Vladivostock which was carrying large quantities of rifles and ammunition for the Kuominchun (Nationalist army). In consequence of this blow the latter, on March 22, retired from Tientsin and devoted themselves to the defence of Peking, which the allied forces of Wu, Chang, and Li had so far unaccountably failed to occupy. Here they maintained themselves for another three weeks, in the course of which there was a good deal of firing, and Manchurian aeroplanes dropped bombs on the town. After making an unsuccessful attempt to detach Wu from his allies, the Kuominchun finally evacuated Peking between April 15 and 19, retiring to their base at Kalgan to the north-west, on the Manchurian frontier.

Peking was occupied by Manchurian troops under Chang Hsueh-liang, while a nominee of Wu was made Garrison Commander. Tuan Chi-jui, on April 20, left Peking for Tientsin, handing over his functions to the rest of the Cabinet as a Regency.

Although relations were by no means friendly between Marshals Wu and Chang, they yet agreed on the appointment, on May 13, of Dr. W. W. Yen as Premier; but as he was not *persona grata* with Chang, he resigned on June 22 in favour of Admiral Tu Hsi-kui. The Peking Government, however, remained nothing but a shadow, though it still occasionally addressed foreign countries in the name of China.

Rivals and enemies as they were, Marshals Wu and Chang regarded the Kuominchun, which was still unbroken and threatening Peking, as their common foe, and were anxious to co-operate for its overthrow. At a Conference on June 28 they agreed on plans for a renewed joint attack on a big scale. They had to devote the next few weeks to quelling insubordination and mutiny in their own ranks, but at length, early in August, they launched their attack, which proved entirely successful. On August 14 the Nationalists, after a very heavy artillery bombardment, were driven out of the Nankow Pass, and three days later the allied forces, under Chang Hsueh-liang and Ch'u Yu-p'u, the Military Governor of Chihli, occupied Kalgan. The Kuominchun, however, retired in perfect order and with all their supplies, and were able to establish themselves farther west, at P'ing-ti Ch'üan. They were driven from here also in October by Yen Hsi-shan, the Military Governor of Shansi, and removed their headquarters to Paotu, across the Mongolian border. Here they were joined by Feng Yu-hsiang, who had just returned from Moscow. From this centre they continued the war against Wu Pei-fu, in co-

operation with the Southern Nationalists, and at the end of November relieved Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, which had been besieged by one of his Generals for seven months.

One of Marshal Chang's first steps after establishing his power at Peking was to demand from the Soviet Government the recall of their representative, M. Karakhan, who had identified himself with the Nationalist cause. Chang had already, in January, been involved in a quarrel with the Soviet Government over the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which each side wanted to get into its own hands.

On January 16 the General Manager of the railway, M. Ivanoff, refused to transport Chinese troops without cash payment, and, when the troops seized a train, suspended all freight and passenger traffic. Chang Tso-lin thereupon ordered his arrest and took over the administration himself. The Soviet Government protested energetically, and on January 24 an agreement was made by which M. Ivanoff was liberated and Chang Tso-lin undertook to pay for the transport of troops. Difficulties, however, still arose on questions of detail, and relations between the two parties remained strained throughout the year. In the autumn Chang took violent anti-Soviet steps in Manchuria, seizing vessels belonging to the Chinese Eastern Railway on the Sungari River, and ordering the closing down of the educational department of the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the ground that it was propagating Communism. The Russian Government strongly protested against these steps, and threatened to break off diplomatic relations. On September 11 M. Karakhan at length left Peking. A successor was nominated to him in the person of M. Chernykh, who at first presented his credentials at Mukden, and refused to proceed to Peking, on the ground that this would imply recognition of the existing *régime* there, and would be an affront to the Nationalist Government at Canton. However, on November 18 he left Harbin for Peking.

The failure of the allies to follow up their victory over the Northern Nationalists in August was largely due to the fact that at that juncture a situation had arisen farther south which urgently required Wu Pei-fu's presence. In proportion as the Northern Nationalists had been suffering defeat and losing ground, the Southern Nationalists had been extending their influence and consolidating their power. During the earlier part of the year the Kuomintang had been torn by internal dissensions between the moderate and the extreme elements. At a Conference of the party held on May 15 resolutions were passed making Communists ineligible as departmental chiefs and otherwise restricting their influence, but at the end of the month C. C. Wu, one of the right wing leaders, was ousted from power. Russian influence, exercised by the unofficial adviser, Borodin, continued to be strong with the Kuomintang, and anti-Christian feeling ran high in the

provinces under its rule. The boycott of Hong-Kong (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 257) was maintained with unabated rigour, despite negotiations for fourteen months, until October 10. At a Conference which opened on July 15, the Cantonese delegates made it clear that they would like some pecuniary compensation for raising the boycott, and the British suggested an industrial loan for public works, such as the development of the port of Whampoa, or the construction of railways. This was favourably received by the Cantonese, who asked for time to consider it, but nothing further was heard of the matter. Soon after, the boycott pickets began to cause great annoyance to the shipping in the ports of Canton and Swatow, and they carried their interference to such lengths that at last, on September 4, British naval forces cleared them out of both harbours. Thereupon the Chinese authorities undertook to keep the pickets in check, a promise which they faithfully observed. On September 18 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, without further parleying, informed the British Consul-General that arrangements had been made to raise the boycott on or before October 10, and on that date it duly came to an end, after having lasted fifteen months.

The military power of the Kuomintang was greatly strengthened by the accession to its ranks, in May, of Tang Sheng-chi, one of Wu Pei-fu's Generals, which enabled it to take the aggressive in Central China. During May and June Tang struggled with Wu's forces for the mastery of the province of Hunan, on the whole with indifferent success, as he lost the city of Changsha. He was, however, soon afterwards strongly reinforced from Canton, and on July 11 recovered Changsha. Here he was joined by Chiang Kai-shek, the Commander-in-Chief of the Canton Government, and the town of Yochow, a little north of Changsha, soon fell before them. This opened the way to Hankow, and in August Chiang resumed his march northwards with larger forces, and Wu Pei-fu's defences crumbled so rapidly before him that that General himself hurried back from Peking to Hankow, which he reached on August 25. His return, however, availed him nothing, as his former subordinate, Tang Sheng-chi, inflicted a crushing defeat on his right wing in Hunan, thus bringing the whole of that province under Kuomintang control. Nor did the successes of the Cantonese stop here. Continuing their advance north, they entered the province of Hupeh, and early in September Hankow, the most important town in Central China, with one of its sister cities, Hanyang, fell to troops which had crossed the Yangtze higher up and advanced along the north bank. Following up their advantage, the Cantonese troops drove Wu Pei-fu's troops farther north into Honan. Here the latter were harassed by a free-lance leader, Fang Chung-hsin, who supported the Cantonese, so that Wu, whose troops were disaffected and demoralised, and who was deserted by one of his Generals,

was finally compelled to retire to Chengchow, at the junction of the Lunghai and Peking-Hankow railways.

The establishment of the Cantonese at Hankow (to which they soon transferred their seat of Government) brought them into contact with Sun Ch'uan-fang, the Military Governor of Kiangsu, and overlord of Shanghai. Sun had hitherto not taken sides either for or against the Kuomintang, though he had declared himself an uncompromising enemy of Communism. But the aggressive attitude of the Cantonese, who were now on his borders, forced him to abandon his neutrality, and he took the field against them early in September. His first object was to relieve Wuchang, the second "twin sister" of Hankow, which was still holding out against them; but in spite of his efforts it fell—apparently owing to treachery—on October 11. Fighting took place during October with varying fortune in the province of Kiangsi, especially in the neighbourhood of Nanchang, which changed hands more than once. In the latter part of the month Sun had to deal with an enemy in his rear in the person of Hsia Chao, the Civil Governor of Chekiang, who raised the standard of revolt in Hangchow and threatened Shanghai. Sun, however, managed to suppress the rising before it became dangerous. He was not so fortunate on his main front, and on November 5 Kiukiang, his headquarters, fell to the Cantonese, who thereupon became masters of the whole province of Kiangsi. Nor was this the limit of their triumphant advance. The province of Fukien, early in December, surrendered to them practically without fighting, and a little later they advanced into Chekiang in spite of the fact that that province had declared its independence and neutrality. Their advanced troops even entered Hangchow, only 100 miles from Shanghai, but Marshal Sun, whose forces had been reduced by desertion from 200,000 to 30,000, by a rapid movement recovered the place.

The swift onrush of the Southern Nationalists, who had shown no small skill in manœuvring for positions, was viewed with grave alarm by Marshal Chang Tso-lin, and on November 18 he convened a military Conference at Tientsin, attended by Sun Ch'uan-fang and Chang Tsung-chang, the *tupan* (Military Governor) of Shantung, to consider the situation. It was decided that the advance of the Nationalists must be stemmed at all costs, and a plan of campaign was formed in accordance with which Shantung troops were to occupy the province of Kiangsu and defend Shanghai, while Fengtien (Mukden) troops were to occupy Honan. Accordingly, two columns were sent southwards, one along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and the other along the Peking-Hankow Railway. Neither, however, was able to reach its destination. Owing to the evil reputation of the Shantung troops for rapaciousness and brutality, the Chinese merchants of Shanghai declared that, if it came to a choice between them and the Nationalists, they would

prefer the latter ; and in consequence they did not proceed farther than Nanking. The Fengtien troops advanced as far as Chengchow, but Wu Pei-fu, who had his headquarters there, and who was still not too well disposed to Chang Tso-lin, would not give them facilities for proceeding farther south. The only place where the Nationalists were given any trouble was in Western Hupeh, on the Upper Yangtze, where General Yang Sen, who had formerly been a lieutenant of Wu Pei-fu but was now a free lance, attacked them vigorously, and at one time advanced to within striking distance of Yochow. He was, however, finally defeated and forced to flee into Szechuan. Thus, at the end of the year the Southern Nationalists were in undisputed possession of by far the greater part of China south of the Yangtze, including the highly important centres of Hankow and Wuchang, and were almost within striking distance of Shanghai.

The Western Powers which had interests in China studiously refrained during the year from interfering in the struggles between the various Chinese factions, but on two occasions their interests were affected in a way which made action on their part necessary. In the course of the fighting which went on in March round Tientsin between the Northern Nationalists and Chang Tso-lin and his allies, communications between Peking and the sea were entirely interrupted ; on March 9 foreign shipping was fired on from the forts of Taku, and it was reported that mines had been laid at the entrance to the harbour of Tientsin. On March 10 the diplomatic corps filed a protest with the Peking Government, pointing out that what was being done was a violation of the Protocol of 1901, and made similar notifications to the commanders of the opposing forces at the entrance of Tientsin harbour. No notice was taken of this remonstrance, and on March 13 two Japanese destroyers were fired on from the Taku forts. The Powers thereupon, on March 16, addressed a stronger Note, tantamount to an ultimatum, to the rival commanders and the Chinese Government making various demands for the purpose of maintaining free access from the sea to the capital. On March 18 the commanders consented to comply with the demands of the Note, and the Chinese Government also sent a conciliatory reply. This, in turn, led to an untoward incident in the capital, where the students organised a demonstration against the Note, and tried to rush the Government offices, but were stopped by fire from the troops, about forty being killed and eighty wounded.

In the second embroilment of this kind only England was concerned, though it might easily have occurred to any other Power. On August 29 some soldiers of Yang Sen, who was then Wu Pei-fu's lieutenant in the region of the Upper Yangtze, attempted, in accordance with their custom, to commandeer a boat (the *Wanliu*), belonging to a British company, at Yunyang, a town on the river some 40 miles below Wanh sien. The *Wanliu*, to avoid

seizure, got under way, and as she was proceeding at full speed overturned, with her wash, two small boats full of Chinese soldiers which were approaching her. Yang, in reprisal, seized two other ships at Wanhhsien belonging to the same company, and detained their officers on board. When the commander of H.M.S. *Cockchafer* remonstrated with him, he posted troops so as to immobilise that vessel also. After the British Consul at Chungking had tried by negotiation to secure the release of the ships and the officers, and after orders to that effect sent by Wu Pei-fu had been ignored by General Yang, the British authorities at Ichang, supported by instructions from the Home Government, determined to secure their object by a *coup de main*. At dusk on September 5, H.M.S. *Widgeon*, with an armed auxiliary, sailed into Wanhhsien and released the *Cockchafer* and five out of the six imprisoned officers, the sixth being drowned in attempting to escape. They were subjected to heavy fire from the shore, and in retaliation bombarded certain points in the town, with the result that, according to the most moderate statement, about 100 civilians were killed and 140 wounded. Their own losses were 3 officers and 4 seamen killed and 2 officers and 13 seamen wounded. General Yang after this adopted a more conciliatory attitude, and in due course returned the two merchantmen which he had seized. But the bombardment of Wanhhsien rankled in the minds of the Chinese, and aggravated the anti-British feeling which was already rife in the country.

The earlier part of the year had witnessed an improvement in relations between the British and Chinese in the Yangtze valley, but the establishment of the Cantonese power there was followed at no long interval by a wave of anti-foreign feeling. The first victims were the Japanese, whose Concession at Hankow was made the scene of a general strike and boycott at the end of November. The British were saved from similar treatment—for the moment—by the timely arrival of Mr. (afterwards Sir Miles) Lampson, the new British representative, which created a more friendly atmosphere. Mr. Lampson was in Hankow from December 8 to 18, during which period he had numerous friendly conversations with Mr. Chen the Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs. He then departed for Peking, leaving Mr. O'Malley to continue negotiations with Mr. Chen. In other ports of the Yangtze valley also the British felt their position to be less secure, but nothing untoward had happened by the end of the year. There were, however, numerous anti-Christian outbreaks in the provinces which had newly fallen to the Nationalists, particularly in Hunan and Kiangsi, and a number of missionaries were forced to flee from their stations, abandoning all their effects.

In the course of the year the Chinese desire for national self-assertion found recognition in various ways from foreign Powers, especially England. In the Tariff Conference which had been

called together in the previous year to consider the question of giving China greater tariff autonomy, the foreign delegates showed themselves willing to consider in a friendly spirit any proposal put forward by China. In January a delegation headed by Viscount Willingdon went out from England to China on behalf of the Advisory Committee appointed under the China Indemnity Act to formulate a new scheme for the apportionment of the British Boxer Indemnity fund. Its Report, which was issued towards the end of the year, recommended that a Board of Trustees should be appointed in China, consisting of eleven members—six Chinese and five British—to be nominated in the first instance by the Chinese Government, and that out of about 500,000*l.* accruing annually, 350,000*l.* should be set aside for health, educational, and agricultural purposes in China. In January also an Extra-territoriality Commission, with representatives from all the Powers interested in China, opened its sessions in Peking, and in September presented its report recommending that, when certain reforms had been carried out by the Chinese in their judicial system, the Powers might consider the abolition of the extra-territorial system according to a progressive scheme, and that, pending abolition, they might make certain modifications in the existing practice, such as the application of Chinese law, where practicable, in consular courts. payment of Chinese taxation, etc. In July, Belgium forestalled the recommendations of the Commission by voluntarily renouncing her extra-territorial rights in China. Lastly, in December, Great Britain, realising that the successes of the Southern Nationalists had created a new situation in China, issued a Memorandum (*vide* British History) which went far beyond any previous declaration of a Western Power in its recognition of the claims of Chinese nationalism.

With the exception of the Boxer Indemnity Committee's recommendations, none of these advances satisfied Chinese opinion. After January the Chinese delegates failed to attend the Tariff Conference, which, in consequence, faded into nothing in May; and without waiting for this, and in spite of protests from the Powers, the Peking Government, in April, imposed a surtax of 2½ per cent. on imported goods, and the Cantonese Government took a similar step in October. The Cantonese Government refused from the first to recognise the Extra-territoriality Commission, and by the end of the year seemed likely to settle the problems with which it had dealt in a more summary fashion than that foreshadowed in its report. The Peking Government, in June, informed the Belgian Government that the "unequal" Sino-Belgian Treaty of 1865 (*vide* Belgium) would be abrogated when it fell due for revision in October, and took similar steps with regard to "unequal" Treaties with France and Japan. And the British Memorandum, liberal as it was thought in England, was coldly received by the Chinese Nationalists,



because it recognised by implication the military dictators of the North.

#### JAPAN.

In the closing days of the year under review a great loss befell the nation in the death of the Emperor Yoshihito (see Obituaries). As early as February, anxiety had prevailed owing to rumours of the sovereign's health, but this was subsequently allayed. On May 11, the Emperor was reported to have had a slight stroke, and six months later, the Imperial Household Department issued a bulletin to the effect that His Imperial Majesty was suffering from bronchitis, with a high temperature. The whole Japanese nation then became a prey to the most poignant anxiety, multitudes praying before the Imperial Palace at Tokio and before the Palace of Hayama, about 50 miles south of Tokio, where the Emperor was lying. On November 17 the patient rallied slightly, but his condition became gradually more grave, and on December 9 bronchial pneumonia supervened. The crisis was reached and safely passed on December 15, but a relapse followed and the Emperor gradually sank, passing away in the presence of the Empress, the Prince Regent and his consort, the Prime Minister, Mr. Wakatsuki, and other Officers of State, at 1.25 A.M. on December 25, 1926, in the 47th year of his age. Immediately afterwards a proclamation, signed jointly by the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Imperial Household and announcing the Emperor's decease, was issued and the news was also broadcast by wireless. Simultaneously ceremonies took place at the Palace of Hayama and at the Imperial Palace at Tokio, when the accession of the Prince Regent was announced as the Emperor Hirohito. The Taisho era thus ended and the new era, to be named "Shōwa" (enlightened peace), began.

At the beginning of the year under review the national outlook for Japan was brighter than at almost any period since the war. The good harvest of rice and cocoons, the low rate of exchange, the active export trade, successful debenture issues floated abroad, the reduction of Government deposits, and the payments from specie holdings abroad were all factors which apparently justified optimism. But this favourable state of affairs was only transient, and after a few months the country began to experience harder conditions, which were practically maintained throughout the remainder of the year, and of which the main causes were a rapid appreciation of the yen, reacting unfavourably upon trade, and violent fluctuations in the principal commodities, accompanied by an upward tendency in rates of interest and cost of labour.

The political situation, on the other hand, was fairly stable, owing to the failure of the movement to reunite the Seiyukai and Seiyuhonto Parties against the Kenseikai. The cause of the

failure, it was alleged, was that certain elements of the Seiyuhontō compromised with the Kenseikai, leaving the burden of the opposition upon the Seiyukai and seceding members of the Seiyuhontō, and thus consolidating the position of the Government Party.

The Imperial Diet re-assembled on January 21, and the Premier devoted a considerable proportion of his opening speech to matters of domestic policy. He outlined Bills for the extension of the powers of local Governments and of the franchise in local elections. He also drew attention to the importance of labour questions and the necessity for an adequate policy in respect of them, but declared that such a policy should be appropriate to the conditions inherent to the country and not based on foreign enactments. Baron Shidehara, Minister for Foreign Affairs, dwelt at considerable length upon the policy pursued by the Government since the last Session in regard to questions of foreign relations. Dealing first with China, Baron Shidehara described the position in the Three Eastern Provinces as it had developed from October to December, 1925 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 262), which had compelled the Government to restore the Japanese garrison in Manchuria, temporarily weakened by the granting of leave, to its normal strength until the situation had quieted down. After commenting on the prejudice of "certain sections of public opinion" who had misconstrued Japanese action in Manchuria as having favoured the Fengtien Army, the Foreign Minister continued, "We deplore these unfounded and undeserved accusations, and in denying them categorically, we are confident that history will be the final judge of our clear conscience." He then continued :—

It is gratifying to note that our relations with the Soviet Union continue to make steady progress. Contracts for the concessions of oil and coal-fields in Northern Saghalien were signed on December 14 (1925) by the Russian authorities and the representatives of our industrial concerns. Such results, assured as they were under the Treaty of Peking a year ago, would not have been attained, if the Government of the Soviet Union had taken no interest in the promotion of Russo-Japanese economic co-operation. We welcome the successful issue of these negotiations, as a fitting testimony to the sentiments of good neighbourhood uniting the two nations.

Baron Shidehara declared that Japan's relations with the European Powers were eminently satisfactory, and that on all sides there was evidence of growing friendship with Japan. Alluding to the cordiality with which Prince Chichibu had been entertained in England, the Minister declared : "We rejoice in the thought that the friendship between the two nations rests on a solid and enduring foundation." With regard to the United States, the attitude of deep regret on the part of the Japanese Government concerning the so-called Japanese Exclusion Clause in the Immigration Act of the United States of 1924 remained unaltered. "It is not our policy," the Minister continued, "to send emigrants to any country in which they are not welcomed.

Our constant desire is to supply capital or labour to undeveloped regions of the world and to promote the welfare and prosperity, not only of the emigrants themselves and of their mother country, but also of the countries in which they choose to establish their permanent homes."

Presenting the annual Budget, Mr. Hamaguchi, the Finance Minister, emphasised the necessity for maintaining a policy of the strictest retrenchment in the coming year, and outlined plans for the readjustment of taxation to equalise burdens, and for tariff revision proposals in order to institute a more thorough protection of domestic industries.

The Budget forecast for 1926-27 showed revenue of 1,365,000,000 yen (ordinary) and 232,000,000 yen (extraordinary), or 66,000,000 yen increase and 17,000,000 decrease respectively against 1925-26, with an expenditure of 1,075,000,000 yen (ordinary) and 552,000,000 yen (extraordinary), showing an increase of 53,000,000 yen and a decrease of 5,000,000 yen respectively over the corresponding figures for 1925-26. After indicating the revisions to be made, the Minister pointed out that the consequent decrease in the revenue would be counter-balanced by the creation of a Capital Profits duty and the raising of the tax on saké and increasing the price of tobacco, which is a Government monopoly. The Government also intended to introduce a Bill amending the Customs Tariff, which, having been in force since 1910, was inadequate in the present economic conditions of the country. In order to encourage industry and trade, however, duties on imported raw materials would be abolished or reduced, and the necessary protection given to certain key industries.

Within a few days of the opening of the Diet, the Prime Minister, Viscount Kato, was taken seriously ill with influenza and bronchitis, the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Wakatsuki taking over his duties temporarily. The Premier's condition, however, underwent a rapid change for the worse, pneumonia supervening, and on January 28 he died, at the age of 66 (see Obituaries).

The Diet having adjourned until February 2, the Cabinet met to consider its position and, as the result, formally tendered its resignation. On January 30, however, Mr. R. Wakatsuki was invited to form a Government, and became the new Prime Minister, retaining himself the portfolio of Minister for Home Affairs, the remaining Ministers being confirmed in the appointments held in the Kato Administration. Mr. Wakatsuki also took over the leadership of the Kenseikai Party.

Difficulties for the new Prime Minister were somewhat confidently expected, as, although the policy of the Kato Administration had been adopted by Mr. Wakatsuki, it was by no means certain that he could count upon the same measure of support from the Seiyuhonto section in the Diet. These anticipations,

however, were not realised, and on February 22 the Government won its first victory by securing the passage of the Tax Reform measure by 255 votes to 122. Some embarrassment to the Premier was caused by the threatened resignation of Mr. Sengoku, Minister of Railways, whose Bill for certain minor railway reconstruction work had been rejected in Committee. He was, however, persuaded to preserve the integrity of the Cabinet until the end of the Session. On February 24 the Budget was adopted by the House of Representatives, the attempts of the Opposition to introduce drastic changes having proved unsuccessful, and a month later, March 26, the Session of the Diet concluded.

On March 5 the Proletarian Party, which on its formation the previous autumn had been dissolved under the Peace Preservation Act owing to the inclusion in its programme of alleged Communistic designs, was formally revived at Osaka under the designation of Labour Agricultural Party. Its platform contained the usual features of political and social policy, but extremist elements were to be rigidly excluded from membership. The political, social, and economic emancipation of both sexes, improvement of the methods of land-ownership, production, and distribution, and the reform of the Parliamentary system were included in the programme, but strictly on Constitutional lines.

On April 12 Dr. Yusaburo Kuratomi, hitherto Vice-President, was appointed President of the Privy Council, that post having become vacant on the death of Dr. Ozumi. Mr. Kiichiro Hirayama was nominated Vice-President.

The resignation of the Minister of Railways, Mr. Sengoku, on March 27, was followed by protracted negotiations with the Seiyuhonto on the part of the Prime Minister with the object of forming a Coalition Government. These negotiations having proved abortive, Mr. Wakatsuki proceeded to reconstruct his Cabinet from purely Kenseikai elements, and on June 2 the changes were completed. Mr. U. Hamaguchi was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to that of the Interior, thus relieving the Premier of his double office. Mr. S. Hayami, hitherto Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, was succeeded by Mr. C. Machida and became Minister of Finance. The post vacated by Mr. Sengoku as Minister of Railways was entrusted to Viscount K. Inoue, a member of the House of Peers. It may be mentioned here that Mr. S. Hayami died on September 13 and the portfolio for Finance was received by Mr. Naoharu Kataoka two days later, his post at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry being filled by Mr. Ikunosuke Fujisawa.

On June 3 the Privy Council passed the Imperial Ordinance to enforce the Revised Factory Act, under which both the Act and the law regulating the minimum age of factory workers came into force on July 1. The new laws became applicable to factories employing a minimum of ten workers, instead of fifteen as origin-

ally fixed, and prohibited in such factories the employment of workers under 14 years of age, in accordance with the Draft Convention fixing the Minimum Age for the Admission of Children to Industrial Employment, adopted at a Plenary Session of the First International Labour Conference. Regulations prohibiting nightwork for all male and female workers under 16 years of age will come into force on July 1, 1929.

On September 13 the South Seas Trade Conference was opened by the Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara. Some 200 delegates assembled in the Diet building, and the main object of the Conference was the encouragement of Japanese trade, especially with India and the South Sea Islands.

Baron Shidehara laid emphasis in his speech on the Government's oft-stated policy of discouraging emigrants from proceeding to countries where they were not wanted, and called attention to the absence of emigration questions from the agenda, in spite of the intimate connexion of the subject with trade. The agenda dealt in great detail with the organisation and protection of enterprise and investment, and the improvement of communications. Further points discussed were the reforms required in Japanese merchandising and trading methods, and the existing conditions as regards insurance, customs tariffs, and commercial treaties in relation to the projected betterment of trade facilities between Japan and the countries above-named.

An Act by which Japan came into line with most of the countries of the world took effect on November 1. Originally promulgated on April 13, 1910, the Alien Land Ownership Act underwent some modifications, of which the most important provided that, contrary to the unmodified Act, a foreigner, or foreign juridical person, may own land in Japan irrespective of nationality and of reciprocity as regards Japanese land ownership in their own country, excepting only in Japanese fortified zones, naval bases, or other places essential for national defence, unless by the authorisation of the respective Ministers of the Navy and Army. Japan and Saghalien came under the new law, but not Formosa; whilst in Korea, where foreign land ownership is permitted, no change takes place.

On October 7 a loan entitled the City of Tokio Loan was successfully floated in London. The amount was 6,000,000*l.*, carrying interest at 5½ per cent., the issue price being 83½*l.* per nominal 100*l.* The payment of principal and interest was unconditionally guaranteed by the Japanese Government. The loan was raised principally for the purpose of reconstructing the city of Tokio, but 3,000,000*l.* was earmarked for repayment of existing short-term debt.

## NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

In 1926 the new "Law regarding the Statute of Government of the Netherlands East Indies" (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, pp. 264-65) came into force, and for the last time the Dutch Parliament settled the Indian Budget in detail: in future it will decide only upon each of the sections as a whole. As a token of the new order, the new Governor-General, Jhr. Dr. A. C. D. de Graeff, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Fock, formally assumed office before a public gathering of the People's Council. Jhr. Dr. de Graeff had already been Vice-President of the "Council of the Indies," besides having had a distinguished diplomatic career, and his appointment was greeted with great satisfaction, both in Holland and in the Dutch East Indies. He completely estranged public feeling, however, by the inaugural address which he delivered to the People's Council on September 7.

In this speech he announced that he would refrain from unfolding any definite programme, but that he considered it his duty to make a short statement concerning the standpoint of the Government with regard to the agitation of the so-called extremists. Although prepared to give sympathetic consideration to the wishes and ideals of every political movement, he could not regard as such any movement which was utterly opposed, not only to the existing, but to any other order. Such a purely destructive movement was dangerous to the State, and must be combated by every Government with every legal weapon at its command; nor would he himself abstain from weapons the employment of which conflicted with his own personal feelings. Such weapons, however, should only be used in very exceptional circumstances. Government action in this matter ought not to degenerate into a systematic hunting down of extremists. The first thing needed was to restore the confidence of the "inheemsche" population in the Government's sense of justice. Jhr. de Graeff called for the co-operation of the European section of the population and Press, as also for the active support of those members of the native population whose education had qualified them to lead and direct the thoughts and feelings of their fellows. Opportunity for co-operation would be offered in various ways, one of which would be by opening to the natives the highest and most responsible positions in public life.

This address, and particularly the clause about the restoring of the confidence of the "inheemsche" population, was regarded as a stricture on the administration of the retiring Governor-General. Jhr. de Graeff, therefore, took the first opportunity that offered in the debate on the supplementary estimates in the People's Council, to make an explanation on this point. He denied, with the greatest emphasis, that it had been his intention to criticise, even indirectly, the rule of his predecessor, or to

reproach him in any way. The word "inheemsche," which most people had regarded as synonymous with "inlandsch" (native), really referred to all those permanently settled in the Dutch East Indies, for whom that country had become a "fatherland." It was true that the interests of the natives were meant in the first instance, but not exclusively.

The Government was soon called upon to translate its principles into action. In the night of November 13 disorders broke out at several points in the western part of Java. Troops of armed native Communists made attacks on various Government buildings, even at Batavia. The simultaneousness of these attacks afforded clear evidence of a plot. The attempt, however, failed, and the Government succeeded in a short time in restoring peace and order. The outbreak of further disturbances in Java was prevented. An inquiry into the disorders led to the conclusion that they had been fomented from Communist centres at Singapore and in China.

In its statement to the People's Council on December 4, the Government declared that the facts already ascertained left little doubt that the disturbances were the outcome of a comprehensive scheme for the overthrow of the Government planned for a long time by the Communist leaders. The Government, therefore, had decided that the leaders of the Communist organisations in the Dutch East Indies ought to be rendered impotent for mischief. Those against whom legal proceedings in connexion with the disturbances were not being taken would be interned in New Guinea and in other remote islands. The vast majority of the population of the Dutch East Indies had no sympathy with Communist outrages, and might be assured that only those would be removed who were dangerous to society. The policy of confidence, outlined in the Governor-General's inaugural speech, would be adhered to.

A further step in the policy of decentralisation was taken by the inauguration of the first Provincial Council, that of West Java, by the Governor-General on January 25. Among the legislative acts of the People's Council the Bill for regulating the working of rubber deserves mention. The consent of the Governor-General will henceforth be necessary for establishing a factory for the working of native rubber. In granting a permit, account will be taken of the quantity of native rubber in the district in question, in proportion to the capacity, not only of the new factory, but also of those already in existence, so that on the one hand excessive competition amongst factories in the same district will be avoided, whilst on the other owners of rubber-lands will not be penalised by restriction of the opportunity to market their product.

Both the new Minister for the Colonies, Dr. J. C. Koningsberger, in introducing, in March, the Budget for 1926, and the

retiring Governor-General, Dr. D. Fock, in his valedictory address to the People's Council on May, 1925, pointed with great satisfaction to the state of the Dutch East Indies finances. The year 1925 indeed, instead of an estimated deficit of 13·3 million guilders on the ordinary, and of 52·6 millions on the whole service, showed a surplus of 100·3 millions on the ordinary, and of 52·6 millions on the whole service. For 1926 there was expected a deficit of 9 millions on the ordinary and of 56·7 millions on the whole service. In the Explanatory Memorandum to the Budget for 1927 the Government was able to announce that probably the receipts for 1926 would yield 64 millions more, and the expenditure would be 0·3 million less than was estimated. For 1927 there was expected a surplus of 3·9 millions on the ordinary and a deficit of 53·3 on the whole service. The Minister of the Colonies being authorised by Parliament to proceed to the conversion of the loans of 1919 and 1921, which originally yielded interest at 6, 7, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., two loans bearing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., one of 148·5 millions at a rate of issue of 97 and one of 114·625,000 at a rate of 98, were floated, and were immediately absorbed by the money market.

## CHAPTER IX.

AFRICA : THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—SOUTHERN RHODESIA—BELGIAN CONGO—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

GENERAL HERTZOG's visit to England for the Imperial Conference was the first he had paid to this country since his election to the Premiership. With his return to Pretoria an eventful year was brought to a close. Not since the advent of Union had legislative questions of a more contentious character arisen to engage the attention of a South African Government than during the twelve months of 1926. In this trying period the strength, as well as the fundamental weakness, of the Nationalist-Labour pact was strikingly revealed.

An anti-Asiatic measure, known as the Areas Reservation Bill (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 266), was a legacy from the previous year which quickly forced itself upon public attention. Following the heated repudiation of the Government's intention by the fortieth session of the Indian National Congress in Cawnpore, the Bishop of Pretoria created something akin to a sensation by publicly stating that the proposed enactment constituted a breach of the agreement between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi. Indian opinion was hardened in opposition by protest meetings in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, at which it was declared by the leader of the South African delegation that under no cir-



cumstances would Indians accept the stigma of inferiority. Mr. Patrick Duncan, who had held Cabinet rank in the Smuts' Government, reiterated that there would be no breach of faith as regarded the Smuts-Gandhi agreement.

The position from a South African point of view was further clarified by the Governor-General (the Earl of Athlone), at the opening of Parliament on January 22. In his reference to the Asiatic question His Excellency said : " For the purpose of securing a healthier relation between the various elements of the population and the safeguarding of the proper economic development of the country, a Bill will be introduced for the reservation to various classes of persons of areas for residential and trading purposes, and for amending the registration and immigration laws in certain respects. In this connexion certain proposals and representations have been received from the Government of India, and although Ministers have found themselves unable to agree to the particular method of dealing with the problems involved in the proposals of that Government, they have given as an assurance that the representations made will receive their most earnest consideration."

The Bill was read for the first time on February 8, and the second reading was set down for a fortnight later. Meanwhile, however, as a result of discussions between the Government and the official Indian deputation, it was decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee before, instead of after, the second reading. On April 23 Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, made an important announcement on the subject of the Bill, which was generally regarded as a friendly gesture towards India.

*Inter alia* the Minister said : " The Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India have been further in communication with each other regarding the best method of arriving at an amicable solution of the Indian problem. The Government of the Union have impressed on the Government of India that public opinion in South Africa will not view with favour any settlement which does not hold out a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of Western standards of life by just, legitimate means. The Government of India are prepared to assist in exploring all possible methods of settling the Asiatic problem, and have offered to enter into Conference with the Union Government for the purpose. Any proposals that the Conference might make would be subject to confirmation by the Governments of the two countries. The Union Government has accepted the offer of the Government of India, and, in order to ensure that the Conference should meet under the best auspices, has decided, subject to the approval of the Select Committee and Parliament, not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation (Further Provision) Bill until the results of the Conference are available."

Indian opinion, as represented by Lord Irwin, was quick to respond to these friendly overtures. The acceptance by the Union Government of the invitation to send a deputation to India to appreciate India's point of view, also created a good impression. The Union deputation, consisting of seven members, headed by Mr. Beyers, Minister of Mines, sailed from Durban on August 30 and arrived at Bombay on September 18. A month later the Indian delegation to the round table Conference in South Africa sailed from Bombay. Headed by Sir Muhammad Habibullah, a member of the Viceroy's Council, it landed at Lourenço Marques on its way to Cape Town on December 14.

The tendency of General Hertzog's native policy was more clearly revealed in the Mines and Works Amendment Bill. This measure, which aimed at restricting the sphere of labour of natives and coloured persons in regard to certain skilled trades, was in the previous session the direct cause of a Parliamentary crisis following the Senate's rejection of it (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 268). Notwithstanding this rebuff, General Hertzog took an early opportunity of re-introducing his Bill, and it passed its third reading on February 4, despite the keen opposition of General Smuts, who warned the Government that the passing of the measure would still further antagonise the natives, who were "seething with discontent all over South Africa." His opposition was deeply re-echoed by the Senate, whose resentment had been strengthened during the recess by what was described by one member as the intimidation tactics of the Government. Senator Fuller spoke for majority feeling in the Upper House when he said that if the Government alienated the native by means of their proposal, they would lose him and his co-operation for all time. Colonel Creswell, as the responsible Minister's spokesman, urged that the Government's intention was "merely to validate the existing colour bar practice on the Rand Mines," but the Senate declined to be placated and, voting upon strict party lines, again rejected the Bill on March 17, by 22 votes to 12—an even larger majority than on the previous occasion. The Colour Bar Bill then went to a joint session of both Houses in terms of Section 63 of the South Africa Act of 1909.

There was an acrimonious debate when the two Houses met in joint session in May. The Bill was adopted by 83 votes to 67 voting again being on party lines.

Shortly after this hardily-won victory, General Hertzog introduced four Bills for the next session of the Assembly, which even more markedly demonstrated the fundamental objects of his native policy. Broadly speaking, they embody the tenets he outlined in his famous Smithfield speech in 1925. One Bill gives the natives seven European representatives in the Union Parliament, but takes away the native vote in the Cape. These representatives may not sit, speak, or vote in the Assembly when

questions concerning the native franchise are under discussion or when a motion of "no confidence" in the Government is being debated. The second Bill creates a native Council of 50 members, 35 elected and 15 nominated. Powers of this Council are largely advisory, but it may pass laws called "Ordinances," on the initiative of the Minister for Native Affairs, binding on natives only. The third Bill makes provision for the acquisition of land by natives, outside the present native areas, and confers certain rights of residence in the areas where they may not acquire land. The fourth Bill extends the franchise on the same terms as it is given to Europeans, to coloured persons throughout the Union. Coloured persons do not include Asiatics, but include Cape Malays. (The position of Asiatics is left unaltered by the Bill, that is to say, Asiatics do not possess any form of Parliamentary representation except in the Cape.) But for the first seven years coloured voters outside the Cape Province are to be represented by one European member of the Assembly only. After seven years, if agreed to by a resolution of Parliament, coloured voters outside the Cape may be entitled to vote with Europeans in the ordinary constituencies. The position of the coloured voters in the Cape remains unaltered.

General Smuts, in the course of a memorandum on the Premier's contemplated enactments characterised the proposals as a violation of the South Africa Act; and at the annual Conference of natives at Pretoria in November, held under the auspices of the Department of Native Affairs, the views expressed indicated that native opinion would solidify in opposition. To the request for a Round Table Conference, the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Tilman Roos, replied that the measures would have to be referred to a Select Committee, and that a full discussion would then take place.

Although the legislative proposals so far advanced by the Government had shown the existence of a sharp and frequently hostile cleavage of opinion, it was mild and innocuous compared with the storm which swept over the country following the announcement that the Government had decided to define South African nationality and to provide a national flag for the Union. Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, announced before a crowded House on May 19 that the Government proposed to adopt a flag design prepared by Professor Walker, of Cape Town, who had won the prize offered for the most suitable design. Dr. Walker's design consisted of an emblem of a vertical stripe of red and horizontal stripes of green, yellow, and blue.

Dr. Malan's speech in advocacy of the adoption of this design was a statesmanlike and eloquent utterance, but it entirely failed to shake the opposition of the English-speaking section of the community, who were incensed at the elimination of the Union Jack. The Nationalists, on the other hand, were equally determined that the new flag should not perpetuate memories of the

past and of that "domination, conquest, and defeat for which the Union Jack stood." Nationalist and South African Party views became more and more irreconcilable, and from the Province of Natal there came murmurs of secession from the Union if the Government's Flag Bill became law.

The Prime Minister made a diplomatic and timely effort to abate the rising storm of racialism. Speaking in the House on May 25, he said that the old republicans who buried their flags at Vereeniging in 1912 could never regard the Union Jack as their flag, and although he respected it as the flag of a great people with a great history, he thought they would never aspire under it to that unity of spirit which was essential to the national life. The national flag must be the expression of an independent and common South African nationhood, and the symbol of her accepted national status. He believed that if the political atmosphere of suspicion and enmity were dispelled they would be able to work together, and he therefore proposed to wait another year so that the sentiments of Dutch-speaking citizens might honestly and openly be made known.

These mollifying views did not close the breach of racialism, and if anything opposition grew in intensity, especially in Natal, where the Government's proposal to eliminate all reference to the Union Jack from the flag design was almost unanimously regarded as a deliberate attempt to still further loosen the Imperial connexion. The development of the controversy brought about strained inter-party relations; it split Labour and failed to hold the Nationalists in unanimity. The situation thus created was not without effect upon the Government, for General Hertzog, on the eve of his departure for England on September 17, officially announced that the Bill, so far as it concerned the flag, when passed by Parliament should not come into operation until it had been clearly ascertained by a proper referendum of the registered voters that such was the will of the people. In October the constitution was announced of a representative commission to assist the Government on the design of a South African flag.

The House of Assembly met in Cape Town on January 22, and the session, which ended early in June, saw the creation of over fifty new Acts. Many others were withdrawn. Of these, one was a measure to amend Section 63 of the South Africa Act by making further provision for the dissolution of the Senate whenever the House of Assembly dissolves. The Bill was regarded as a reprisal for the action which the Senate took in the matter of the Colour Bar issue. It passed its third reading on June 2, but aroused the keen opposition of the Upper Chamber. Its determination to fight the measure tooth and nail and to retard progress of important Government business on the very eve of the prorogation was only relaxed when the Government announced its acceptance of certain amendments. With this compromise the session ended on June 8.

Early in October, General Hertzog, accompanied by Mr. Havenga (Minister of Finance), and Sir William Hoy (General Manager of Railways), arrived in London for the Imperial Conference. Prior to his departure from the Cape he was interrogated in the House upon the subject of South Africa's Conference policy, and in reply to these questions General Hertzog again declared that in the forefront of their programme stood the request for a definite declaration of the independent status of the Dominions. It must, he said, be made clear that the Dominions were all free and independent in their relations with foreign nations and on a footing of equality and freedom with Great Britain and any other Dominion.

Following the publication of the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference (which was issued immediately after the formal termination of the proceedings), General Hertzog issued a statement embodying his views upon the work of the Conference. He said: "I feel I have every right to say that what has been achieved is such as will satisfy the people of South Africa, both Dutch- and English-speaking. So far as I, personally, am concerned, I feel the object which I set before me to achieve at the Conference has been attained in such a manner as cannot but remove all further grounds of doubt and suspicion as to what our actual national status is. I feel, further, that nothing has ever before been accomplished so calculated to lay a deep and enduring foundation for national co-operation between members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and ensure real good feeling between all of us. I have nothing but appreciation to express for the cordial and sympathetic manner in which the statesmen of Great Britain have not only realised the importance of the issue involved, but also co-operated with us and other Dominions to clarify the position and have all difficulties removed. What, perhaps, is most remarkable is the unanimity of all the Dominions and Great Britain with which this difficult and arduous task has been accomplished."

General Hertzog had a great reception upon landing at Cape Town on December 13.

#### SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

The proclamation providing for the creation of a Legislative Assembly, as well as for an Executive Committee and an Advisory Council, in terms of the South-West Africa Act of 1925, was gazetted at Pretoria on March 26. The elections took place a month or so later, and on June 15 the Administrator, Mr. A. J. Werth, opened at Windhoek, the capital, the first session of the new Parliament.

Some interesting references to the general progress of the South-West Protectorate under the Union Government's mandate

were made by General Hertzog at the sixth session of the Imperial Conference. He mentioned, with satisfaction, the settlement of the boundary dispute between Portuguese Angola and South-West Africa, a dispute which the Union authorities had inherited from the time of the Germans. According to the Treaty between Germany and Portugal, the northern line was to run from the mouth of the Kuene river to a certain cataract south of Humbe. There were, however, two cataracts, one to the north of the other. The Germans claimed the more northerly as the cataract intended to define the boundary, while the Portuguese held it to be the southerly one. This meant the difference of a strip of country of 7 miles by 200 miles. To decide the dispute a commission was appointed by the Union and Portuguese Governments (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 272), and as a result of its investigations the Portuguese claim was found to be justified. The dispute was thus amicably settled by an agreement signed in Cape Town.

With reference to recent trouble with a Hottentot tribe known as the Rhehoboths (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 270), General Hertzog reported that a statement upon the history of the outbreak and its causes would shortly be placed before the League of Nations. He repeated, however, the claim of the Rhehoboths to complete independence of Government control could not be admitted. Nevertheless, it had been an instruction to Mr. Justice de Villiers to go into the question of what rights they had. He believed Judge de Villiers had come to the conclusion that that claim to independence could not be substantiated. The broad policy of the Union Government towards those natives was that if they could be brought to govern themselves they would be encouraged to do so.

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Under the leadership of Sir Charles Coghlan, the Prime Minister, a deputation from Southern Rhodesia, accompanied by Sir Herbert Stanley, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, visited England in June for the purpose of conferring with the Imperial authorities upon questions relating to the degree of Government control to be exercised over the Rhodesia railway system. The subject of these involved and protracted deliberations affected not only the interests of Southern Rhodesia, but Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and those of the British South Africa Company also.

In September a memorandum was issued setting forth the terms of the agreement arrived at by the delegation, the British South Africa Company, and the Dominions Office, and upon his return to Bulawayo the Prime Minister made a public announcement on the results of the Government mission to England. He expressed his belief that they had secured a settlement approved by all parties concerned.

## BELGIAN CONGO.

At the beginning of the year there was held in Brussels the second Belgian Colonial Congress, under the Presidency of M. Cooreman, Minister of State. The King and the Crown Prince took part, and both made enthusiastic speeches. In the course of this gathering statistics were adduced which proved that in no colony in the world had so much been done for the promotion of hygiene as in the Congo. A number of schemes and reports were presented on the improvement of communications, on public works, and on the progress of industry, agriculture, and commerce. In his closing speech at the Congress, the Minister of the Colonies, M. Carton, declared that the problem of the native population was the main preoccupation of Belgian colonial policy. He promised that the Government would not venture to conscript forcibly native labour except within the most indispensable limits, in order to reduce to a minimum the unrest created among the population by the growing industrialisation. A second aerial flight to the colony was successfully carried out: the aeroplane "*Reine Elisabeth*," which left Brussels on March 9, reached Léopoldville twelve days later, having followed the valley of the Nile. An aerial postal service between Kinshasa and the Katanga was likewise inaugurated.

In March, State bonds were issued for 200 million francs, as part of the Colonial loan of 700 millions which had been authorised. Eight months later, 400 millions of fresh bonds were issued, and were soon taken up by the public.

On the recommendation of the Colonial Council, the income tax, both for companies and individuals in the Congo, was doubled. On the other hand, the Parliamentary Committee for the Colonies declared itself opposed to a Bill projected by the Government, the effect of which would have been to submit the income of Colonial companies to a Belgian tax, without distinction between those incorporated under Belgian law and those under Colonial law.

In August, in consequence of the opposition of the Liberal ex-Minister of the Colonies, M. Louis Franck, and of two Socialist deputies, the Council of Ministers refused to sanction a decree emanating from the Colonial Council and authorising the enrolling of 9,000 native workers for the completion of the Congo railway. This step will delay the completion of this undertaking for several years. The Council further decided, in the interests of economy, that the public works decided on, but not yet put in hand, should not be commenced this year.

At the end of the year a Portuguese-Belgian Conference was held at Lisbon for the purpose of drawing up a programme for a further Colonial Conference. The delegates signed a Protocol, subject to the approval of their Governments, relating chiefly to economic questions.

## MOROCCO.

At the beginning of the year the French and Spanish military commands in Morocco were making preparations for a great campaign in the spring to complete the work of reducing the revolting tribesmen which had been commenced in the previous year. The tribesmen, as usual, early in the year made desultory attacks on various points in both the Spanish and French lines, but did not obtain any marked success, though for a couple of months they were able to drop shells into Tetuan. At the same time, the Rifi chieftains, in order to forestall the threatened Franco-Spanish attack, made inquiries as to the peace terms which the Allies were willing to grant, and suggested the holding of a Conference. Their efforts were warmly seconded by M. Steeg, the Governor of French Morocco, but were strongly opposed by the Spaniards, who, after the experience of the previous year, were confident that they could reduce the Rif tribes to unconditional submission. M. Steeg was supported by the Left parties in the French Chamber, and in the end had his way. In March the French and Spanish Governments somewhat unwillingly consented to meet the Rifian representatives in a Conference for the purpose of discussing terms of peace. The French nominated as their chief representative General Simon, one of their officers in Morocco, and the Spaniards Señor Lopez Olivan, while the Rifians were represented by two relatives of Abd-el-Krim.

An armistice having been declared, the Conference opened at Ujda on April 26. The main Franco-Spanish conditions presented were the performance by Abd-el-Krim of a formal act of submission to the Sultan of Morocco and his subsequent withdrawal from the Rif, and the disarmament of the tribes. In addition, the French and Spaniards at first demanded that as a preliminary to negotiations the Rifis should release their prisoners, and allow the enemy troops to occupy certain positions within their lines, but they subsequently waived these points. Negotiations lasted for three weeks, and finally broke down over the question of autonomy. The French and Spaniards insisted that the Rif should become an integral part of Morocco, and should be regulated in accordance with the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1904 and the Act of Algeciras of 1906, but to this the Rifians could not bring themselves to agree, and sooner than accept such terms they chose the arbitrament of war.

For various reasons the Rif forces were much less formidable than they had been in the previous year. Owing to harvest failure their food supply was insufficient, and they were weakened by the ravages of typhus. Internal dissensions were rife among them, and many chieftains were averse to prolonging the struggle. The Spanish forces, on the other hand, were better organised and led than they had ever been. Thus the disparity between the



combatants was much greater than it had been in the previous year, and the collapse of the Rif resistance came with unexpected rapidity. Fighting began in the first week in May. The Franco-Spanish plan of campaign was that the French should advance northwards from their positions on the frontier of their zone, and the Spanish southwards from Alhucemas Bay, the objective of both being Targuist, Abd-el-Krim's headquarters. The Rifis concentrated their chief efforts on blocking the Spanish advance; but, nothing daunted, General Sanjurjo delivered a frontal attack on them, and after four days of hard fighting, in which he suffered over a thousand casualties, succeeded in breaking their lines. After this the French and Spaniards had no difficulty in carrying all before them in the eastern section of the country. On May 20 the French and Spanish forces joined hands on the Wad Nekor, a little east of Targuist. Abd-el-Krim, feeling that his position was becoming desperate, sent a letter to the French Governor in Fez with a proposal to suspend hostilities, but the French Government would not assent. On May 23 Targuist was occupied by the French, and on May 27 Abd-el-Krim surrendered to them with all his family.

The surrender of Abd-el-Krim put an end to all the Rifian hopes of independence, or even autonomy. There was no one left with his military and organising ability who could take his place and weld the tribes into a confederation. The resistance of the tribes was by no means over, and hard fighting took place in various quarters during the rest of the year. But there was no longer any plan of campaign among the tribesmen, only a number of sporadic revolts, which the French and Spaniards were able to put down at their leisure.

With the surrender of Abd-el-Krim the war in the eastern part of Morocco, that is, in the country of the Rifis proper, was practically at an end. On May 29 M. Steeg received the submission of about 10,000 natives at Anjat, among the mountains of the Beni Zerual, and the French soon after cleared the whole area up to the frontier of the Spanish zone. The western half of the country was, however, still in a very unsettled state. The powerful Jabala tribe at first refused to believe that Abd-el-Krim had surrendered, and when they could doubt the fact no longer they turned with great bitterness on the Rifi contingents among them, and many of them at once submitted to the Spaniards. The larger portion, however, preferred to continue the struggle under leaders of their own. The neighbouring Ghomara tribe followed the same course. While the Spaniards were occupied with these tribes, the French, on their side, were engaged in quelling a revolt in the district known as the "tache" of Taza, in the Middle Atlas. Operations were continued in both sectors till late in the autumn. The back of the revolt was, however, broken when on August 10, the Spaniards re-captured Sheshuan; and

one of the last obstacles to the pacification of the Jabala tribes was removed when Hamido Harari, one of Abd-el-Krim's ablest warriors and his lieutenant over the Jabala tribes, was killed in battle on November 7. Before the end of the year Spain began to withdraw from Morocco, and steps were taken to wind up the Franco-Spanish Department at Malaga for the suppression of contraband in Morocco, as being no longer necessary.

After having established her military command of the country, Spain expressed her willingness to continue her protectorate over the Rif on the terms laid down in the Act of Algeciras. It was felt, however, on both sides that in certain matters the relations between the two protecting Powers required to be defined more closely, and for this purpose a Conference between representatives of the two nations was opened at Paris on June 14. To allay the suspicions of foreign countries, it was authoritatively stated at the outset that the questions to be discussed concerned France and Spain only. As a result of the Conference, an agreement was signed on July 13 containing regulations for the surveillance of the sea coast and of the land frontiers, and for the delimitation of the boundary between the two zones. By the terms of the Agreement it was laid down that maritime surveillance for the purpose of preventing the importation of arms and smuggling should be carried out by each nation in its own protectorate, save in the vicinity of Cape Juby, where both French and Spanish naval forces would have patrolling rights. The land forces of each Power were to have the right of pursuit across the frontier where this was necessary for purposes of security. For the delimitation of the frontier a Commission was to be appointed, and meanwhile certain border tribes or sections of tribes were to be informed to which of the protecting authorities they were to be subject until the frontier should be settled. Abd-el-Krim was not mentioned in the Agreement, but he was soon afterwards exiled to the island of Réunion, near Madagascar.

After their military success the Spaniards adopted a highly conciliatory attitude towards the conquered tribes, in accordance with strict orders issued by the Marquis de Estella. Contrary to their former custom, they treated the religious shrines of the natives with marked respect, and on all occasions invoked the authority of the *Maghzen* (Sultan). By these methods, which they had the good sense to copy from the French, they soon gained the confidence of the natives, and had no difficulty in inducing large numbers of them to give up their arms and settle down to peaceful occupations. Thousands of Rifi refugees, mostly women and children, returned to their homes from Tangier, where they had taken refuge during the fighting, and the population set itself in earnest to repair the ravages of war.

*Tangier.*—On April 15 Spain erected a chain of Customs posts on the landward side of the Tangier zone, charging a duty of 12½

per cent. on everything that passed. The object of this step was merely to call attention in the most forcible manner possible to Spain's desire that the international Statute of 1923 should be abolished, and that Tangier should be incorporated in the Spanish zone of Morocco, or, alternatively, placed under a Spanish mandate. Spain continued to press these claims, especially the former, on various occasions during the year, but found England and France inflexibly opposed to abolishing the Statute. These Powers recognised, however, that Spain, in view of her special interests in Tangier, was entitled to rather larger privileges than she had been granted under the Statute, and expressed their willingness to enter into conversations on the subject. This was as far as matters had advanced by the end of the year. The Spanish Customs Houses between the Spanish and Tangier zones were withdrawn on July 25, the Spanish Administration receiving in return 25 per cent. net of the revenue of the Tangier maritime customs, as representing its claim for dues on merchandise entering Tangier by sea but consumed within the Spanish zone.

While Spain was agitating against the Statute, Italy announced her desire to participate in it. After being expressed verbally on various occasions, this desire was formally embodied in a Memorandum communicated to the British Government towards the end of July. The Italian demands included the right to maintain naval and military attachés at Tangier, participation in the administration on an equality with the other Signatory Powers, the nomination of an Italian judge on the mixed Tribunals, the sharing of Italian capital and labour in the international harbour works, and in general the right to be consulted in all matters concerning Tangier in the future. These proposals were favourably considered by the other Signatory Powers, but by the end of the year nothing had yet been done to give them effect.

In the middle of the year reports became current that members of the Tangier police force controlled by the International Administration were in the habit of extorting confessions from arrested natives under torture, and then handing them over for trial to the Mendoub, who treated the confessions as genuine. The French Administrator of the International Administration, on learning of this scandal, lost no time in suspending the Assistant Commissioner of the Civil Police, and instituted an inquiry early in July. In September certain of the duties of the civil mixed police, which they carried out in a manner so offensive to the native population, were delegated to specially appointed natives; the investigation of the charges against the civil police was still proceeding at the end of the year.

#### EGYPT.

The first months of the year lay in the shadow of the General Elections, which were ultimately held in May. When the year  
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opened, the country was still under the extra-Parliamentary Government of Ziwar, but the opposition was visibly growing in strength, and the situation was obviously provisional. Before the year was two months old, the Government's electoral law of the previous December had been abandoned, and that favoured by Zaghloul, universal male suffrage by direct voting, accepted in its place. The Opposition Parties went into the contest as a Coalition, over which, however, the influence of Zaghloul was supreme, to such an extent that no candidate to whom he had any objection could be nominated by any one of the Coalition parties. Their success was a foregone conclusion, and the announcement of the result of the elections in May—14 Government members, 164 Zaghloulists, and 36 other Opposition candidates—hardly caused surprise. The personality of the new Prime Minister was more in doubt. It was originally Zaghloul's intention not to accept office, but to support a Wafd Cabinet under the former Liberal minister, Adly Pasha, instead, but, as usual, Zaghloul became intoxicated with his own success and the acclaim of his followers, and the intervention of the British High Commissioner was necessary before he could be induced to renounce office. In doing so, he nominated Adly Pasha for the Premiership. The Cabinet which he formed consisted of three Liberals, including himself, an Independent, and six Wafdist, including Morcos Hanna Pasha, the successful defender of the two men charged with political murder, whose recent trial had caused a sensation both within and without Egypt.

In the previous February seven men who were accused of being implicated in the series of political murders that culminated in that of the Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack, were committed for trial. They included Ahmed Pasha Maher, Minister of Education in Zaghloul's two 1924 Cabinets and Mahmud Effendi Nekrashi, who held office at the same time. Of the seven prisoners only one was convicted, both ex-ministers being declared innocent, and on their release they immediately proceeded to the house of Zaghloul Pasha. This decision seemed to the onlookers to be contrary to the evidence, and that this view was shared in well-informed quarters was shown by the resignation of his office by Judge J. F. Kershaw, the one British judge who participated in the trial.

Parliament was opened on June 10. The King's Speech was, on the whole, moderate in tone. One passage dealt with the relations with Britain :—

The Government particularly concerns itself to establish between the British and Egyptian nations and their respective Governments mutual confidence and cordial relations, and to prepare an atmosphere of good understanding which will permit Egypt to enjoy complete independence. The Government considers that the measures taken in the Sudan cannot impair Egypt's legitimate claims, which remain what they were, and will do all that is possible to reach, in this connexion, a solution giving Egypt satisfaction.

Almost the first business of the new Parliament was the consideration of certain of the extra-Parliamentary acts of its predecessor. A Committee was appointed to consider the legality of its decree laws, and this recommended that they all be declared null and void, but that a selection of them be presented to Parliament for approval. The Committee further recommended that the enactment of laws without the approval of Parliament in future be made a penal offence. These recommendations were acted on. Another proposal of the Government was a reform of local government whereby the *omdas* or headmen and village sheiks should be subject to election; that is to say, should become political nominees instead of civil servants as hitherto.

At the opening of the November Session it was announced that special measures would be taken to deal with the cotton crisis. These included the devotion of four million pounds of the reserve for the assistance in the form of loans to cultivators and the limiting of the cotton acreage to one-third of the land available. The fall in the price of cotton affecting, directly or indirectly, every resident in Egypt, was the principal topic of interest in the autumn. Great pressure was brought to bear on the Government to enter the market as a purchaser of cotton, but although at first it resisted the pressure, it had ultimately to give way. Zaghloul, on his part, set an example to his fellow-landowners in making very generous reductions in the rents charged to his tenants.

In the Speech from the Throne satisfaction was again expressed that the understanding between Great Britain and Egypt was daily becoming stronger and more solid, and that mutual confidence was increasing and was manifesting itself on every occasion. This reference was received with applause in the Chamber. But the actions that accompanied this pious expression of opinion were not equally appreciated outside of Government circles. In the first place, the two ex-ministers whose trial on the charge of political murder had resulted in acquittal had not only been elected without opposition as members of the Government Party in the Chamber, but they had been appointed by the Government members of some of the most influential committees, and through one of them, that of Education, were once again encouraging the students in that unruly and aggressive political action which had, on a previous occasion, led to dire consequences. At the same time, the students who had, under the previous Government, been dismissed for political insubordination, were reinstated. Moreover, an anti-British agitation recommenced in the Government Press, and a petty persecution of officials approved by their British superiors set in.

Finance was the cause of some worry to the Government of Egypt in the course of the year. The prosperous state of the public finances during the period in which British control was

tighter diminished in vigour as that control slackened. This deterioration was, to some extent, to be attributed to the increase in expenditure which may be measured by the growth of the total expended in salaries, from six million pounds to thirteen and a half millions, between the years 1914 and 1925. During the same period the Royal expenditure rose from E.82,000*l.* to E.867,000*l.* The conclusion reached was a prospective deficit of one and a half million pounds in the Budget of the year. Part of this deficit was, perhaps, due to the decision of the Mixed Court of Appeal in April that the Government was liable for the payment of the Tribute Loans of 1891 and 1894, a liability which it had endeavoured to escape.

The delimitation of the boundary between Egypt and Cyrenaica had been settled in principle the previous year, but several of the details proving impossible of decision had to be referred to arbitration. The decision that was subsequently given practically satisfied both parties, only the nationality of the Senussi inhabitants of Jarabub being left to diplomatic negotiation.

The Khalifate Congress, which had been long previously heralded, was held in Cairo, May 13-19. It was, however, by no means representative of Islam. The delegates came from the Arab countries, the East Indies, India, South Africa, and Poland only. The Congress resolved that the institution of the Khalifate was necessary to Islam, but that the occasion was not suitable for filling the vacant office. This Congress was held in advance of the similar one convened by Ibn Saud at Mecca, whose deliberations it was doubtless intended to influence. At the same time, a vacancy in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria was filled by the election of Mgr. Meletios Metaxakis, formerly Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, who had been forced by the Turkish Government to resign. This result was, however, attained only after great excitement in the Hellenic communities in Egypt, aroused by the interference of the Egyptian Government in the election.

Another matter that aroused considerable controversy at the time was the generous offer of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, jun., to the Egyptian Government and people of a sum of two million pounds for the erection and endowment of a museum and an archaeological institute in Cairo. The Egyptian Government, however, was impatient of the condition attached to the gift, that for the earlier years of the existence of the endowment representatives of Mr. Rockefeller should share with those of the Egyptian Government the trusteeship of the funds and other property, and the offer was ultimately declined.

The Sudan was fortunate throughout the year in being devoid of history. The Governor-General, Sir Geoffrey Archer, was forced by ill-health to resign, and was succeeded, after some delay, by Sir John Maffey, a successful Anglo-Indian adminis-

trator. The problem of the Nile waters, which had, in the past, caused much trouble, and at times alarm, proceeded further towards solution by the unanimous agreement of the British and Egyptian members of the Nile Waters Commission regarding the amount of water that can be taken by the Sudan without risk of injury to Egypt. Related to this subject was the opening of another great dam, the Makwar Dam, in January, whereby great irrigation schemes in the Sudan will be rendered possible; and the negotiations between Britain and Italy, to which the Government of Abyssinia took exception, for the utilisation of the waters of Lake Tsana, which is in Abyssinian territory, for irrigation purposes in the Sudan.

## CHAPTER X.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL—  
CHILE—MEXICO—OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

### THE UNITED STATES.

THE year 1926 was one of dazzling prosperity for the United States. All previous records were broken in building construction, in automobile production, in steel, bituminous coal, copper, oil, cotton, newsprint, silk goods, and cement, while in the volume of dealings on the New York Stock Exchange as well as in bank clearings, business profits, income tax returns, life insurance sales, and savings deposits, new high points were reached. Some fear was manifested in conservative quarters lest the new and fast-growing system of instalment selling might prove to be a false basis for the general prosperity, but President Coolidge reassured the country by pointing out that the total income of the American people for the year was 77,000,000,000 dollars, and that the total sales based on the instalment system amounted to only 2,000,000,000 dollars—not a very formidable percentage of their whole income. The Government itself shared in the wealth. The national debt, which amounted to over 24,000,000,000 dollars when Mr. Coolidge took office in March, 1921, was reduced during his tenure of office by more than 4,500,000,000 dollars. Reduction during 1926 amounted to 1,173,000,000 dollars, one of the largest on record.

Although public opinion seemed distinctly indifferent, the war debt question continued to occupy considerable official attention. The debt settlement with Italy, embracing the payment of 2,042,000,000 dollars over a period of sixty-two years, was ratified by the House of Representatives on January 15, by a vote of 257 to 133, and by the Senate on April 20 by a vote of 54 to 33. The large vote polled against the settlement was unexpected and, on

the whole, significant of the opposition aroused in the United States against the present *régime* in Italy.

On January 16 the House ratified the debt agreements with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Estonia, and Latvia; this was followed by similar action in the Senate on April 26 and 27. The House approved the agreement with Yugoslavia on June 4, but the Senate failed to reach this business before the end of the year.

But a distinct hitch developed over the agreement as to the French debt reached on April 29 between the Debt Funding Commission and Ambassador Berenger, an agreement which was formally approved by President Coolidge and Premier Briand. This agreement funded into bonds a total indebtedness, principal and accrued interest, estimated at 4,025,000,000 dollars, which was to be paid off in sixty-two years, beginning with interest at 1 per cent. and increasing to a maximum of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., total payments of principal and interest amounting to 6,847,674,104 dollars.

The House ratified this on June 2 by a vote of 236 to 112, but the administration, perceiving that feeling against the settlement was running high in France, decided not to press for its ratification by the Senate until the French Parliament had approved. The President must have congratulated himself on this prudent decision when, on July 11, some 20,000 World War veterans in Paris—many of them blind and crippled—paraded in a vehement protest against the ratification of the settlement which was denounced on the grounds that it would “enslave” France for sixty-two years. The American newspapers carried lengthy accounts of the parade, generally without much editorial comment, but Clemenceau’s “open letter” to President Coolidge on August 8 in which he said some extremely sharp things about America’s “hardness” on the debt question, provoked instant and widespread resentment. Neither Mr. Coolidge nor his intimate shadow, the “White House spokesman,” would discuss the letter, but Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, on August 12 vigorously denounced the Clemenceau letter as “cruelly misleading” and “dishonest in purpose.” He probably voiced at the moment a widespread sentiment when he added: “If they want to cancel debts, let them cancel reparations as well, and show us that the benefits of cancellation will go to humanity and to the betterment of the masses of Europe, and not to bolster up imperialistic schemes which are now crushing the life out of people who were in no sense responsible for the war.” Certain it is that the minority which advocated cancellation of the debts found itself, on the whole, handicapped rather than helped by the French attitude.

In June Mr. F. W. Peabody, a distinguished New England lawyer, directed a lengthy and almost impassioned appeal to Mr. Coolidge and the country to heed the strong anti-American



feeling among the European debtors and to do the generous and "just" thing at once by cancelling the debts.

Many newspapers, particularly in the East, applauded the appeal, but the administration ignored it. Secretary Mellon, in making a more or less indirect reply to it, introduced a new and very important argument in the discussion, an argument likely to be heard again and again. He contended, in a Treasury statement issued June 20, that every one of the debt settlements, with the exception of the one with Great Britain, cancelled practically all the debts incurred during the war proper, and provided only for the repayment of the moneys borrowed after the Armistice.

As this argument was widely misunderstood, both in Europe and the United States, some care should be taken to grasp it. For instance, the debt settlement with France provided for total payments amounting to 6,847,674,104 dollars. The amount borrowed by France after the Armistice was 1,434,818,945 dollars. Assume, said Mr. Mellon, that she paid on this post-war loan 5 per cent. interest—a generous rate, he said, compared with the 7 and 8 per cent. charged by New York, London, and other lenders on recent loans to Belgium, Italy, and other countries—it would be found, he said, that the proposed total, 6,847,674,104 dollars, represented but little more than the repayment, at 5 per cent. interest over a period of sixty-two years, of the amount which France borrowed after the war was ended and her frontiers were safe. This, he contended, was equivalent to the cancellation, *de facto* if not *de jure*, of the war loans proper. The Treasury's figures in this connexion were as follows:—

NATION.	PRE-ARMISTICE LOAN.	POST-ARMISTICE LOAN.
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Great Britain - - -	3,690,000,000	581,000,000
France - - -	1,970,000,000	1,434,818,945
Italy - - -	1,031,000,000	617,034,050
Belgium - - -	171,780,000	207,307,200

The various debt settlements arrived at would represent the repayment, at 5 per cent. interest, of the following amounts, described technically as the "present value" of the various settlements:—

NATION.	"PRESENT VALUE" OF TOTAL DEBT AT 5 PER CENT. INTEREST OVER 62 YEARS.
	<i>Dollars.</i>
Great Britain - - -	3,296,948,000
France - - -	1,681,369,000
Italy - - -	426,287,000
Belgium - - -	191,766,000

On this theory, France would repay with interest at 5 per cent. the amount she borrowed after the Armistice, plus 246,550,055

dollars in total discharge of the 1,970,000,000 dollars borrowed during the war. Italy would repay her post-Armistice loan, plus 191,747,050 dollars, in discharge of her pre-Armistice loan. In Belgium's case, the total which she agreed to pay represented, on this basis, the cancellation of her pre-Armistice loans and the further cancellation of 6,541,000 dollars of her post-Armistice borrowings.

Needless to say, the argument brought into sharp contrast the treatment which had been meted out to Great Britain. According to Mr. Mellon, Great Britain is repaying between 70 and 80 per cent. of what she borrowed, France about 50 per cent., and Italy about 26 per cent.

On December 19 the whole question was reopened by a forceful memorandum issued by President Nicholas Murray Butler and the entire Faculty of Political Science and Associated Schools of Columbia University. This memorandum expressed the unanimous opinion of its signatories that the debt settlements were "unsound in principle," that the formula "capacity to pay" was unfortunate in that it "rang hard and heartless" to the European debtors and that the time was ripe for a Conference with the debtor nations to review afresh the problems of "reparations and Allied debts."

This memorandum was more moderate in tone than Mr. Peabody's appeal, and for that reason harder to answer. Further, by linking reparations with the debt settlements it tended to appease those who were sympathetic towards Germany. The "White House spokesman" declared that the memorandum was "academic," and that the "well-meaning professors were doing more harm than good," but the appeal appeared to carry great weight, particularly in educational circles.

President Coolidge selected Armistice Day as the occasion for the administration's reply to the increasing volume of domestic and European criticism regarding America's general European policy. It was his one big speech of the year. He said in part :—

I am of firm conviction that there is more hope for the progress of true ideals in the modern world from a nation newly rich than there is from a nation chronically poor. Honest poverty is one thing, but lack of industry and character is quite another. While we do not need to boast of our prosperity or vaunt our ability to accumulate wealth, I see no occasion to apologise for it. . . .

They tell me that we are not liked in Europe. Such reports are undoubtedly exaggerated and can be given altogether too much importance. We are a creditor nation. We are more prosperous than some. This means that our interests have come within the European circle where distrust and suspicion, if nothing more, have been altogether too common. Nothing is to be gained from criminations and recriminations. We are attempting to restore the world to a state of better understanding and amity. We can even leave to others the discussion of who won the war. It is enough for us to know that the side on which we fought was victorious. We have maintained since the war a detached and independent position in order that we might be better prepared in our own way to serve those who need our help. . . . Our assistance, when it has been sought, has been none the less valuable because we have insisted that it should not be used by one country against another, but for the fair and disinterested service of all.

Although Mr. Coolidge had inherited from Mr. Harding, as a matter of party policy, a programme of American adherence to the World Court—as a method of adjusting international disputes which could be differentiated from the League of Nations—the President was distinctly lukewarm.

The Senate, without much opposition from the President, passed, on January 27 by a vote of 76 to 17, a resolution committing the United States to adherence to the World Court with five reservations. Those five reservations, briefly, were as follows :  
1. No obligations under the League of Nations to be assumed.  
2. Equal participation with others in the election of judges.  
3. Congress to determine the United States' share of the expenses.  
4. The Statute of the Court not to be amended without the consent of the United States. 5. (a) No advisory opinion to be given except in public and after hearing all the interested States in public ; (b) No request for an advisory opinion touching any question in which the United States has or claims an interest to be entertained without the consent of the United States.

Secretary Kellogg, on April 29, refused to send delegates to participate in a Conference at Geneva regarding the American reservations, and on November 11 Mr. Coolidge told the public that he was satisfied with the American reservations and would not ask the Senate to give way on them.

The President, on September 30, appointed Mr. Charles E. Hughes to succeed the late Judge George Gray of Delaware as one of the three American members on "the Permanent Court of International Arbitration" at The Hague. This was erroneously interpreted in many quarters as indicating that the United States had decided to join the so-called World Court after all, but of course it meant nothing of the sort. The United States has always been a member of the "Permanent Court of International Arbitration," which is to be differentiated from the new "Permanent Court of International Justice" proposed in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is to the latter that the United States has made its reservations against full adherence.

Opposition to the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, which had been negotiated August 6, 1923, continued throughout the year. It came principally from Church circles, particularly from those whose sympathies had been aroused on behalf of the Armenians. One hundred and ten bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church memorialised the Senate against the Treaty on April 4.

Although Mr. Coolidge throughout the year had deprecated the building of additional cruisers, despite the fact that they were authorised under the Washington Agreement, he suddenly reversed himself on December 18 and supported the demand of the House Naval Affairs Committee for the construction of ten new cruisers to cost 15,000,000 dollars a-piece. This was interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as due to the fact that the President

had not secured adequate European support for his favourite scheme of another naval Disarmament Conference. Domestic politics, too, had something to do with it as well as the strong pressure exerted by the Navy Department, which had no trouble in showing that the United States was behind other Great Powers in cruiser construction. Still another factor, in the country if not in the councils of the administration, was the widespread idea that the European countries greatly disliked the United States, and suffered from a form of "Yankeeophobia." The year closed, however, with the question still unsettled in Congress.

Relations with China were marked by extreme amiability. The United States participated in the unfortunate Tariff Commission which was invited by the Chinese Government to sit at Peking on October 26, 1925. With the ejection of the Government from Peking the work came to a standstill, but the United States joined the other signatories in the statement of July 3, 1926, expressing the wish to resume deliberations as soon as a stable Government was established. Mr. Silas H. Strawn was sent to Peking as the American member of the Commission to consider the questions of extra-territoriality. A joint report was signed on September 16, but it was not made public in Washington until November 20. Throughout the year's disturbances in China the public kept cool, despite the bombardment of the United States' destroyers *Stewart* and *Pope* near Hankow on September 5.

In the Philippines the agitation for freedom from American rule (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, p. 295) gained headway during the year. Arrayed against the United States were both Houses of the Philippine Legislature; supporting the present *régime* were the American business interests in the archipelago and a small native party headed, piquantly, by the redoubtable Aguinaldo, who led the rebellion against the United States from 1899 to 1901.

On April 2 Mr. Coolidge appointed Mr. Carmi A. Thompson of Ohio to make an independent investigation of the situation in the islands. While Mr. Thompson was preparing to depart for the islands, the Mohammedan Moros rebelled against the local constabulary—who were Roman Catholic Filipinos—and in two weeks of fighting 140 Moors and 7 Filipinos were killed. This outbreak, which occurred in June, called public attention sharply to the fact hitherto not realised that racial and religious differences divided the natives.

On August 17 Governor-General Wood vetoed for the second time a Bill passed by the Legislature providing for a referendum on the question of national independence. Under the Jones Act—the fundamental law governing the Philippines—any act vetoed by the Governor-General and re-passed at the same session of the Legislature must go to Washington to be acted upon. This means

that the demand for a referendum must be considered eventually by the administration.

Mr. Thompson was tumultuously welcomed when he arrived at the islands on August 25 ; his investigations lasted for several weeks, but his report to the President, made public on December 24, advised that independence be withheld from the Filipinos "for the present" because it would rupture the free trade privileges with the United States on which Filipino prosperity is based, and because the natives still lack the financial resources, the common language, and the controlling public opinion necessary to support a democracy. He criticised General Wood's administration on the grounds that he was surrounded chiefly by army officers, and took a military view of his problems ; he recommended that the Philippines be removed from the control of the War Department and placed under a purely civilian bureau.

Mr. Coolidge, in his message to Congress on December 8, said that the islands should not be "turned back" to the Filipinos until the latter were "politically fitted" for it and were "economically independent." He stressed the importance of the islands as a potential source for the much-needed supply of rubber, but declared that the rubber should be grown by the natives on small land-holdings, and not on great plantations with hired labour. In December the Philippines took steps to apply for membership in the League of Nations.

Opponents of the administration made great capital out of the Bill introduced by Congressman Bacon, a Republican, which proposed to withdraw the rubber-producing island of Mindanao from the control of the Philippine Legislature and place it directly under the administration of the United States. According to Congressman Bacon the Bill was designed merely to remove the Mohammedan inhabitants of Mindanao from subjection to the Filipino Legislature, composed as the latter was of members of an alien race and religion. But the Democrats insisted that the motive behind the Bill was to exempt Mindanao—the only part of the Philippines where rubber can profitably be grown—from the severe restrictions of the land laws passed by the Philippine Legislature some years ago. According to this partisan view, it has been established by the investigations of Secretary Hoover that under present conditions, with high-priced labour and peasant ownership, it would be hopeless to expect from the Philippines a production equal to more than one week's consumption of rubber in the United States. Hence the charge that the Republicans intend to administer Mindanao directly in order to permit the establishment of large rubber plantations and the importation of cheap labour to work them. It is an issue certain to be heard of again in the future.

Relations with Mexico were anything but amicable during 1926. Although neither country went so far as to withdraw its

Ambassador, the sharp Notes exchanged between the two countries from July to December threatened a rupture. On December 23, 1925, the Mexican Chamber of Deputies passed the Senate's Bill amplifying the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 on Government control of alien land and petroleum holdings. On March 31 President Calles signed the new petroleum law, as it was called, minutely regulating the concessions granted to the foreign oil companies. In accordance with that act, President Calles gave the foreign companies until December 31 to waive their previous claims and to file what amounted to fresh requests for concessions under the new limitations laid down. Some obeyed, but many of them protested, and the American State Department upheld them in their contention that the Mexican legislation was retroactive, amounted to the confiscation of property, and was in violation of international law. The controversy reached such a point that Secretary Kellogg, in December, filed a memorandum with Congress alleging that the present Government in Mexico was under "Bolshevist" influence (see under Mexico).

Nicaraguan politics, with its inevitable revolution and counter-revolution, drew the United States—not for the first time—into vigorous intervention. Emiliano Chamorro (a Nicaraguan politician who was *persona grata* to the United States as joint author of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1914 by which, in return for 3,000,000 dollars, the United States secured the exclusive right to build a trans-oceanic canal across Nicaragua) was inaugurated President on January 16, 1926, after what looked suspiciously like a *coup d'état*. The United States, though having no prejudice against Chamorro, deprecated the method, and to emphasise its disapproval withdrew its Minister on June 8, whereupon, although armed rebellion had broken out, another election was held, and Chamorro's lieutenant, Señor Diaz, was "elected." This satisfied the United States, but it did not suit the Nicaraguan opposition, which continued its armed resistance and, in the meantime, declared Señor Sacasa "elected" President. On August 28 President Coolidge ordered marines landed at Bluefields "to protect American property," and this occupation by American troops lasted throughout the year. Dr. Sacasa was driven out of the country and order was restored. In the meantime European criticism of American intervention had attracted great attention in the United States, and the administration's policy was sharply challenged by Senator Borah and others. Finally, at the close of the year, the State Department, in an extremely candid statement, declared that intervention had been demanded by "great commercial interests in the United States," adding "American companies dominate Nicaragua, particularly in lumber, sugar, rice, banana, and mining operations. Furthermore, the financial arrangement made by the Nicaraguan Govern-

ment under the good offices of the United States provides that an American collector of customs be appointed to collect the interest on the Nicaraguan debt." Perhaps the most unfortunate feature of the situation was the friction which developed between Mexico and the United States over the charges made by the Diaz faction that Mexico was supplying the Liberals with arms. The Mexican Government denied the charge, but Secretary Kellogg appeared convinced of its truth, and told Congress that Mexico, under Bolshevist influence, was trying to stir up the Central American States against the United States.

Considerable stir was created by the publication in Havana, on December 15, of the text of the Treaty between the United States and Panama, which had been signed at the State Department on July 28. This Treaty, which succeeded the series of arrangements known as the Taft Agreement, provided for control of the Panama Canal by the United States, and stipulated, in Clause II., that the Republic of Panama "should consider herself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States may be a belligerent," and, for the more effective defence of the canal, should agree "to turn over to the United States during the period of actual or threatened hostilities, control and operation of wireless and radio communication, aircraft, aviation centres, and aerial navigation." Other clauses provided for currency regulation for the canal zone and ceded part of Manzanillo Island, off the Atlantic terminus of the canal, to the United States in perpetuity. It was suggested in some quarters that the Treaty conflicted with Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to which Panama is a signatory, and throughout Latin-America the Treaty was denounced as a menace to Central American independence. It was even suggested that the Government of Panama would be unable to secure its ratification, so strong was the opposition, but the year closed without the issue being raised in either legislature.

Although the Federal authorities declared during the year that "Rum Row"—the fleet of vessels off the Atlantic coast engaged in smuggling liquor into the United States—had been driven off and that enforcement of Prohibition had made distinct gains, the question still remained highly controversial. The Government secured the ratification of Treaties with Mexico, Belgium, and Spain tending to hinder the illegal export of spirits into the United States. On April 5 a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee began elaborate hearings on the question of the success or failure of the Volstead Act for the enforcement of Prohibition. United States District Attorney R. E. Buckner told the senators that the traffic in "bootleg" spirits since the passage of the Federal Amendment had amounted to 3,600,000,000 dollars; officials of the American Federation of Labour told the committee that "organised labour" was unanimous

in its demand for "light wines and beers;" General L. C. Andrews, the Treasury Department official in charge of Prohibition enforcement, declared it his firm belief that the law could be enforced, but he conceded that to legalise the sale of light wines and beers "would make enforcement easier and cheaper." These were, perhaps, the chief points brought out by the "wets," but the sub-committee reported in June against any attempt to modify the Volstead Act, thus shelving more than a dozen Bills which proposed to moderate the severe "bone dry" character of the law.

In the agitation against Prohibition New York and New Jersey took the lead. At the State elections on November 2 the New York voters demanded, by a four-to-one vote, that the Volstead Act should be made to conform to the Eighteenth Amendment, which merely forbids the manufacture and sale of "intoxicating liquors," and presumably does not—like the Volstead Act itself—forbid the manufacture of alcoholic liquors which are not actually intoxicating. This attempt to force a cleavage between the Amendment—which appears to be practically unrepeatable—and the Volstead Act which can be amended at any time by Congress, represents the latest phase in the long campaign of the "wets" to moderate the drastic character of Prohibition. The elections in New Jersey, Wisconsin, Nevada, and Montana reflected gains by the "wets," but the country as a whole remained politically, if not actually, "dry."

President Coolidge, on May 8, made a sudden move which surprised the country and greatly alarmed some of the sticklers for "State's rights." He issued an "executive order"—a rare phenomenon in the American scheme of things—amending an old-standing executive order dated January 17, 1873, ruling that he could appoint any State, County, or municipal official to assist the Federal Government in the enforcement of Prohibition except in those States which had actual constitutional or statutory provisions forbidding local officers to hold Federal appointments. As many of the States were showing a disposition to follow New York's example and discontinue co-operation with the Federal Government in Prohibition enforcement, this executive order looked ominous. The Senate, on May 25, held a lively debate on the President's right to issue such an order, but a sub-committee to whom the question was referred declared that Mr. Coolidge was within his rights in the matter. The White House explained that the order was intended to be applied only to California, but the precedent was, admittedly, a wide one.

"Fundamentalism" began to lag somewhat in its efforts to secure control of the public schools. The Texas State Textbook Commission, on December 15, 1925, and the Atlanta (Georgia) Board of Education, followed State legislation already enacted when they barred from use in the schools all textbooks mentioning



the doctrine of evolution. Mississippi, on March 1, joined the "fundamentalist States" with an Act forbidding the use of textbooks which suggest that "man ascended or descended from a lower order of animals." The famous Scopes trial (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1925, p. 293) ended in a draw, the Tennessee State Supreme Court ruling that the Act under which the young teacher had been convicted was constitutional, but that the lower court had erred in fining him so heavily. But the turn of the tide was indicated on March 16 when the Lower House of Congress (with hundreds of prudent members conspicuous by their absence) defeated by 48 to 2 a Bill which would have penalised any teacher or school official of Washington, D.C., who "permits the teaching of disrespect to the Bible, partisan politics, or that ours is an inferior form of Government." It is also noteworthy that the annual parade of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington on September 13 mustered only 15,000 hooded marchers, as compared with between 40,000 and 50,000 in 1925. Perhaps the most conspicuous religious episode of the year was one furnished by the well-known novelist, Mr. Sinclair Lewis who, speaking from the pulpit of a big church in Kansas City, Mo., on April 18, laid his watch on the desk and defied God to strike him dead in ten minutes. The audience waited in some suspense, but the speaker enjoyed, deservedly or not, complete immunity on that occasion.

Roman Catholicism as a coming political issue loomed up during the year with the re-election, for his fourth term as Governor of New York State, of Mr. "Al" Smith, a popular Democratic politician and a Roman Catholic, who has been formally proposed by his enthusiastic followers as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1928. His nomination would raise the religious issue in a most virulent form. The great International Eucharistic Congress, which opened with marked impressiveness in Chicago on June 20—attended by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Bonzano, and eight other cardinals—attracted widespread attention. American Catholics were profoundly disturbed over the plight of the Church in Mexico. On August 5 the Supreme Council of the Roman Catholic society of the "Knights of Columbus" sent a delegation to beg President Coolidge to intercede with the Mexican Government on behalf of their co-religionists south of the Rio Grande. Mr. Coolidge was unable to receive the delegation, but instructed it to visit the State Department where, however, the members received very little satisfaction. On August 15 Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State, informed the President that the anti-clerical measures taken by the Mexican Government did not affect the rights of American citizens, and that there was no ground for intercession by the United States. Dissatisfied with this, the Knights of Columbus, in convention at Philadelphia, passed rather pressing resolutions demanding intervention, but the President, on September 1, told

the leaders of the organisation that the Government could do nothing in the matter.

The Liberty Bell in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, which had not been rung since 1835, was rung at midnight on December 31, 1925, in celebration of the commencement of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia opened on May 31. President Coolidge, speaking at the Exposition on July 4, argued that it was not Thomas Jefferson who had been the real inspiration of the famous Declaration, but "the Colonial preachers of New England." Two British warships, the *Cape Town* and the *Calcutta*, were moored off the Exposition grounds out of compliment to the occasion. But for various reasons the Exposition did not draw the attendance which had been expected; the attempt of the directors to keep it open on Sunday led to a boycott by many of the churches, and when it closed on November 30 it had a deficit of more than 1,000,000 dollars, for which the city of Philadelphia was liable.

With the closing of the prolonged anthracite coal strike on February 12—a strike which had lasted from September 1 and had cost the miners a daily wage loss estimated at 1,150,000 dollars—the country settled down to a year practically free from serious industrial disputes. The Chicago building trades, which enjoyed a year of record-breaking prosperity, achieved a remarkable agreement on November 22 by which the employers agreed to employ only union labour and to have no dealings with non-union firms, while at the same time the men agreed to place no limitations on the amount of work any man may perform during the working day, to place no restrictions upon the use of labour-saving machinery or tools, to boycott no materials except those which are prison-made, to abolish the "walking delegate," who, on behalf of the union, previously enjoyed the power of investigating conditions during working hours, to permit the use of apprentices, and to concede the right of the employer to hire or discharge any union man he pleased. The agreement was regarded as one likely to spread over the country.

That the United States has petroleum resources barely equal to a six years' supply was the gist of the report made to the President on September 5 by the Federal Oil Conservation Board, made up of the Secretaries of the Interior, Commerce, War, and the Navy. The United States now produces and consumes, said the report, about 70 per cent. of the world's oil production, but almost the whole of the American supply now comes from about 4 per cent. of the wells drilled throughout the country, most of them only a year or two old, and from fields discovered within the past five years. Future supplies, it was argued, must come from foreign sources which American companies were urged to secure, and from the conservation of the fast dwindling supplies.

In November a jury in Washington, D.C., after a sensational trial, acquitted both E. L. Doheny, the oil magnate, and former Secretary of the Interior A. B. Fall, of conspiracy to defraud the Government out of valuable oil lands (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, p. 296 and 1925, p. 292). The jury accepted Mr. Doheny's assertion that he "loaned" 100,000 dollars to Mr. Fall purely out of old-established friendship, and that the "loan" had nothing whatever to do with the lease of Navy oil lands which Fall was instrumental in securing for the oil magnate.

In the field of applied science the year was noteworthy chiefly for advances in radio transmission. On January 19 some 20,000 graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, seated at tables in sixty-seven cities in the United States, Cuba, Canada, England, and Hawaii, attended simultaneous "phantom radio dinners." With the possible exception of Hawaii, all the diners heard the same speeches and music enjoyed by the 700 members gathered in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. Wireless telephony between the United States and England became a success on March 7, after three and a half years of experimenting by the British Post Office, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the Radio Corporation of America, but it was not brought into general use until the end of the year. In the field of warfare, the Navy Department scored a formidable advance when it succeeded in guiding wireless controlled airplanes carrying self-discharging loads of TNT against a target 35 miles away.

Despite the unexampled prosperity which had marked Mr. Coolidge's tenure of office, the country gave him no overwhelming support at the Senatorial and Congressional elections on November 2. The Republicans lost heavily in the Lower House, though retaining a working majority, while in the Senate the two parties became practically tied.

#### CANADA.

The first Session of the newly elected Federal Parliament (the fifteenth) was formally opened by Lord Byng on January 7. With the Prime Minister and several of his colleagues without seats and unable, therefore, to take part in the proceedings, the situation was one of the most extraordinary in Canadian political history. No party had a clear majority, and the balance of power virtually remained with the Progressives, whose numbers had been greatly reduced by the October election.

By the Speech from the Throne, legislation promised included the appointment of a Tariff Advisory Board, a measure involving a co-operative arrangement with the Provinces for a system of rural credits assisting farmers to raise loans at lower rates of interest; schemes for immigration embracing assisted passages

and generous loans to agriculturists settling on the land ; a measure providing for a single transferable vote in Dominion General Elections ; a reduction of income and business taxation following upon the improved revenues and decreased expenditures ; the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the question of the special rights of the Maritime Provinces in respect of transportation and other matters ; the completion of the Hudson's Bay Railway to the tidewater (which had been projected for over ten years), and the reorganisation of the financial affairs of the Canadian National Railway.

Mr. Lapointe, acting for Mr. Mackenzie King as Government Leader, immediately proposed a vote of confidence in the Government, declaring that the Administration was justified in retaining Office unless it was defeated by a vote in Parliament. Mr. Meighen, the Conservative Leader, countered by a formal vote of want of confidence in the Government, emphasising that the Conservatives were the largest group in the House and that in the unprecedented situation, the Government had no right to continue in office. Upon this a bitter and highly controversial debate was joined, the Liberals contending that this situation was due to a temporary accident and would speedily be cured. The Progressive Party criticised the Government and held daily caucuses to explore the situation ; eventually most of them decided to give the King Government a further chance, and with the help of their votes the Government gained a victory by the narrow majority of three.

In the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne the Conservative attack was renewed by Mr. Meighen, who laid particular stress on the cleavage in tariff policies between the Conservatives and the combined Progressives and Liberals. Mr. Lapointe declared that the Liberal policy was to preserve a middle course, recognising the diverse economic interests of the four great geographical sections of Canada, and believing that the Dominion should go ahead as " an economic unit, and not by tariff favoured classes."

The Progressive Leader, Mr. Forke, maintained that his party, though holding the balance of power, had not sought it, and were honestly endeavouring to use that power for the good of the whole Dominion, having no desire to serve sectional interests, and being willing to enter a coalition with either party on the basis of the principles for which the farmers stood. He urged the Progressive Party's objection to any increase in protectionist duties, and suggested that Canada's great problem was the checking of emigration to the United States.

On February 2 the Government gained a further victory, the Conservative amendment calling for tariff protection for coal and agricultural products being defeated by 125 votes to 115. This was regarded as evidence that some terms had been arranged

between the Liberals and Progressives to enable the work of the Session to be carried through.

After the closing of the debate on the Address—two features of which were charges by Mr. H. H. Stevens of the maladministration of the Customs and Excise Department, and strong criticism of the Canadian-Australian Trade Treaty—a motion was carried for the adjournment of the House until March 15 in order to reconstruct the Ministry and draw up a workable programme.

It was fully expected that during the recess Mr. Mackenzie King would be elected by acclamation for Prince Albert (Saskatchewan), where the Liberal candidate, Mr. Charles Macdonald, had retired to make room for the Prime Minister, but a late nomination of Mr. B. L. Burgess as an Independent candidate necessitated a longer stay in the Province by the Premier. Mr. King, however, ably supported by both Progressives and Liberals, was returned (Feb. 15) by a majority of 7,000 votes. In thanking his supporters, Mr. King referred to the strong Liberal feeling in Quebec and Saskatchewan, and described these Provinces as the main piers which enable Liberalism to bridge Canada from coast to coast.

Strength was added to the Government by the acceptance of the portfolio of Railways and Canals by Mr. Charles Dunning (Liberal), who resigned the Premiership of Saskatchewan to join the Cabinet in succession to Mr. George P. Graham, one of the defeated Ministers. Mr. Dunning, a native of Leicestershire, had achieved a commanding position in Western Canada, and his inclusion in the Ministry was considered an adroit move by the Premier.

The vacant portfolio of the Department of Labour was filled by Mr. F. G. Elliot (W. Middlesex), and both Ministers were returned at their by-elections with substantial majorities.

By temporarily amalgamating several Departments, Mr. King reduced the number of Cabinet portfolios from sixteen to fourteen, while Mr. Graham, the former Railway Minister, continued to attend Cabinet meetings.

On the Assembly of Parliament (March 15), the main Estimates for the coming fiscal year were introduced, and provided for a total expenditure of 345,771,000 dollars, being a decrease of 24,000,000 dollars from the total amount voted last year. Estimates for the Canadian National Railways showed a decrease of 19,000,000 dollars, totalling 31,000,000 dollars, the saving being largely due to the improved financial showing of the system. Toward the completion of the Hudson's Bay Railway, 3,000,000 dollars were provided. Other capital expenses were 14,000,000 dollars for the Welland Ship Canal, 1,490,000 dollars for the St. Lawrence Ship Canal, and 570,000 dollars for the Esquimault Dry Dock. Provision was also made for 100,000 dollars towards the Banting Research Foundation.

Replying to a question in the House concerning the tabling of correspondence between the Canadian and British Governments respecting the Locarno Treaty and the negotiations leading up to it, Mr. Mackenzie King said he had communicated with Mr. Baldwin asking if it would be permissible to make the correspondence public. "We intimated," he said, "that the Canadian Government would be prepared to accede to any request so far as communication on our part was concerned, but we are informed by the British Government that they do not see their way to consent to the publication of these despatches as they are of a detailed character, covering many phases of negotiations and contain confidential information as to the views of foreign Governments. The British Government considers that the publication of this correspondence would be prejudicial to the future free interchange of opinion, whether with foreign Governments or between the different Governments of the Empire."

The question of foreign policy was again brought up during the same month by a resolution moved by Mr. Woodsworth (Labour, Winnipeg), "that in the opinion of this House Canada should refuse to accept any responsibility for complications arising from the foreign policy of the United Kingdom." He declared that since the war there had been a distinct change in relation to the motherland, and he quoted a speech made by Mr. Meighen at Hamilton earlier in the year, which had caused widespread comment, proposing that a General Election should decide Canada's participation in any future war. After speeches by Mr. Bourassa suggesting that the question be referred to the Committee on International Affairs, and by Sir George Perley pressing for closer consultation in London with the Imperial authorities, the debate was adjourned.

The question of the diversion of water by the Chicago city authorities from the Great Lakes, causing the lowering of the water levels of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence River came before the Canadian Parliament during April. This diversion caused considerable embarrassment to both the Lakes States on the American Lake and to all shippers on the Great Lakes.

In making the annual Budget Statement (April 15) in the House of Commons, Mr. Robb announced that the revenue for the past fiscal year amounted to 376,800,000 dollars, an increase of 29,965,520 dollars over that of the previous year. The total expenditure on all Government services was 342,890,000 dollars, leaving a surplus of 33,910,000 dollars. Some main provisions of the Budget were :—

Taxation reductions mainly applicable to income taxes and tariff, amounting to 25,000,000 dollars in the fiscal year.

Return to Inland 2-cent postage on July 1, replacing the 3-cent rate imposed in 1915.

Removal of the sales tax from a number of articles in common use, also abolition of receipt tax.

Benefits of the British Preferential Tariff after January 1 next to apply only to goods conveyed direct without transshipment into the sea or river ports of Canada.

A number of tariff changes principally reducing the duties on motor cars and trucks by 15 per cent. of the general tariff on low-priced vehicles and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on higher-priced vehicles. The reduction of the raw sugar duties under the British Preferential Tariff by 16.288 per 100 lb. The removal of a duty on tinplate of a class not manufactured in Canada, applicable only to British Preferential Tariff, with a 5 per cent. duty under the intermediate and general tariffs. The removal of duty on green coffee under the British Preferential Tariff. The importation free of aircraft engines and complete parts under the British Preferential Tariff.

In defending the Budget in the House, Mr. Forke maintained that if the Canadian industries could not survive with existing protection, there was something wrong with the system. Mr. Manion, who opened the Conservative attack, devoted his remarks largely to the tariff changes, and condemned the Government's action in not submitting the issue to the newly created Tariff Advisory Board.

The Prime Minister, concluding the Budget debate, reviewed at considerable length the fiscal record of the administration for the past four years. He declared that the Opposition charges against the tariff proposals evaded the real issue, *viz.*, whether or not the reduction in motor-car duties was justifiable, and whether the appointment of the Tariff Advisory Board did or did not tie the hands of Parliament in regard to the making of any tariff adjustments desired in the interest of the country. He believed that the reduction of motor duties would benefit the motor industry just as the reduction of duties on agricultural implements last year had resulted in increased business for the Canadian factories. Mr. King claimed that every index of business showed steady and sound growth and prosperity, and compared favourably with the United States.

On May 19 the Budget Resolutions were carried by 121 votes to 108. Later, after insistent protests by the motor manufacturers, modifications (by reduction in sales tax) of the Budget provisions were made in their favour.

Repercussions of the General Strike (May) in Great Britain were felt immediately in Canada. Prices of wheat, butter, and cheese fell, and had the strike been prolonged for a month the prospect of the impairment of the purchasing power of what is still Canada's best market for her exportable food-stuffs would have caused a serious depression in the prices of all farm products which, in turn, would have had adverse reactions upon general business.

In the annual Statement (May 25) in the House, Mr. Dunning, Minister of Railways, gave a detailed analysis of the financial situation of the Government-owned lines, and gave an optimistic forecast of the steady growth of the national system towards complete solvency.

Referring to the greatly improved returns of the system last year, the Minister said that since the reorganisation and consolidation of the national system six years ago the operating deficit of 34,000,000 dollars had been turned into an operating surplus of 32,000,000 dollars.

Regarding the general problem of a revision of the Company's financial structure, with a view to placing the whole capital investment on a sound permanent basis, Mr. Dunning said that during the current year definite proposals along that line would be submitted by the President of the Company.

With reference to the position of the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific debenture-holders, the Minister said :—

“ In view of the continued criticism abroad of Canada's action with respect to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk and the position of certain holders of Grand Trunk Pacific debentures, it may be stated that the theory that Canada, in taking over the Grand Trunk System, was acquiring at no cost an immensely valuable property, has not been justified by the results on record.”

In view of the forthcoming Imperial Conference, Mr. Mackenzie King moved a resolution (June 21) providing that before ratification or acceptance of military or economic treaties or agreements by the Canadian Government the approval of the Canadian Parliament must be secured.

Debate on this question lasted all day, but in the end the House gave unanimous support to the motion.

The Government having again emerged with a narrow majority on a “ no confidence ” motion, an inevitable crisis was brought about on the debate concerning Mr. Stevens' charges of irregularities in the Customs administration, in the light of the report presented by the Parliamentary Committee appointed to investigate.

The main amendment to the report moved by the Conservatives was equivalent to a motion of censure, and although the Government was defeated on three private motions, a motion to adjourn from the Government side was carried by a majority of one.

Two days later (June 28) Mr. King startled the House immediately at the opening of its sitting by announcing that he had advised the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament, but that Lord Byng had declined to accept the advice. The Prime Minister added that he had at once tendered his resignation and now moved that the House should adjourn. This came with dramatic suddenness, and after a brief period of verbal cross-fire, the House rose. Shortly after the adjournment, Mr. Meighen was summoned to Government House by Lord Byng and the Conservative Leader consented to form a Government. The fact that the Governor-General had declined to dissolve Parliament on the advice of the former Prime Minister, and had asked Mr. Meighen to form a Ministry without a clear majority in the House of Commons created much outspoken comment. The constitutional correctness of Lord Byng's procedure was critically discussed both inside and outside the House, and the Liberals lost no time in moving a resolution of “ no confidence ” in the new Government. This motion was defeated by 108 votes to 101.

Following much acrimony on both sides on the question of the prerogative of the Governor-General and the rights of Parlia-



ment, the position was brought abruptly to an end (July 2) when Mr. Robb, former Finance Minister, moved a resolution that the actions of the acting Ministers were a violation of the privileges of the House, because either they were administering Departments illegally or they should vacate their seats. This resolution was ultimately adopted by a vote of 96 to 95, the deciding vote being given by Miss Macphail (Progressive) the only woman member of the House.

The Governor-General's acceptance of Mr. Meighen's advice to dissolve Parliament rekindled the feelings of all who considered that the constitutional position had been jeopardised, and statements were issued by the three leaders. Both the Progressives and Liberals strongly objected to the Governor-General's action, and to the omission of the formal dissolution of Parliament as contrary to established usage and constitutional law. The Conservatives stoutly maintained the correctness of their attitude, contending that the House had voted its confidence, that there were precedents to show the right of His Majesty's representative to refuse to grant a dissolution, also for the passing of Orders in Council appointing Ministers to offices under the Crown.

What was regarded by the Liberals and Progressives as "constitutional freedom" became one of the chief election issues, on the announcement (July 20) of the date of the General Election.

Mr. Meighen reorganised his Cabinet, and the country was soon in the throes of an appeal to the electorate.

While the perennial problems of tariff and immigration formed planks in the platform of all parties, the Conservatives sustained their attack on the Customs administration. Having appointed, during their short tenure, Sir Francois Lemieux, the veteran Chief Justice of Quebec, to continue the investigation set up by the former Government, they fully expected further disclosures to strengthen their case. Mr. Meighen re-emphasised his belief in the virtues of the protective policy, but he also made a bid for the support of the Western farmers by enthusiastically commending the co-operative wheat pool movement, and promising that if he were returned to power he would give every possible encouragement to that and other schemes of co-operative marketing which the farmers might organise.

Mr. King claimed that the Customs scandals had been greatly exaggerated for partisan purposes, and declared that they shrank into insignificance beside the infinitely greater constitutional scandal which had occurred. He stressed the point that the events of the last week in June had set back the constitutional clock many generations, and degraded a Dominion which had won for itself the badge of nationhood to a subordinate Colonial status. The ex-Premier was, however, anxious to make it clear that he in no way attacked the Governor-General personally, nor impugned the honesty and integrity of Lord Byng's motives.

Mr. Henri Bourassa, the renowned Independent of Quebec, carried on the campaign with free criticism, arraigning the Governor-General as "a subaltern of the British Government."

The sudden death (August 7) of Mr. G. H. Boivin, the former Minister of Customs, caused deep regret, and Mr. King, whilst campaigning in Saskatoon, paid high tribute to his memory.

By September 7 nominations were completed in all the constituencies. Only one (Provencher, Manitoba, where Mr. Beaubien was the Liberal-Progressive member) was uncontested, the Conservatives placing 233 candidates in the field, the Liberals, 199; Progressives, 20; Independents, 25; Labour, 18; Liberal-Progressives, 21; and United Farmers, 12.

Large meetings were held by the two principal leaders throughout the Dominion. Mr. Meighen, who during the previous General Election did not speak in the Province of Quebec, was received in Quebec City by a gathering estimated at over 15,000 persons. In Montreal, where, contrary to his action in the previous election, Mr. E. L. Patenaude identified himself with the main Conservative Party, the Conservative Leader was also well received.

In addition to his indictment of the Liberal record Mr. Meighen urged his conviction of the need for protection, particularly against goods from the United States, and reaffirmed his attitude on the question of Imperial relations.

Mr. Mackenzie King also visited the chief cities, and in addition to the arguments already indicated, was able to point to reduced taxation and a greatly increased volume of trade under his party's *régime*.

The campaign aroused no Dominion-wide enthusiasm notwithstanding sectional bitterness on the constitutional question, but the country generally desired above all things a stable Government in the place of temporising expedients. Polling took place on September 14 and resulted in a decisive victory for the Liberal Party. Final returns showed the following state of the parties: Liberals, 119; Conservatives, 91; Liberal-Progressives, 11; United Farmers of Alberta, 11; Progressives, 8; Labour, 3; Independent, 2.

With the Progressives and Farmers having much in common with the Liberals, the new Government thus gained a good working majority.

After Mr. Meighen (who had lost his seat) had handed in his resignation (Sept. 25), Mr. King's new Cabinet was sworn in on the same day, and was composed as follows:—

Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council, and Secretary of State for External Affairs	Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King.
Finance	Mr. J. A. Robb.
Justice	Mr. Ernest Lapointe.
Railways and Canals	Mr. C. A. Dunning.
Interior, Mines, and Indian Affairs	Mr. Charles Stewart.
Public Works	Mr. J. C. Elliott.

Agriculture - - - - -	Mr. W. R. Motherwell.
Trade and Commerce - - - - -	Mr. James Malcolm.
Customs and Excise - - - - -	Mr. W. D. Euler.
Health and Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment - - - - -	Dr. J. H. King.
Immigration and Colonisation - - - - -	Mr. Robert Forke.
Postmaster-General - - - - -	Mr. P. J. Veniot.
Marine and Fisheries - - - - -	Mr. P. J. A. Cardin.
Solicitor-General - - - - -	Mr. Lucien Cannon.
Secretary of State - - - - -	Mr. Fernand Rinfret.
Labour - - - - -	Mr. Peter Heenan.
National Defence - - - - -	Colonel J. L. Ralston.
Without Portfolio - - - - -	Mr. J. E. Sinclair.
Without Portfolio - - - - -	Senator Raoul Dandurand.

Immediately upon the Government taking office it was announced that Mr. King, accompanied by Mr. Lapointe, would attend the Imperial Conference, and the Conservative Party promised to facilitate the attendance of representatives from Canada.

In succession to Lord Byng of Vimy, who left the Dominion (Sept. 27) with the affection and goodwill of all Canadians, Lord Willingdon, the new Governor-General, accompanied by Lady Willingdon, arrived at Quebec on October 2. The elaborate ceremony of installation, attended by the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and many prominent public men of the Dominion, took place in the old fortress city. In his speech at the dinner given on the same day in his honour, Lord Willingdon referred to his work in various parts of the Empire and his previous association, through Hastings, with Quebec City, his faith in the ideals of the British Empire, and his hope to take part, during the next five years, "in a long step forward towards the fulfilment of its destiny."

On leaving Canada (Oct. 11) to attend the Imperial Conference, Mr. Mackenzie King said: "Canada's course will be a course of goodwill. Goodwill is what we should emphasise above all things. Then our various problems will not be difficult of solution." He also stated that Canada went to the Conference with no grievances and no requests. He would tell His Majesty that "nowhere more than in Canada are there subjects who love him personally and are loyal to the Crown."

Mr. Vincent C. Massey, the newly appointed first Canadian Ambassador at Washington,<sup>1</sup> travelled with the Premier and Mr. Lapointe to London, in order to consult with the British and Dominion statesmen. With the proceedings of the Imperial Conference Canada was kept closely in touch by the journalists of the Prime Minister's party, and the decisions reached were the subject of editorial comment throughout the Dominion. While some Liberal newspapers regarded the resultant report on Inter-Imperial relations as a new "Magna Charta," the Conservative Press either described it as merely "a formal acknowledgment of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Vincent Massey was formally appointed Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary at Washington by Order in Council at Ottawa, November 10.

the equality of status of the Dominions with the United Kingdom under the King," or regarded it as a dangerous interference with the constitution of the Empire. On the whole, the general opinion seemed to be that good work had been accomplished by the delegates in the restatement of Dominion status, in the clarification of troublesome anomalies, and in the improvement of the political machinery of the Empire, particularly in the new methods proposed for communication between the different Governments.

The new Parliament (the sixteenth) was formally opened by Lord Willingdon on December 10. Large crowds gathered at Parliament Hill to witness the arrival of the Governor-General and Lady Willingdon, who were escorted from Government House by dragoons and received by a military guard of honour. Reading the Speech from the Throne in English and French, His Excellency referred to his new duties and to the bountiful harvests and continued expansion of Canadian trade and immigration. The Speaker declared that the first activity of Parliament was to pass supplies and regularise the expenditures not voted in the last Parliament. It was not proposed to proceed with ordinary business until after the New Year. The Government measures passed last Session which failed to become law would be introduced and amendments to the Grain Act submitted. Special attention was promised to the fuel problem, and measures for providing assistance for works constructed for the production of domestic coke from Canadian coal. The decisions of the recent Imperial Conference would be brought before Parliament, and measures were promised on the recommendations of the report of the Royal Commission (which had been conducted under the able chairmanship of Sir Andrew Duncan) on the Maritime Provinces. Other legislation foreshadowed included the long-deferred construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway, and a three-year programme of branch construction of the Canadian National Railways. The House adjourned on December 15.

Two provincial General Elections were held during the year. In June the Progressives of Alberta were returned to power with a slightly-increased majority, and in December the Conservative Government of Ontario, gaining much support for its proposal to bring the province back from prohibition and follow the example of most of the other provinces in instituting Government control of liquor, was also returned to power.

In Nova Scotia an attempt was made to abolish the Upper House of the Provincial Legislature, the question ultimately being submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada.

The publication of the Duncan Report, already referred to, was received with much enthusiasm throughout the Maritime Provinces as promising to remove grievances persistently expressed by Eastern public men.

During September and October the Labrador Boundary dispute came up before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, before whom appeared several prominent Quebec lawyers. Decision of the Council was not announced before the close of the year.

#### ARGENTINA.

At the beginning of the year the Government called an extraordinary session of Congress for the purpose chiefly of passing the Budget for 1926. The Chamber passed a resolution binding it to discuss the Estimates in ten consecutive sittings, but the Deputies nullified their own decision by failing to provide the necessary quorum. This was due, in part, to the fact that a number of members were busy canvassing their constituencies in preparation for the coming election of half the Chamber in March. Finding that no progress was being made either with the Budget or with any other legislation, the Government withdrew from Congress the agenda which it had submitted for its consideration, and declared the Budget of 1925 to be provisionally in force. In thus taking the law into its own hands, it was, after the election, vehemently criticised in the Press, and a section of the Deputies talked of impeaching the President. The mass of the public, however, recognised that the Government had acted for the best, and that Congress was really much more to blame ; and the agitation soon died down.

The result of the elections for the partial renovation of the Chamber of Deputies on March 7 was to leave the constitution of the Chamber as follows : 58 " Irigoyenista " Radicals ; 43 Conservatives ; 31 " Anti-personalist " Radicals ; 19 Socialists, and 3 Democrats. The Presidential message on the opening of the ordinary session of Congress at the beginning of August declared the general condition of the country to be highly satisfactory, as the peso, in spite of an adverse trade balance, had maintained its value, private wealth was increasing, the relations between capital and labour were satisfactory, the nation's prestige abroad had risen, and the faith of the people in the country's future was strong and well grounded. The chief work of the Congress during this session was to declare the Budget of 1925 (which was itself a reproduction of the Budget of 1923-24) in force for the remainder of 1926, subject to specified increases of expenditure on schools, public works, and the service of the public debt. Towards the end of November the President issued a decree summoning Congress to extraordinary session for the purpose of considering, first and foremost, the Budget for 1927.

In the course of the year the Government again contracted some large loans through the agency of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York. The rapidity with which these were over-subscribed showed the confidence which the country inspired in the world's

financial markets. At the end of September, Congress authorised an expenditure of 75,000,000 pesos gold for renewal of the material of the fleet. The naval programme included three light cruisers (to replace others which had become obsolete), six destroyers, and six submarines. The expenditure was to be spread over ten years.

In consequence of the withdrawal of Brazil and the election of Germany, Argentina, in September, rejoined the League of Nations, from which she had withdrawn (but not resigned) two years previously.

The maize harvest was exceptionally abundant in 1926, and the cotton crop was also very good, but the farmers complained that they could not obtain sufficient labour for their requirements. On the other hand, there was some unemployment in the towns, partly caused by the suspension of public works through the lack of funds, partly by the congestion of immigrant workers in the ports and their unwillingness to go up country.

The proceedings of the United States in Nicaragua towards the end of the year, and its attempt to browbeat Mexico aroused feelings of strong disapproval and also of uneasiness in the public of the Argentine. In the last days of December, articles appeared in the Press of Buenos Aires strongly criticising the action of the United States, and *La Nacion* voiced the general opinion of the Argentine, and in fact of all South America, when it remarked in its issue of December 31 that "the right of forceful intervention had never been enunciated with such disquieting frankness as it was then being presented by the North American Government."

#### BRAZIL.

In the Presidential election which took place this year, Dr. Washington Luis Pereira de Souza was chosen without opposition—an unprecedented circumstance in Brazil—to succeed Dr. Bernardes on his retirement, which was due on November 15. The new President, who was a lawyer by profession, was well known in Brazilian public life, having served as Secretary of Justice in two previous administrations, and having held with distinction the office of Governor of the State of São Paulo from 1920 to 1924. He had inspired such confidence by his conduct of affairs in this capacity that his elevation to the Presidentship was hailed by the mass of the public as signifying the dawn of a better era for Brazil. His first steps, however, were hardly such as to justify this expectation. In the summer he made a speech declaring that it would be his policy during his administration to stabilise the milreis. This announcement created considerable perturbation in commercial and financial circles, and immediately brought about a drop of a penny, or over 16 per cent., in the value of the milreis, which had been slowly appreciating for some time. He also caused great disappointment by not issuing any Presidential

message on the occasion of his assuming office on November 15. The condition of the country had not improved by the end of the year ; a large part of it was still in a state of siege, and at the end of December it was announced that a new revolutionary outbreak had occurred in Rio Grande do Sul.

At the meeting of the League of Nations in March, Brazil vetoed the granting to Germany of a permanent seat on the Council, not out of any hostility to Germany, but in order to call attention to her own claims to a permanent seat. As these continued to be ignored, on June 13 she formally withdrew from the League, at the same time giving the required two years' notice of her intended resignation.

The final balancing of accounts for 1925 showed a surplus (subject to rectification) of 340 contos of revenue over expenditure. This was an improvement on any previous year ; but the country, as the President pointed out in his address to Congress on May 3, was still weighed down with the heavy onus of the floating debt, and was also involved in excessive expenditure by repeated seditious movements. In the Budget for 1927, revenue was estimated at 122,073 contos gold and 1,071,725 contos paper, and expenditure at 107,123 contos gold and 1,055,453 contos paper. For 1926 the Budget figures were : revenue 121,646 contos gold and 1,097,716 contos paper, and expenditure, 84,413 contos gold and 1,044,599 contos paper.

Within three weeks of his assuming office, President Luis Pereira presented to the Finance Commission his project for reforming the currency, according to which Brazil is to adopt a gold monetary unit called the "cruzeiro," containing nine-tenths pure gold, while the paper currency at present in circulation, amounting to 2,569,304 contos of reis, is to be converted into gold at the rate of 200 milligrammes per milreis, six months' notice being given before such conversion is adopted.

#### CHILE.

With the entry into office on December 23, 1925, of the newly elected President, Don Emiliano Figueroa, Chile once more embarked upon a period of full constitutional government such as she had not enjoyed since the military *coup* of fifteen months before. The election soon afterwards of a new Parliament of 132 Deputies and 45 Senators completed the return to normal political conditions. Unfortunately for the peace of the country, the Left section of the Chamber, comprising the Radicals and Communists, who were in Opposition, would not let bygones be bygones, and made continual attacks upon the Army for the part it had played in the events preceding the election of Señor Figueroa. The Army, mainly through the mouth of the Minister of War, Colonel Carlos Ibañez, for a long time defended itself with moderation

against these attacks, which frequently provoked stormy scenes in the Chamber, but towards the end of the year it showed signs of losing patience. A crisis occurred on October 19, when a Radical Deputy, Señor Rojas, demanded that an Army lieutenant, who had sent a challenge to a certain Deputy for making disparaging remarks on the Army in a speech in the Chamber, should be censured and brought to justice. Colonel Ibañez protested against Señor Rojas's attempt to constitute himself the guardian of military discipline, and went on to accuse him of sheltering himself behind Parliamentary privilege in order to insult the Army. Considering this remark an affront to the Chamber, the President, Señor Gumucio, called upon Colonel Ibañez to withdraw. The latter retorted that no such request had ever been made of those who had insulted the Army. This remark was the signal for a tumult, in the midst of which the sitting was suspended.

Colonel Ibañez published, in the evening newspapers, that part of his speech which he had not been able to deliver in Parliament, declaring "in the name of the President of the Republic," that the Government could not contemplate with indifference the subversive activities of a section of the Deputies, and that in order to put a stop to them it would, if necessary, put into force the provisions of the Constitution for dealing with national emergencies. The President of the Republic and the Council of Ministers on the next day publicly associated themselves with these remarks. Alarmed at the danger thus threatening the Chamber, the President of that assembly, on October 23, declared in its name that no attack on the sensibilities or the prestige of the Army had been intended, and immediately afterwards he resigned. The Opposition considered the manner in which the difficulty with Colonel Ibañez had been smoothed over as most unsatisfactory, and a Radical Deputy declared soon after that the Assembly had only acted as it did out of fear that the Army would over-ride the Constitution and close the Congress. To allay popular discontent, the President of the Republic appointed a new Cabinet, with Señor Manuel Rivas Vicuña as Prime Minister; but it was significant that Colonel Ibañez remained Minister of War.

In his message to Congress on May 21, the President stated that the national finances for 1925 showed a deficit of nearly 64,000,000 dollars paper, bringing the total deficit to over 144,000,000 dollars paper as at December 31, 1925. On the other hand, there had been a favourable trade balance for the year of over 655,000,000 dollars paper. The Budget for 1926 was presented in August, and showed an anticipated deficit of 57,206,518 dollars. At the same time, a short-date loan of 10,000,000 United States dollars was raised in New York for the purpose of paying the salaries of Government employees during June, July, and August.



*Tacna-Arica*.—At the beginning of the year there was a good prospect that the plebiscite in the Tacna-Arica district to decide whether it should belong to Peru or Chile would be held in the spring. General Pershing, as head of the Plebiscitary Commission, had at first fixed on April 15, but at the instance of the Chilean delegate this was changed to March 15. Early in January General Pershing resigned from his post on grounds of ill-health; he was succeeded on January 12 by Major-General Lassiter, an appointment which was favourably received by both parties to the dispute. The registration of voters commenced in February, but was never completed. Before long, complaints were made on the Peruvian side that the Chilean authorities were intimidating large numbers of Peruvian voters from registering, and were enrolling numerous Chileans who had no right to vote. In consequence of these complaints, the plebiscite was postponed, first to March 27 and then to June.

Meanwhile, on the suggestion of the United States, diplomatic negotiations for settling the dispute had been opened at Washington, and conferences were held during April and subsequently between Mr. Kellogg, the United States Foreign Minister, and the Peruvian and Chilean Ambassadors at which various new suggestions were put forward.

On June 14 General Lassiter proposed to the Plebiscitary Commission that the holding of a plebiscite should be abandoned. He drew attention to the terrorism which was being exercised against Peruvian voters, and said that this would prevent the plebiscite from being a fair expression of public opinion; while to hold a plebiscite as a mere matter of form, one which would be known in advance to be unfair, would constitute a flagrant usurpation of power by the Commission. General Lassiter's motion was adopted by the Commission, although the Chilean Government, in a circular telegram to its diplomatic representatives abroad, strongly denied his allegations. To this the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs replied on June 24 in a cabled statement to his Ambassador at Washington denying the truth of the Chilean contentions and corroborating the charges made by General Lassiter.

On June 18 the Chilean Ambassador called at the State Department in Washington to inform Mr. Kellogg that the abandonment of the plebiscite in the Tacna-Arica area automatically put an end to all idea of obtaining an amicable adjustment through the good offices of the United States. That country, however, considering that its own prestige was deeply involved in the matter, did not accept this view, and, while recognising the failure of the Commission as final, made yet another attempt before the end of the year to bring about a settlement. On November 1 Mr. Kellogg transmitted to the Government of Chile and Peru a memorandum containing what he ca

"concrete suggestion" for settling the dispute. He proposed that Tacna-Arica should be ceded to Bolivia in perpetuity, and that that country should give to Chile and Peru adequate compensation, in the fixing and apportionment of which the good offices of the United States should be utilised. Other proposals contained in the Memorandum were the perpetual demilitarisation of Tacna-Arica, the maintenance of the city of Arica as a free port, and the reservation from the transfer to Bolivia of the promontory known as the Morro of Arica, which would be placed under international jurisdiction as "a memorial to the valour of both Peru and Chile." Bolivia at once expressed its approval of this scheme; Chile, on December 5, informed the United States State Department of its willingness to "consider in principle" Mr. Kellogg's proposal, while affirming that she did not abandon the "solid juridical position given to her by the Treaty of Ancon and the arbitral award of President Coolidge." The Peruvian Government also, contrary to general expectation, accepted the proposal as a basis of negotiations, but put forward important modifications. At this stage, however, a wave of feeling against the United States swept over both Peru and Chile, as over most South American States, in consequence of her action in Nicaragua and Panama, and the prospects of her mediation being successful became more remote.

#### MEXICO.

The history of 1926 in Mexico is made up chiefly by the conflicts carried on by President Calles with two powerful forces, one external and the other internal, which he provoked to opposition by his determined efforts to carry through his nationalistic policy. The external opposition came from the Government of the United States, which sought to prevent him from enforcing the laws for the nationalisation of certain of the mineral and agricultural resources of the country. The internal opposition came from the Catholic Church in Mexico, which struggled desperately against his endeavours to subject it to the State. Both conflicts involved issues of more than local importance, and gave rise to strong manifestations of feeling in many foreign countries.

In pursuance of his declared policy of "Mexico for the Mexicans," President Calles had, towards the end of 1925, brought in a Land Bill for putting into force the principle laid down by Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, that the subsoil of the country belonged to the nation. This Bill sought to enact that no foreigner should be permitted to acquire direct ownership of lands or waters within a strip of 100 kilometres along the frontier or 50 kilometres along the sea-coast, or to become a shareholder

a Mexican company acquiring such ownership within the same

The wording of the Bill seemed to give it retroactive effect, at Americans who owned certain large holdings near the

border considered themselves threatened by it. This Bill was followed at the commencement of 1926 by a Petroleum Bill, which reasserted the principle of the nationalisation of the subsoil, and required all exploiters of petroleum, whether companies or individuals who had rights from previous laws, to apply for confirmation of those rights; and it was known to be the intention of the Government not to confirm the rights in full, but to exchange them for concessions limited to a period of fifty years dating from the time at which the exploitation started.

Against both these Bills Mr. Sheffield, the United States Ambassador, early in January entered an emphatic protest, on the ground that they were contrary to guarantees given by the Mexican Government when it received recognition from the United States in 1923. It was true that in Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 it had been laid down that the subsoil of the country belonged to the nation; but it had subsequently been declared by the Mexican Supreme Court on various occasions, and also by the Mexican members of the United States Mexican Commission in 1923, that this article did not affect the rights of those companies (chiefly American and British) which had commenced working for oil before May 1, 1917, and it was this declaration which was largely responsible for the consent of the United States to recognise Mexico in 1923.

The protest of Mr. Sheffield was the commencement of a long controversy between the Foreign Offices of Mexico and the United States. On January 19 Señor Saenz, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a lengthy statement, which was published simultaneously in both countries, maintaining that the laws in dispute were not retroactive or confiscatory, and pointing out that Mexico's policy in respect of the holding of land by foreigners was at any rate less illiberal than that of the United States. To this Mr. Kellogg replied, also with a Press statement, reiterating his view that the two laws were retroactive, and denying the charge brought by Señor Saenz, that the United States had in any sense questioned Mexico's sovereignty. The official reply of the Mexican Government was sent on January 21, and within the next few weeks there was a further exchange of Notes.

As a result of the United States representations, President Calles, on March 29, promulgated a set of regulations which defined the application of the Land Law in a sense somewhat less unfavourable to aliens than the original draft. It was laid down by these that foreigners owning land must, to retain it, become Mexican citizens, and renounce the protection of their Governments in respect to their property. Foreigners were allowed to acquire not more than 50 per cent. of the stock of land and agricultural corporations having land outside the forbidden zone along the frontiers and the coast, and in the case of land which they were already exploiting within the forbidden zone they

might keep 50 per cent. of the stock, and were allowed a decade in which to dispose of the remainder. For purposes other than agricultural, such as mining or petroleum production, Mexican corporations, the stock of which was partially or wholly owned by foreigners, were allowed to acquire land anywhere, provided that their holdings were limited to the exact surface needed.

These regulations came into force in August, and their immediate effect was to rekindle the controversy between the Mexican and United States Governments. Mr. Kellogg sent to Mexico a long Note of protest, to which the Mexican Government replied at equal length. On October 30 Mr. Kellogg despatched a shorter but sharper Note with the object of pointing out "so clearly as to leave no room for misunderstanding the extremely critical situation affecting relations between the two countries which would inevitably be created if the land and oil laws were enacted and enforced in such a manner as to violate the fundamental principles of international law and of equity, and the terms and conditions of the understanding arrived at in 1923." To prevent such a crisis arising, he called on the Mexican Government to "respect in their entirety the acquired property rights of American citizens." To the veiled threat contained in this Note President Calles, who had behind him the cordial support of the new Congress which had met in September, made a firm reply on November 17, reasserting the sovereign rights of Mexico over legislation concerning her own internal affairs and its interpretation, and requesting the United States Minister to "indicate concrete cases in which recognised principles of international law might have been violated, or might yet be violated, in disregard of the legitimate interests of American citizens." To this challenge the United States Government had made no answer by the end of the year.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of the Government's policy, the Department of Industry, on November 25, issued a statement warning all oil companies that they must, before December 31, apply for confirmation of their titles to all oil concessions granted previous to the 1917 Constitution, as the Government would consider such rights to be renounced should the holder fail to apply. The companies hesitated, waiting for a lead from the United States State Department, and on December 20 the Mexican Ministry of Industry submitted to their representatives drafts of the proposed new concessions issuable to companies applying for "confirmation." The terms of the draft were somewhat more liberal than might have been expected from the law. Nevertheless, after examining it, twenty companies, members of the American Association of Producers of Oil in Mexico, telegraphed to the President that in their opinion the Petroleum Law still required modification in order to bring it into harmony with the declared intentions of the Mexican Government regarding the

rights of property. The President replied that in his opinion the law was good and just, and warned the companies against adopting an attitude of rebellion towards Mexican sovereignty. A petition presented by a number of owners of oil lands to the Minister of Industry to postpone the enforcement of the oil law for six months was also refused on December 29.

The conflict of President Calles with the Church, like that with the oil interests, had already commenced in the previous year, when certain of the States had passed anti-Catholic legislation which led to the closing of a number of churches and schools. The Archbishop of Mexico had protested against these proceedings with such vigour that the Federal Attorney-General thought fit to open an investigation into his activities with a view to discovering whether they were not violating the Constitution. The Archbishop was not brought to trial, but his conduct stimulated the Government to set about in earnest with the enforcement of Article 130 of the Constitution. By this Article, which was conceived largely in the spirit of the French Revolution, it was laid down that ministers of religion could not criticise the laws or the Government, that all priests in Mexico must be Mexicans by birth, and that all churches and church property belonged to the nation as represented by the Federal Government. Hitherto these provisions had existed merely on paper, but President Calles now took steps to make them effective.

In February it was authoritatively stated that the Federal Attorney-General was preparing an order for the nationalisation of all property belonging to the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico. This included great quantities of valuables which, in the course of generations, had been offered by the devout, and were estimated to be worth in all some 100,000,000*l*. Early in March a warning was issued to all monasteries, convents, and churches in Mexico that foreign priests and nuns (mostly Spanish and French) must leave the country, and by the end of April they had practically all departed, to the number of several hundreds. The Government further closed several churches where the ministrants were foreigners, a step which in many cases was not carried out without serious disturbances. The Archbishop of Mexico, Mgr. Mora y del Rio, issued in April a Pastoral Letter in which he deliberately refused to recognise the clauses of the Constitution referring to religious worship and public order, and advised his followers to disavow them; he also characterised the deportation of the Papal Legate, Mgr. Caruana, as an affront of the Mexican Government against the Holy See. President Calles replied to him in a vigorous Note, in which he charged the Catholic prelates with unpatriotically provoking an agitation against the Government, both at home and abroad, and warned them that if they persisted in their efforts trouble would ensue, as the Government was determined to enforce the laws of the country.

The President soon showed that this was no empty threat. On July 3 a decree was issued defining offences against Article 130 of the Constitution, and prescribing penalties. By the decree Ministers of any creed were required to be of Mexican birth; religious corporations or ministers of any creed were forbidden to establish or direct any primary school; the taking of religious vows which abdicated personal liberty was prohibited; the clergy were forbidden to express political views; all religious exercises were required to be held only in churches authorised by law; and all churches, bishops' palaces, and other buildings designed for religious purposes were declared to be the property of the Government, which would determine to what uses they should be put. It was announced that all unauthorised churches, *i.e.*, all which had foreign incumbents, which formed the great majority, would be closed at midnight on July 31.

This decree caused a great ferment among Roman Catholics all over the world. Remonstrances were addressed to President Calles by the Pope and by Roman Catholic bodies in the United States and various South American countries. In Mexico itself practically the whole of the priesthood, native as well as foreign, decided to abstain from all religious ministrations after July 31 unless their privileges were restored. They were warmly seconded by the mass of the Catholic population, and received assurances of support during the period that they should be deprived of their offices. The Catholics were strongly dissuaded by their prelates and by the Pope from resisting the Government's decrees by violence, but they formed a plan, which obtained the approval of the Archbishop of Mexico, of showing their indignation by instituting an economic boycott. In the middle of July the National League for the Defence of Religious Freedom, which had been formed by the Catholics to resist the attacks of the President, issued a circular calling on all Mexicans to buy only necessary commodities, to avoid the use of all vehicles, to refrain from attending public and private amusements, to use the minimum of electricity, and to refuse to send their children to public schools. This was followed up by the issue, on July 25, of a Pastoral Letter over the signatures of the Archbishop of Mexico and thirty-nine bishops, announcing that after July 31 the country would be under an Interdict. During the week which followed Catholics flocked in crowds to the churches in order to have their children baptised or confirmed, and at some places the stream of worshippers was so continuous that masses were said every half hour.

The Government meanwhile went on its way without swerving. Commissioners began to take an inventory of all ecclesiastical property. Several members of the League for the Defence of Religious Freedom and the Young Men's Catholic Association were placed under arrest. On July 23 the President issued a decree prohibiting the employment in the public schools of any

but lay teachers, and requiring the schools to be divested of everything suggesting religion or religious connexions. On July 28 the Secretary of the Interior instructed Government agents to take possession of all Roman Catholic Churches left without responsible guardians. Finally, on July 30, the Government ordered the disarming of all Roman Catholics.

On July 29 the President, in an address to a delegation of the Confederation of Labour, which had come to him to pledge its support of the Government policy, stigmatised the resistance of the Roman Catholic clergy to religious regulations as an act of bad faith and treachery, and charged them with having thrown down their challenge to his administration precisely at the most difficult moment, when international questions involving the sovereignty of Mexico were arising. The hour was approaching, he said, for a final fight which would show whether the revolution was to triumph over reaction, or whether the victory of the revolution was to be merely ephemeral.

At midnight on July 31 the priests ceased to officiate. The churches, however, were not closed down, and continued to be used for private prayer and for services conducted by laymen. On the next day a great Labour parade, in which over 50,000 persons were estimated to have joined, took place in Mexico City in support of the President. Banners carried in the parade bore such devices as "Catholic priests are parasites," "The clergy are rich and the people poor," "We want education, not priests." The Government, in the course of the next few days, found it necessary to close some 20,000 churches which the Catholics refused to hand over to the local authorities. In many places encounters took place between the populace and the police who were guarding the churches, and several lives were lost.

Meanwhile, the economic boycott proclaimed by the League for the Defence of Religious Freedom had been put more or less into execution, and was already seriously affecting trade, especially in the branches dealing with women's luxury articles. Withdrawals from the banks also took place on a considerable scale. The Catholic Episcopate proposed that a truce should be declared until, by means of a plebiscite, the people could give its decision on the controversy, but this offer was summarily rejected by the President, whose hands meanwhile had been strengthened by declarations from ex-President Obregon and General Arnulfo Gomez, commander of the Vera Cruz district, in favour of his policy. Various offers of mediation were made during the next few days, but the President refused to entertain them, declaring that the boycott was childish, and expressing regret that it was necessary for the time being to exclude Protestant ministers also under the terms of the general law. A few public debates were held in Mexico City between representatives of the Administration and of the Hierarchy, but these also were abandoned after the first week in August.

In pursuance of their agitation against the Church law, Archbishop Ruiz and Bishop Diaz on August 21, had a personal interview with Señor Calles, this being the first occasion since the war of reform sixty years previously on which a President of Mexico had conferred officially with high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The meeting was cordial in tone, and was followed by others of similar character, the upshot of which was that the prelates, on the advice of the President, on September 7, presented to Congress a petition praying for the repeal, or partial modification, of the clauses in the Constitution which affected religious liberty. The principal change required was an amendment of Article 130, clause 5, to read : "The State and the religious associations known as churches are independent of one another." The petition, as was expected, was rejected by the Chamber on September 23, and the Catholic priesthood then reverted to its policy of passive resistance, which it continued till the end of the year.

The failure of the prelates to secure their objects by peaceful means was the signal for the resort by some of their followers to methods of violence. Almost from the time that the churches were closed the air became thick with rumours of plots against the Government and the President, and the Government found it necessary to make numerous arrests, and also to prohibit the importation of arms, and to purchase several hydroplanes to be used for patrolling the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts so as to prevent gun-running. By the middle of September the Yaqui Indians, who were always restive under the central administration, rose in revolt because the Government refused them permission to visit the shrine of their patron saint, St. Francis, at Magdalena, in Sonora, on October 4. Troops were sent against them, and a pitched battle took place, with indecisive result. The unrest in the country was fomented by agents of General de la Huerta, who was in exile across the border in the United States, and who openly proclaimed his intention of returning to Mexico and putting himself at the head of the insurgents as soon as they should have captured a post of importance. Thus, after a brief period of stability the social structure in Mexico once more began to rock ominously.

In the midst of his struggle with the Catholic Party, President Calles had contrived to give fresh offence to the United States Government by the policy which he pursued in respect of Nicaragua. From the time that the Liberals in that country rose in revolt against General Chamorro at the end of 1925, the Mexican Government openly connived at the sending of arms and ammunition from Mexico to assist them. It was this assistance alone which enabled the Nicaraguan Liberals to hold out, and, in fact, gradually to gain ground ; and as the United States Government desired nothing less than the success of the Liberal Party in



Nicaragua, there arose between it and Mexico a new cause of friction which, by the end of the year, had thrown into the background the issue of the land and petroleum laws. In November strong pressure was brought to bear on President Coolidge from certain quarters in the United States to take measures for preventing gun-running from Mexico into Nicaragua; and for the purpose of inflaming public opinion in the United States against President Calles and his Government, the State Department inspired a Press campaign for representing them as Bolsheviks and denouncing Mexican interference in Central American countries as being for the purpose of fostering "radical propaganda and Bolshevik philosophy." The President indignantly repudiated these charges in an interview which he gave to the Press on December 6. Refusing to be intimidated, he continued his support of the Liberals in Nicaragua, and when Señor Sacasa, the Liberal leader, declared himself President of that country in December, he accorded him Mexican recognition against the United States nominee, President Diaz. This step, coming on the top of other causes of friction, strained relations between Mexico and the United States to breaking point.

In December the Senate accepted an Amendment to the Constitution making permissive the re-election of a President for a second, though not for a consecutive, term. This paved the way for the succession of General Obregon to the Presidentship on the retirement of President Calles.

#### OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

*Ecuador.*—The Provisional Government set up after the *coup d'état* of July 9, 1925, remained in power throughout 1926. In November it momentarily gave permission to the deposed and exiled President Cordova to return, but immediately withdrew it. In May the laying of a railway from Quito to Esmeraldas, on the coast near the Colombian border, was commenced.

*Nicaragua.*—Nicaragua, during 1926, was the scene of a civil war which, though of a character not unusual in Central American States, was invested by circumstances with a far more than local importance. In June, 1925, Dr. Solorzano had been constitutionally elected President of Nicaragua with Dr. Sacasa as Vice-President, and soon after the United States withdrew from the country the occupying force which they had kept there for twelve years. Before the end of the year General Chamorro, a Conservative, seized the Presidentship by a *coup d'état*, and the Liberals rose in revolt against him. As the struggle proceeded, the Liberals were provided with arms and ammunition from Mexico, sent, it was confidently reported, with the connivance of the Government of that country. General Chamorro, in August,

appealed to the League of Nations against Mexican interference in Nicaraguan affairs, and the League brought the matter to the notice of the Mexican Government, which, however, not being a member of the League, refused to take any notice of the remonstrance. In the middle of October an armistice was declared between Chamorro and his opponents, and on the 17th of that month a Conference was held between them on board the United States cruiser *Denver*, the United States Minister to Nicaragua, Mr. Dennis, acting as chairman. The Conference was ineffective, and after a week war was resumed.

Thanks to the support they received from Mexico, the Liberals were soon able to press their opponents hard. The United States Government could not look with indifference on this turn in affairs, as the Liberals stood for the same land policy as President Calles was pursuing in Mexico, and were opposed to United States interference in Nicaraguan affairs. It was, however, debarred from intervening so long as General Chamorro was President, by the principle laid down by President Wilson forbidding it to recognise any President of an American State who had risen to power by unconstitutional means. Accordingly, it persuaded General Chamorro to resign the Presidentship on October 30, and an interim President was appointed on the understanding that he should summon Congress for the purpose of appointing a President according to constitutional forms. General Chamorro became Commander-in-Chief of the army. A state of siege was declared in the capital to allow Congress to assemble and deliberate. The election was held in November, and the choice of Congress fell on Señor Adolfo Díaz, a Conservative who was known to have the support of the United States, and had, in fact, been secretary of a mining company in the United States.

Señor Díaz was recognised by the United States on November 17, but the Liberals refused to submit to him. They continued to receive munitions of war from Mexico, and were thus enabled to make themselves masters of the whole of the Eastern coast of Nicaragua, except the neutral zone of the Bluff and Bluefields, where American troops had been landed. President Díaz, immediately after his recognition by the United States, made an appeal to that country to use its good offices for restoring peace to his country, but he received no support from Washington, and on December 18 he complained that he had been induced to accept office under false pretences, and said that, in the absence of the promised help from America, he was seriously considering the advisability of negotiating directly with President Calles. On December 4 Dr. Sacasa was formally proclaimed Constitutional President by the Liberal revolutionaries at Puerto Cabezas, in virtue of his having been elected in 1925 Vice-President under Don Carlos Salorzano, who had since resigned. Dr. Sacasa was formally recognised by Mexico on December 7.

On December 23 Admiral Latimer, acting on instructions from Washington, landed sailors and marines at Puerto Cabezas, Dr. Sacasa's headquarters, and established there a "neutral zone" for the purpose of protecting American lives and property. Dr. Sacasa, nevertheless, maintained his ground there, and the Liberal forces defeated the Conservatives in a four-days' battle which ended on December 28. The effect of this was to make it practically impossible for President Diaz to suppress the rebellion, unless the United States intervened actively on his behalf.

*Panama.*—On July 28 a Treaty of "Commerce and Amity" was signed between the United States and Panama. This Treaty, which had not yet been ratified by either country by the end of the year, supplemented the Treaty of 1903, bringing Panama still further under the tutelage of the United States. Its main object was to give the latter country full control over Panama for military purposes. To this end it provided that Panama should consider herself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States might be a belligerent; that for the more effective defence of the Panama Canal she should turn over to the United States during the period of actual or threatened hostilities control and operation of wireless and radio communication, aircraft, aviation centres, and aerial navigation throughout her territory; that during such period the United States should have control and direction of all military operations in any part of the Republic, and that the United States armed forces should, after due notice, have free transit throughout the Republic for manœuvres or other military purposes at any time.

This Treaty, the general nature of which was known at the time of its signing, though its actual text was not made public till nearly the end of the year, served to deepen the suspicion with which the United States had come to be regarded by large sections of public opinion throughout Latin America. Striking expression was given to this feeling in a letter written and published early in the year by Dr. Alfredo Palacios, President of the Latin-American Union, declining an invitation to attend the Pan-American Congress to be held in Panama in June.

Dr. Palacios, in this letter, roundly asserted that pan-Americanism was only a mask for imperialism, and in proof pointed to the military and financial encroachments of the United States on a large number of Latin-American countries—Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, all the Central American Republics, Mexico, Columbia, and Ecuador. The privileged class of the United States had, he said, with their extraordinary economic power, transformed the Government of Democracy into an instrument of the great capitalist syndicates, and in the face of the peril of Yankee imperialism he called on Ibero-America to assert its solidarity, and to repudiate all financial policies which limited

national sovereignty or justified the coercive intervention of capitalist States, foreign in politics to Latin America.

*Uruguay.*—Friction arose in November between Uruguay and Cuba, owing to a statement made by the Uruguayan delegate to the League of Nations, that under the Treaty with the United States Cuba's sovereignty was restricted. Cuba took such strong exception to the remark that she ordered her representative to leave Montevideo. On November 15, however, the Uruguayan Minister at Havana delivered to the Cuban State Department a note of apology from his Government, and friendly relations were thereupon restored between the two countries.

## CHAPTER XI.

### AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

#### THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

IN order that Mr. Stanley Bruce, the Prime Minister, might be free to attend the Imperial Conference in the autumn, the tenth Federal Parliament was opened at Melbourne on January 13. The General Election in November had given the Nationalist and Country Party Coalition control of both Houses, Mr. Bruce's majority of 27 in the House of Representatives being the clearest mandate ever enjoyed by a Commonwealth Ministry. Sir Littleton Groom was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in place of Mr. Watt, who had resigned, Mr. J. G. Latham having succeeded Sir Littleton Groom as Attorney-General a month earlier. Later in the year there were other Ministerial changes. On June 18, Senator Sir Victor Wilson, Minister for Markets, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Paterson, a member of the Victorian Country Party. Senator G. F. Pearce, who found the administrative work too heavy for him, resigned the Ministry for Home and Territories to Major-General Sir William Glasgow. Mr. Pearce became Vice-President of the Executive Council and retained the leadership of the Government in the Senate.

In his speech opening Parliament, Lord Stonehaven, the Governor-General, referred to the sound financial position of the Commonwealth, evidenced by the successful flotation of a War Loan conversion of 67,000,000*l.*, without the assistance of overseas money. Lord Stonehaven also announced a Bill forbidding the establishment of associations, having for their object the forcible disturbance of constitutional Government, and the dislocation of trade and commerce, which proved to be the outstanding measure of the Session. Mr. Latham, the Attorney-General introduced the Bill on January 29. Power to deport convicted

prisoners was given to the Government, provided such persons were not Australian-born. The Crimes Bill was, essentially, a re-enactment of the Unlawful Associations Act, which expired at the end of the World War, and provided that any body of persons which advocated or encouraged the overthrow of Government or the destruction or injury of property by violence was an unlawful association. Mr. Latham's Bill avoided the legal entanglements associated with the Immigration Act of 1925, which resulted in the High Court deciding against the Government in the deportation proceedings instituted against Walsh and Johannsen, the shipping strike leaders. It was strenuously opposed by the Labour Party, especially Clause 30 J, which was regarded as an attack upon trade unionism, but passed into law practically in its original form.

A cognate problem came up for discussion on May 20, when the House of Representatives agreed to the first reading of a Bill to alter the Constitution by the insertion of a clause giving power to the Government to protect public interests in the case of actual or probable interruption of essential services. Justifying the proposal, Mr. Bruce recalled the experiences of Great Britain during the general strike. At the same time the House of Representatives passed the first reading of the Alteration of the Constitution Bill (Industry and Commerce), giving the Commonwealth power to legislate for the control of trusts and combines. The Prime Minister said that the alteration was needed because industrial peace was impossible with the six States under different systems. The Bill would remedy the state of affairs by which the Federal Arbitration Court was judicially powerless. These constitutional changes were submitted to a referendum of the Federal electorate in September. The form of the questions to be submitted to referendum was settled by agreement between Mr. Bruce and Mr. Charlton, leader of the Labour Opposition. Mr. Bruce, in announcing the agreement to Parliament on June 10, said that the greater question of control of commerce and industry would be reserved for the Constitutional Session at Canberra. The Referendum poll resulted in a "no" vote against the Government proposals, which aroused both State jealousies and trade union distrust. While the Federal Labour leaders supported the arbitration proposals included in the referendum, State Labour opposed them.

In the House of Representatives on March 3, Mr. H. E. Pratten, Minister for Trade and Customs, moved resolutions validating the collection of duties imposed in the Tariff Schedule introduced on September 2, 1925, and made an interesting declaration on the effect of the new tariffs upon United Kingdom trade. After the introduction of the Tariff Bill, strong protests had been made against certain duties, particularly by the farming interests in Australia, and considerable changes were made to meet the criticism. On August 12 further amendments of the

Customs Tariff were introduced, increasing the duties upon iron and steel goods. The changes were confined to the intermediate and general rates, and did not alter the British preferential rate. The second reading of the Papua and New Guinea Bounties Bill was moved by Mr. Pratten on January 22. It placed certain products of the islands, such as coffee and cocoanuts, upon the free-list in the Australian Customs Tariff, and granted bounties upon other Papuan and New Guinea goods.

Defence problems were discussed in connexion with a report presented to the House of Representatives by Lieut.-General Sir Harry Chauvel, Inspector-General of Military Forces, in July, and the Defence Estimates presented by Sir Neville Howse, V.C., on August 6. Sir Harry Chauvel suggested that as Australia was dependent upon the Imperial Navy for protection, the provision of proper naval bases justified special financial arrangements. Discussing General Chauvel's report on July 19, Mr. Bruce said that no expenditure could meet every possible emergency, but Australia was actually spending more per head of population upon naval defence than all the other Dominions put together. Sir Neville Howse, explaining the Defence Estimates, gave details of the developmental programme approved in 1924, which extended over five years, costing 1,000,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the capital cost of two 10,000-ton cruisers, two submarines, and a seaplane-carrier. In addition, during 1926-27, 4,069,087*l.* would be spent from revenue upon defence, excluding war services, and 587,500*l.* from Loan fund.

As part of a co-ordinate scheme to develop Australian resources by the application of scientific and business methods, Mr. H. W. Gepp, general manager of the Electrolytic Zinc Co. of Australia, was appointed Chairman of the Commonwealth Development and Immigration Commission for seven years at a salary of 5,000*l.* In this capacity Mr. Gepp accompanied Mr. Bruce to England. At the same time Mr. Gunn—then Premier of South Australia—was appointed a Development Commissioner at a salary of 2,500*l.*, Mr. Nathan, of Western Australia, becoming Vice-chairman of the Commission, without salary. The Government laid it down as basic policy that the industrial development of Australia should precede immigration. On May 18 Sir Hugh Denison was appointed Australian Commissioner in the United States. Other developmental work during the year included the introduction of a Bill on January 20, providing for the extension of the railway in South Australia from Port Augusta to Alice Springs, at a cost of 1,700,000*l.*, this being a section of the promised Trans-continental Railway to Port Darwin. A Bill was also passed providing for the division of the old Northern Territory into two States, which will be known as North Australia and Central Australia. The boundary between the States is the twentieth parallel of south latitude, the area of each State being

about 250,000 square miles. It is proposed that a Government Resident shall administer Central Australia from its capital, Alice Springs, exercising authority under the Commonwealth Minister for Home and Territories. Northern Australia will be administered by another Government Resident, aided by an Advisory Council and a North Australian Commission, the first members of which are Messrs. Horsbrugh, Hobler, and Easton. In the course of the debate Mr. Bruce warmly repudiated the suggestion that these territories could be properly described as the "dead heart" of Australia. In May, the first passenger motor service made the journey from Adelaide to Port Darwin and back in thirty-eight days. Lord Stonehaven also visited the Northern Territory by aeroplane.

Interesting speeches upon inter-Imperial trade were made by Lord Stonehaven and Mr. Bruce at the annual luncheon of the Australian Association of British Manufacturers in Melbourne, on March 6, and informal Conferences upon British trade and immigration were held during the tour of the Empire Parliament delegates. Addressing the visiting Parliamentarians at Canberra, Major-General Glasgow reviewed the Commonwealth's administration in the mandated territories of New Guinea. In November, Australia, as the mandatory authority in New Guinea, was forced to send a small expedition to New Britain, in the Bismarck Archipelago, to punish the natives for the murder of three white gold prospectors. The expedition consisted of fourteen Europeans and fifty-seven native police.

A series of extensive bush fires raged in the forest districts of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia in the early part of February, the damage in the Dandenong ranges being considerable. In the Wagga district of New South Wales, the fires were the worst since 1900, and much valuable timber, fencing, and grass were lost. There were at least thirty deaths owing to the fires, the heaviest death-roll being in the Warburton district (Vic.), where twenty-two people perished. Though less widespread, the bush fires recalled the disastrous "Black Thursday" of 1851. There were other serious bush fires in New South Wales in December.

As for State politics, a Conference of State Ministers opened in Melbourne on May 24 to discuss the financial relations between States and Commonwealth with Mr. Bruce and Dr. Page, the Federal Treasurer. After two days' debate, the Conference ended in complete disagreement, the States representatives refusing the Federal proposal that they should surrender the *per capita* payment of 25s. a year out of Federal revenue, receiving in return the entire right to income-taxation upon individuals. Mr. Bruce, however, intimated that his Government would not abandon their policy of entirely separating the finances of Federation and States. The *per capita* payment at present yields about seven

millions sterling per annum, and the income-tax proposals of the Government represented a fair *quid pro quo*. The acceptance of the Federal offer, however, by the States would have entailed the abandonment of all claim to share in the Customs revenue, and, therefore, would have necessitated an increase in direct local taxation in case of extra Budget expenditure. Hence the refusal of the States.

Several matters of political and economic interest arose in New South Wales, where Mr. J. T. Lang held office as Premier of a Labour Government. In New South Wales, Parliament consists of two Houses, the Legislative Assembly being elected on an adult franchise, while the Legislative Council consists of members appointed for life by the Governor on the advice of his Ministers. The New South Wales Labour Party, desiring single-chamber Government, proposed the dissolution of the Council, and, in December, 1925, Mr. Lang persuaded Sir Dudley de Chair, the State Governor, to nominate twenty-five new Labour members to the Council, his hope being that the Council would then agree to its own dissolution. The Bill abolishing the Council, however, was defeated by 47 votes to 41, and Sir Dudley de Chair refused to assent to the nomination of another batch of Labour members. His attitude led to strong attacks upon the Governor by the New South Wales Labour Party, and Mr. McTiernan, the State Attorney-General, was sent to London, "for the purpose of obtaining from the Dominion Office a definition of the powers of a State Governor." The controversy between Mr. Lang and his Governor raised the whole question of State Governors in Australia. In the previous year the Premiers of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania had sent a joint despatch to the Secretary of State for the Dominions, asking that the appointment of State Governors from the mother-country should be discontinued, and that all State vacancies in the office should be filled by Australian citizens nominated by the respective State Governments of the day. In a despatch dated March 3, the Secretary of State for the Dominions replied to the letter of the State Premiers. Mr. Amery pointed out that opinion in Australia on the subject was still acutely divided, and that His Majesty's Government could not abandon the existing procedure without evidence that Australian opinion was strongly in favour of the change. The State of Victoria, where Labour was not in power, refused to associate itself with the proposed change in State Governors. The New South Wales Labour Government, on March 9, passed a Bill establishing a forty-four hour week. The High Court of Australia, sitting at Melbourne, began the hearing of three appeals questioning the validity of this Act on the ground that it conflicted with Federal arbitration awards based upon a forty-eight hour week. The appellants were the Clyde Engineering Co., Messrs. Lever Bros.,



Ltd., of Balmain, and Metters Ltd., of Sydney, the respondents being the Amalgamated Engineering Union. On April 20, the Commonwealth High Court decided that the New South Wales Act could not be applied to persons employed in industries covered by Federal awards, and the appeals of the three firms were upheld. The Chief Justice, Sir Adrian Knox, in his judgment, stated that sections 12 and 13 of the Forty-four Hours Week Act, 1925, sought to alter, and, to an extent, destroy, awards lawfully made under powers granted by the Commonwealth Parliament, within the meaning of section 109 of the Constitution Act, and to the extent of that inconsistency were invalid. Mr. Lang's attack upon the State Governor, and the difficulties arising from the forty-four hour week led to trouble in the Labour Party, which culminated in the resignation of Mr. Loughlin, Minister of Lands, not only from the State Cabinet, but from the Labour Party. Mr. Loughlin attempted to secure the leadership of the Labour Party in New South Wales, but the party caucus on September 15 resulted in a tie-vote. For a time Mr. Loughlin resumed his office, but, in November, he resigned a second time. In December the State Budget was re-introduced, and a tax of  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  a copy was imposed upon all newspapers and publications with a circulation of over 10,000.

The State Government in Victoria was controlled during 1926 by a coalition consisting of Nationalists and members of the Country Party. The Victorian Budget, introduced on October 14, included a tax of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on bookmakers' turnover, estimated to yield 525,000*l.* a year. This took the place of an existing tax by means of a stamp duty upon betting-tickets. In South Australia, after the resignation of Mr. Gunn, Mr. Hill became State Premier. The South Australian Budget, introduced on November 2, included a super-tax of 10 per cent. on the existing income-tax, and a 50 per cent. increase on the land-tax. A transport strike at South Australian ports held up wool shipment during the closing months of the year. In Queensland, the General Election, on May 8, resulted in a majority for the Labour Party, the position of the parties being virtually the same as in the last Parliament. State trading was an interesting feature of Labour policy, and the report of the Commissioner on State enterprises in Queensland, published on October 14, disclosed a loss of 152,000*l.* on the year. The various enterprises were indebted to the Treasury for the following amounts: butchery shops, 113,668*l.*; produce agency, 16,380*l.*; fish supply, 28,306*l.*; hotel, 746*l.*; cannery, 70,990*l.*; stations, 1,367,106*l.*; the railways' refreshment-rooms were in credit 16,092*l.* The total indebtedness to the Treasury on account of State enterprises was, therefore, 1,581,106*l.* In Western Australia the problems interesting State politicians were largely financial, and the Federal Parliament granted a subsidy of 450,000*l.* As a further

method of remedying the financial position in Western Australia, the Federal Government invited the State to surrender to the Commonwealth all its territory north of the twenty-sixth parallel of south latitude, that is, practically, half the area of the State. In exchange, the Commonwealth Government proposed to assume liability for a capital indebtedness of 2,750,000*l.* in respect of loan money expended upon the development of the region. On December 16 the two Houses of Parliament in Western Australia debated this proposal, the Assembly rejecting it, while the Council passed a motion urging that negotiations should proceed for the surrender of the territory in question. Tasmania, like Western Australia, suffered from financial stringency, necessitating Federal aid. On April 20 Sir Nicholas Lockyer, formerly Comptroller-General of Customs, submitted a long report upon the financial position of Tasmania under federation to Mr. Bruce. The report showed a deficit on revenue account to June, 1925, of 1,408,000*l.* The State debt had grown from 49*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* a head in 1901 to 109*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* a head in 1925, railway expenditure showing, in Sir Nicholas Lockyer's words, "a remarkable record of persistent loss and increasing burden to the State." Sir Nicholas said that without substantial concessions from the Commonwealth it would be impossible to stem the exodus of population from Tasmania, which had already "reached alarming proportions, and, if permitted to continue, would surely lead to the bankruptcy of the State." The report recommended a loan not exceeding 1,000,000*l.* for the development of agriculture and horticulture, a grant of 300,000*l.* a year for ten years upon condition that the land-tax should be reduced, and a grant of 500,000*l.* towards the cost of hydro-electric schemes in Tasmania. Mr. Lyons, Premier of the State, expressed his disagreement with Sir Nicholas Lockyer's conclusions, and said that assistance on the lines suggested would reduce Tasmania to the position of a vassal State.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

The General Election in November, 1925, gave Mr. J. G. Coates, the New Zealand Prime Minister, an assured majority. The Reform Party polled 47 per cent. of the votes, the Liberals 20 per cent., and Labour 27·6 per cent., Independents accounting for the remaining 5 per cent. of the electorate. In consequence of a victory, due to a split vote, in a bye-election in February, the Labour Party, with 13 members in a House of 80, became the official Opposition for the first time in the political history of the Dominion. The bye-election was consequent upon the appointment of Sir James Parnell as High Commissioner in London, in place of Sir James Allen, who returned to New Zealand. Several Cabinet appointments were announced on January 18, and Mr.

Coates finally reorganised his Cabinet on May 23, the distribution of portfolios being :—

Prime Minister, and Public Works, Railways, and Native Affairs	-	-	-	-	-	Rt. Hon. Joseph Gordon Coates.
Finance and Customs	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. Downie Stewart.
Lands, Industries, and Commerce	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. A. D. McLeod.
Labour, Mines, Marine, and Pensions	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. G. J. Anderson.
External Affairs, Post and Telegraphs, Immigration, and Tourists	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. W. Nosworthy.
Internal Affairs	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. R. F. Bollard.
Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Defence	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. Frank Rolleston.
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. O. J. Hawken.
Health	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. A. Young.
Education	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. R. A. Wright.
Leader of the Legislative Council	-	-	-	-	-	Sir Heaton Rhodes.
Maori member of the Executive Council	-	-	-	-	-	Sir Maui Pomare.
Without Portfolio	-	-	-	-	-	Sir Francis Bell.
Without Portfolio	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. Guthrie.

Sir Francis Bell left for Europe in March to represent New Zealand at the League of Nations Assembly, and on June 11 Mr. H. S. Williams was added to the Cabinet as Minister of Public Works. The new Ministers were selected from the Reform Party. The most noteworthy omission was Mr. D. Jones, chairman of the Meat Export Control Board, whose political reputation had been increasing steadily. On May 23 Mr. Coates also announced the creation of a special Prime Minister's Department, under the control of Mr. F. D. Thomson, who had acted as private secretary to New Zealand Prime Ministers for many years. The Department also included an officer, detailed to deal with matters arising from consultations between Great Britain and the Overseas Dominions. Mr. Coates justified the administrative change by recalling that all such matters should come under the Prime Minister's jurisdiction, especially in view of the fact that he is the official representative of the Dominion at all Imperial Conferences, and, in that capacity, is invested with authority to speak on behalf of the Government and the country in the councils of the Empire. The change brought New Zealand into line with other Dominions, Canada and Australia having already proved the desirability of an "external affairs staff," Australia having also appointed a liaison officer in London to keep the Commonwealth Government in touch with British affairs and opinion.

The preliminary figures of the census taken in April showed a total population, inclusive of Maoris, but exclusive of Western Samoa and other Pacific islands, of 1,407,165. The white population of the Dominion was 1,344,384, being an increase of 129,707 "whites" since 1921. The census also disclosed a tendency of population to drift towards the towns and a disposition on the part of the people of South Island to move to North Island. In 1926, the population of North Island was 891,970, and that of South Island 515,195, compared with 390,579 in North Island and

382,140 in South Island in 1901. The milder climate in the north is the chief attraction.

In New Zealand problems of immigration and land settlement are closely connected, and, on February 13, in reply to a deputation representing the Presbyterian Church, Mr. McLeod, Minister of Lands, explained the Government's policy in this regard. He said that the Government had been criticised for not making more use of the British grant of 500*l.* per migrant, but it should be remembered that it cost, at least, 1000*l.* to 1200*l.* to give a man a fair start in New Zealand on a comparatively small section. Moreover, the most successful form of settlement was by people working for wages at first, and then purchasing land with their savings. It was easy to get New Zealanders to take up suitable land, and the Government was unable to give overseas migrants preference over people born in New Zealand in assisted land settlement. On April 20, in consequence of an outcry against the influx of Asiatics, the Government decided that no permits would be granted to Chinese for a year to reside in New Zealand. On December 16, the Minister of Immigration announced that an agreement had been made between the New Zealand and British Governments whereby government-aided settlers received the benefit of largely-reduced fares from the mother-country, free passages being given to all nominated single women under forty, and the fares to single men being reduced to 1*l.*

In order to allow the Prime Minister to attend the Imperial Conference, Parliament met in June, and the session of fifty-seven days ended on September 11. In all, ninety-four Acts were passed, a fact which aroused adverse comment as indicating over-legislation. Among the Bills passed was one establishing an agricultural college, but the outstanding measure of the session was the Family Allowances Bill, providing weekly allowances of 2*s.* for each child under 15, in families with less than 4*l.* a week. No contribution from either the industry or the wage-earner was required. The grants to cover these family allowances will come from the Consolidated Fund, and its liability in respect of the 60,000 children estimated to be affected will be 250,000*l.* a year. The 2*s.* allowance was described by Mr. Coates as "a modest beginning," and he added a hope that, when the financial outlook improved, an increase would be possible.

Mr. W. Downie Stewart delivered his Budget speech on July 8. He had taken over the portfolio from Mr. Nosworthy on May 23, so the financial proposals contained no startling novelties. With a revenue of 24,725,762*l.* and an expenditure of 23,570,083*l.*, the surplus for 1925-26 was 1,155,679*l.* Of the revenue 8,383,877*l.* came from Customs. In recent years the return from Customs has been steadily increasing, but Mr. Downie Stewart was unable to anticipate a continuance of this, and, accordingly, could not promise any reduction of taxation. As Mr. Downie Stewart said :

“ For the current year it will be inadvisable to expect any increase in the gross revenue—in fact, the preparation of this statement is based on the expectation of a possible reduction. It is impossible to expand services in reliance on increased revenue mainly derived from Customs duties, a source inherently liable to fluctuations. Inflated revenue due to increased imposts cannot be regarded as stable, and surpluses from such a source should, when available, be applied as far as possible to debt-reducing purposes, and not be regarded as a basis for reducing taxation.” The general financial position of New Zealand, however, in 1926 was markedly satisfactory, as shown by the flotation of a 6,000,000*l.* loan, bearing interest at 5 per cent., which was issued in London at 98*l.* 10*s.* Mr. Stewart, speaking on April 20, said that the balance of trade for the year would be against New Zealand, and he urged that the Government, private enterprise, and individuals alike should exercise every care in expenditure. What anxiety there is regarding New Zealand finance arises from the recent growth of public debt, which amounts to 155*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* per head of population, apart from the borrowings of local authorities. However, of the gross debt, amounting to 227,000,000*l.*, only 101,000,000*l.* is unproductive, being due to expenditure upon the Maori and European wars. Later in the session Mr. Downie Stewart introduced the Bank of New Zealand Bill, giving the Bank authority to establish a special branch for making long-term advances to farmers; this was passed by the House of Representatives on September 7. Mr. Downie Stewart said that the new money which the Bill provided for would be lent at a rate of interest not exceeding 6 per cent., which was below the average mortgage rate at present obtaining, although it was slightly above the State Advances net rate of 5½ per cent. The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, an ex-Prime Minister, emphasised the connexion between the Rural Advances Bill and the Bank of New Zealand Bill.

In connexion with the development of the Dominion, good work has been done in the construction and improvement of high roads by the Main Highways Board, one of Mr. Coates's administrative creations. The excellent condition of New Zealand roads led to a boom in motor cars, and there are now 120,000 motor vehicles in the islands—that is one for every ten of the population. The Government was less fortunate in its handling of another traffic problem, due to competition between the municipal tramway services, in which 6,000,000*l.* of public money was invested, and the motor omnibus. On May 7, without any public inquiry or legislation, and merely an abortive Conference of the interests affected, an Order in Council was gazetted practically making the profitable running of the motor omnibus impossible. The crucial clause read :—

The motor omnibus fare in respect of any passenger carried between any places served by a tramway or trackless trolley shall be at least twopence more than the corresponding tramway or trolley fare.

The legal justification for the Order in Council was certain war legislation establishing a New Zealand Board of Trade, but public criticism finally forced the Government to agree to a public inquiry in which all aspects of the matter were discussed. Finally, the differential rate was retained, but the owners of the competing omnibuses became entitled to require the tramway owners to purchase their stock-in-trade, good-will being excluded.

Hydro-electric stations have been built generously throughout the Dominion, in accordance with the Government's decision to furnish electricity universally by 1930. A number of minor industries have already been established in districts tapped by the main transmission lines. Primary production has also benefited by the Control Boards, which now cover such exports as meat, butter, cheese, fruit, and honey. The irregular prices obtained for exported produce and the big distance New Zealand is from its principal markets furnished the justification for these Boards, which came into being when the Meat Export Control Act was passed in February, 1922. When export control was extended to dairy produce power was given to the Dairy Board to apply for an Order in Council to enable the regulation of sales overseas; the Dairy Board has duly exercised this power from September, 1926. The Dairy Producers' Board not only controls all New Zealand butter and cheese shipped to London, but can say by whom, at what price, and at what time, any shipment shall be sold. This new policy aroused considerable discussion among British buyers and agents, and, in consequence, the New Zealand Board declared its intention to continue working through existing London agents. The New Zealand Board also stated its desires to work in co-operation with British merchants and distributors, explaining that its London agency consults the representatives of merchants in fixing the daily price. The chairman of the New Zealand Fruit Board has disclaimed any intention to fix prices, the aim of the Board being the progressive improvement of marketing arrangements. In May, 1925, price control was extended to wheat, but on January 21 the Government announced its decision to abandon control on the ground that growers were now desirous of a free market, with duties imposed upon wheat exports. Finally, on February 23, the duty was fixed at 1s. 2½*d.* per bushel, together with a duty of 3*l.* on flour and 1*l.* on bran and pollard. The view of the Government is that it is dangerous for a country like New Zealand to be dependent, even partially, upon overseas supplies of wheat. A strike of freezing workers, which threatened to dislocate the opening of the meat-export season, was settled on December 2. Employers and men agreed to apply to the Arbitration Court for a decision upon wages and terms of work.

Mr. Coates sailed for England in mid-September to attend the Imperial Conference, leaving Mr. Downie Stewart, the Attorney-General, as acting Prime Minister. Addressing his

constituents at Kaipara Harbour on the eve of his departure, the Prime Minister emphasised the necessity for encouraging inter-Imperial trade, mentioning that New Zealand's export and import trade with Great Britain in 1925 alone amounted to 118,000,000*l.* Mr. Coates said : " We owe a preference to British workmen against those not of our own race," and he went on to urge that British manufacturers should pay more attention to the needs of Colonial buyers, and make an effort to satisfy their special requirements. More often than not, said Mr. Coates, New Zealand buyers were unable to obtain a suitable motor vehicle except from makers outside Great Britain. In Mr. Coates's opinion there was a great opportunity for cementing the bonds of Empire by improved trade relations, and it was coming about. In connexion with defence, while New Zealand whole-heartedly subscribed to the ideal of the League of Nations, it was necessary to have sufficient naval protection. As New Zealanders had accepted their maturity, they must accept more responsibility in the protection of trade routes and their defence.

Arising from its association with the League of Nations, New Zealand's administration of Western Samoa proved very successful, the Administrator being Major-General Sir George Richardson. The western areas developed steadily, and former large German plantations realised profits of more than 25,000*l.* yearly. The native Parliament in Samoa agreed to a tax of 1*l.* per head for annual medical treatment, 8,000*l.* being raised. Hospitals were being constructed and Samoan natives were trained to provide simple medical treatment in outlying stations, with the help of white doctors. The New Zealand Government also made a special grant of 2,000*l.* for the treatment of "yaws," a disease which had attacked the larger part of the population. In three years, "yaws" was almost eliminated by the injection of a special serum. A disastrous cyclone, second only to the cyclone of March, 1889, when three American and three German warships were destroyed, passed over Samoa on New Year's Day. The yield of crops was reduced 10 per cent. in consequence. In New Zealand itself there were serious floods at the end of July in Manawatu, Rangitikei, and North Taranaki, extensive damage being done in respect of loss of stock. In the early part of the year the Dunedin Exhibition attracted 3,250,000 people, and proved to be the largest and most successful exhibition ever held south of the equator, a remarkable achievement for a city with a population of no more than 78,000. On September 13, the Empire Parliamentary Delegation reached Wellington, and its leader, Lord Salisbury, emphasised that its purpose was to bring about, not political union, but a union of hearts and sympathies. Valuable consultations with Ministers, producers and traders were held. The speeches of Mr. Arthur Henderson aroused special interest in New Zealand, as indicating the attitude of British Labour on many problems of Empire.





## **PART II.**



PART II.  
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS  
IN 1926.  
JANUARY.

1. The New Year's Honours included two Viscounties (Lord D'Abernon and Lord Dunedin), two Baronies (Lord Oranmore and Browne [Baron Mereworth, of Mereworth Castle, in the County of Kent], and Sir Ernest Pollock [Baron Hanworth, of Hanworth, Middlesex], seven Baronetcies, and fifty-five Knights.

— According to the Ministry of Health, 1,439,810 persons were in receipt of Poor Law Relief, being an increase of 234,543 on the number registered on January 1, 1925.

— Extensive floods and damage caused by storm winds reported from all parts of the country (see ANNUAL REGISTER, Chronology, 1925, under December 30 and 31).

— The London Fire Brigade celebrated the 60th anniversary of its foundation.

2. The Italian Cabinet approved a Bill for the creation of an Italian Academy (Accademia d'Italia).

3. A chancel window was dedicated in the parish church of Dean Prior, in Devon, to the memory of Robert Herrick, who lived for thirty years as Vicar in the village.

— Great floods reported from all parts of Western Europe; half of Holland under water; the Thames in flood; the Seine rising.

11. The Bench and Bar in Northern Ireland decided to form an Inn of Court for Ulster.

12. An anonymous donor gave 1,000*l.* as a contribution towards the debt incurred by the Government of India during the Great War.

13. *The Times* announced that an anonymous gift of 10,000*l.* had been made to the appeal fund of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

14. Heavy snowstorm in London; skating was possible in many parts of the country.

18. The Rev. Bernard Heywood, Vicar of Leeds, appointed Bishop of Southwell.

21. The Sennar Dam inaugurated by Lord Lloyd, High Commissioner in Egypt.

— Shrewsbury Castle has been restored and presented to the town of Shrewsbury as a Council Chamber.

27. *The Times* announced that the Old King's Head Inn at Aylesbury, and the Old Manor House, Princes Risborough, had been given to the National Trust, by the wish of the late Mr. N. Charles Rothschild.

30. At the by-elections in East Renfrewshire and Dumbartonshire respectively, the seats were retained by the Conservatives, but in each case by a reduced majority.

## FEBRUARY.

1. The number of unemployed persons on the registers of Employment Exchanges in Great Britain was 1,175,000, being 25,827 less than on January 25.

4. The Very Reverend T. G. G. Collins, Dean of Belfast, was elected Bishop of Meath.

6. Viscount Novar appointed a Knight of the Thistle.

8. The 80th anniversary of the foundation of the *Guardian* celebrated by a luncheon.

11. Mr. G. C. Turner appointed Master of Marlborough College.

12. *The Times* announced that Lord Kenyon had presented Birch's shop front in Cornhill to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

— The British Empire Film Institute established, to encourage films which interpret the ideals of the British Commonwealth.

14. The mansion at Oulton Park, Tarporley, Cheshire, belonging to Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, was totally destroyed by fire, and five lives were lost.

15. At a sale at the Anderson Galleries in New York, the famous Melk copy of the Gutenberg Bible fetched 106,000 dollars. The price is said to be the highest ever paid for any printed book.

16. Benacre Hall, Wrentham, Suffolk, was destroyed by fire.

17. At the Darlington by-election, Mr. A. Shepherd, the Labour candidate, won the seat from the Conservative Party by a majority of 329.

23. The National Trust announced that it had secured 1,700 acres of Ashridge Park for the nation.

24. Mr. Walter W. Russell, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

25. Drumsphillan House, Pinwherry, Ayrshire, was burnt down, and the owner, Mr. Richard Whyte, and his son James, aged nine, lost their lives.

27. The *Daily Mail* announced that Lord Rothermere had purchased for 155,000*l.* the site of the Royal Bethlem Hospital for use as a playground and park for Southwark, as a permanent memorial to his mother, the late Mrs. Harmsworth.

### MARCH.

4. *The Times* announced that under the will of Miss Mary Gray Allen, St. Hugh's College, Oxford, is to receive a benefaction of 36,000*l.*

6. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon burnt down.

7. A test of transatlantic radio-telephony was successfully carried out; representatives of the British Press in London conversed with representatives of the Press in New York.

8. Lupton House, Churston Ferrers, Devon, the seat of Lord Churston, was destroyed by fire.

10. *The Times* announced that Mr. Samuel A. Courtauld had given 30,000*l.* to the Middlesex Hospital for the erection of "The Courtauld Institute of Bio-Chemistry."

13. Mr. Alan Cobham, on completing his flight of 16,000 miles from London to Cape Town and back, landed at Croydon, and was later received by King George at Buckingham Palace.

14. A correspondent of *The Times* from Ilfracombe wrote to say that he had seen "a couple of martins."

16. At the by-election for the combined English Universities, Sir Alfred Hopkinson, Conservative, was elected, by a majority of 343, one of the members of this constituency, in the room of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Liberal.

20. A Royal Charter was granted to University College, Reading, raising that institution to the dignity of the University of Reading.

21. Royal Charters were granted to Lady Margaret Hall and St. Hilda's College, both in Oxford.

24. It was reported that seven Trade Unions with a membership of some 1,600,000 had affiliated to the new Industrial Alliance.

26. Portsmouth created a City.

— At the Bothwell by-election the Labour Party retained the seat by an increased majority.

27. The 78th University boat race was won by Cambridge by five lengths.

29. The new Inland Cash on Delivery (C.O.D.) parcel service came into operation.

30. Salford created a City.

31. It was reported from the Records Department of the Rothamsted Experimental Station that less rain fell during the month of March than in any previous March since 1853.

## APRIL.

2. A correspondent of *The Times* from Haywards Heath informed that journal that he had seen a swallow.

5. At the 18th London Van Horse Parade there were 642 entries.

6. Two-seater taxi-cabs licensed in London.

10. The New Zealand Government purchased the premises of the British Medical Association in the Strand for its headquarters.

12. Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Simon offered to the City of Manchester Wythenshawe Hall and some 250 acres of park surrounding it, situated about 3 miles from Altrincham, "to be kept for ever as an open space."

13. Mr. Malcolm Osborne, A.R.A., elected a Royal Academician Engraver, and Mr. George Harcourt, A.R.A., painter, elected a Royal Academician.

18. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. (See under October 3.)

21. On the completion of his term of office as Viceroy of India, the Earl of Reading had the dignity of a Marquessate conferred upon him.

— The Duchess of York gave birth to a daughter (Elizabeth Alexandra Mary).

22. Mr. Walter Tapper, architect, Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch, painter, and Mr. Charles S. Jagger, elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

24. At the Wembley Stadium, Bolton Wanderers beat Manchester City in the Final Tie of the Football Association Challenge Cup.

28. King George approved a badge which may be worn by gentlemen on whom the degree of Knight Bachelor has been conferred.

29. The Medical School of St. Thomas's Hospital received a gift of 15,000*l.* from the Rockefeller Foundation for building new laboratories.

29. At the East Ham by-election Miss Susan Lawrence won the seat for the Labour Party from the Conservatives by a majority of 1,627.

30. The month was wet and cold. The rainfall was 2.963 inches, nearly an inch over the average for 73 years; the total amount of sunshine recorded at the Rothamsted Experimental Station was 108.2 hours, being 53.3 hours below the average.

## MAY.

1. It was estimated that a crowd of some 25,000 people took part in the May Day Demonstration in Hyde Park.

4-12. The first General Strike in the history of this country.

20. Hyde Park, which had been closed during the period of the strike, was opened to the public.

21. Gunnersbury Park, Acton, 200 acres in extent, which for more than 100 years had been in the possession of the Rothschild family, was opened to the public.

23. Wesley's Day celebrated to mark the centenary of the "Evangelical Conversion" of the Rev. John Wesley and of the Rev. Charles Wesley.

26. In appreciation of the assistance rendered during the General Strike by 270 students of the University of Edinburgh, Mr. Thomas Cowan, a shipowner, presented 10,000*l.* to the University for its general purposes.

— The Town Hall of Cracow, formerly the palace of the Wielcpolski, a splendid specimen of eighteenth century architecture, was completely destroyed by fire.

28. At the North Hammersmith by-election the Labour candidate captured the seat from the Conservatives with an increased majority.

29. The Rev. Alan England Brooke, Ely Professor of Divinity, was elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge.

31. The new building of the College of Nursing in Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, was opened by Queen Mary.

— The Prince of Wales opened the new Lecture Hall of the British Institute of International Affairs, and announced the wish of King George V. that henceforth the Institute should be known as the Royal Institute.

## JUNE.

2. Lord Woolavington's Coronach, ridden by J. Childs, won the Derby at Epsom by five lengths. This was the third rainy Derby in succession, the rain being worse than in the two previous years.

3. *The Times* announced that a " Birmingham resident " had sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer War stock of the value of 16,961*l.* for cancellation.

14. *The Times* announced that application was to be made for a Royal Charter for the National Police Fund which that paper opened immediately after the General Strike, and which amounted to the sum of 234,323*l.*

16. The University of Cambridge received 60,000*l.* in benefactions under the will of the late Mr. W. W. Rouse Ball, Fellow of Trinity College.

— It was announced that the Rhodes Trustees had decided to establish a Cecil Rhodes Memorial Fellowship at the University of Oxford.

24. The jubilee of the telephone celebrated by the Institution of Electrical Engineers.

— The Foundling Hospital vacated by its inmates.

26. Celebration of the 600th anniversary of the foundation of Oriel College, Oxford.

28. The total number of unemployed persons recorded on the registers of employment in Great Britain was 1,638,600. This was 3,858 more than a week before and 334,357 more than a year ago.

30. Mr. Alan Cobham left Rochester on the first stage of his flight to Australia and back.

— The amount of sunshine recorded at the Rothamsted Experimental Station for the half-year ending June 30 was 648.8 hours, being 157.1 hours below the average.

## JULY.

1. Celebration of the 21st anniversary of the foundation of the University of Sheffield.

3. The King's Birthday Honours List included one new Peerage, a Barony conferred on Mr. H. Seymour Berry (Lord Buckland of Bwlch), the South Wales coal-owner.

7. The foundation-stone was laid of the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

11. The U.S. navy ammunition depot at Lake Denmark, near Dover, New Jersey, the largest of its kind in the world, was completely destroyed by a series of explosions caused by lightning striking a magazine store.

12. Celebration of the 6th centenary of Clare College, Cambridge.

16. Half a million telephones in London. The 500,000th instrument was handed over to the Chairman of the Press Gallery Committee in the House of Commons by the Controller of the London Telephone Service.



18. Great windstorms, which were described as having been the worst for many years past, visited all parts of the British Islands, accompanied by heavy falls of rain and hail.

20. The Treasury announced that an anonymous donor had sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer 2,000*l.* War Loan inscribed stock for cancellation as a contribution to the country's present needs.

22. At the by-election at Wallsend Miss Margaret Bondfield retained the seat for the Labour Party by a greatly increased majority—9,027 against 1,602 votes.

26. The roundabout system of traffic control was applied to Piccadilly Circus.

29. Celebration of the 1,250th anniversary of the foundation of the Diocese of Hereford.

31. Lord Cave, the Lord Chancellor, received on behalf of the National Trust the title deeds of White Hill and Cockshott Wood, near Boxhill.

## AUGUST.

4. The Treasury announced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had received from an anonymous donor a cheque for 1,000*l.* as a gift to the nation.

6. Miss Gertrude Ederle, of New York, swam the Channel from Cap Grisnez to Kingsdown in 14 hours 39 minutes. Miss Ederle, who is eighteen years of age, is the first woman to have accomplished the feat, and also beat the previous fastest time by nearly 2 hours.

9. *The Times* announced that the office of Secretary to the Trustees of the British Museum, which since 1851 had been combined with that of Principal Librarian, had been revived, and that Mr. A. Esdaile had been appointed to the position.

11. Blythwood, the house of Lord Blyth at Stansted, near Bishop's Stortford, Essex, was burnt down by fire.

12. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had promised 10,000*l.* to the Middlesex Hospital for the purpose of building a new home for the nurses.

15. Slight earthquake shocks were felt in many parts of the country about 5 o'clock in the morning, summer time.

— The first electrified railway in Portugal was opened between Lisbon and Cascaes.

18. England won the final Test Match at the Oval by 289 runs, wresting the championship from Australia which had enjoyed it since 1921.

19. The famous country house of Mount Annan was completely destroyed by fire.

27. *The Times* announced that the Bishop of Truro had received 7,000*l.* from an anonymous donor towards the provision of a new church at Carbis Bay.

28. Mrs. Clemington Corson, of New York, swam the Channel from Cap Grisnez to Dover in 15 hours 28 minutes.

30. Herr Vierkoetter, a German swimmer, swam the English Channel from Cap Grisnez to Langdon Stairs, a point midway between Dover and St. Margaret's Bay, in 12½ hours, the fastest time yet accomplished.

### SEPTEMBER.

1. A gift of nearly 100,000*l.* to be shared by University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and the National Library of Wales, was contained in the will of the late Sir John Williams, Bart., M.D., President of University College of Wales.

— A rainstorm broke over London ; houses and schools were flooded.

— An earthquake was experienced in the Azores ; hundreds of houses in the town of Horta were totally destroyed.

3. *The Times* reported that Messrs. Sharp, jute spinners of Dundee, had made a gift of 30,000*l.* to the Dundee Royal Infirmary for the purpose of building and equipping a new maternity hospital.

10. Mons. Georges Michel, a Frenchman, swam the Channel between Cap Grisnez and St. Margaret's Bay in 11 hours 5 minutes, thus beating all previous records.

13. The extensions of the City and South London Railway from Clapham to Morden and of the London Electric Railway from Charing Cross to Kennington were opened to traffic. Lt.-Col. J. T. C. Moore-Brabazon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, piloted the first train to Morden.

— By the will of Dr. John Percival Postgate, a foundation Fellowship for classical learning was established at Trinity College, Cambridge.

14. The children of the Foundling Hospital entered their temporary new home at Redhill.

16. Mr. Thomas Marlowe resigned the editorship of the *Daily Mail*.

— A large part of Cluny Castle, Aberdeenshire, was destroyed by fire. The damage was estimated at from 60,000*l.* to 70,000*l.*

17. Norman Leslie Derham swam the Channel from Cap Grisnez to St. Margaret's Bay in 13 hours 56 minutes. He was the third Englishman to swim the Channel.

18. Mr. Walter G. Fish was appointed Editor of the *Daily Mail* in succession to Mr. Marlowe.

— At the by-election in the North Cumberland division, Capt. Fergus Graham retained the seat for the Conservative Party by a reduced majority.

19. The hottest day in the year ; 88 degrees were registered in London.

— A terrific hurricane swept over the southern portion of Florida and completely devastated Miami and Palm Beach, two seaside resorts ; 150 people lost their lives.

21. Jubilee celebration of the Mineralogical Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

23. Twickenham received its Charter of Incorporation as a municipal borough.

29. Alderman Sir Rowland Blades, M.P., was elected Lord Mayor of London.

— Mr. William Adams, Chief Constable of Doncaster, was appointed head of the new department, under the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, which is to administer the betting tax.

— A hurricane swept over Vera Cruz, Mexico, which flooded the city and did considerable damage.

30. In the year ended September 30, 195,895 houses were built, as against 159,026 in the previous year.

— The month of September was warmer than usual ; the mean temperature of the month was 61 degrees, which was 3 degrees above the normal.

## OCTOBER.

1. Mr. Alan J. Cobham returned to London after a 28,000 mile flight to and across Australia and back again. (See under June 30.)

— It was announced in Cambridge that the trustees of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial of the United States had voted the sum of about 30,000*l.* to Cambridge University for the establishment of a Chair of Political Science.

2. Leyton received its Charter of Incorporation as a borough.

3. Summer time ended at 2 A.M. (See under April 18.)

— The first mosque was inaugurated in London at Southfields.

5. The Pure Rivers Society was formed for the purpose of preventing the pollution of water in streams and rivers.

— The tercentenary of Francis Bacon was celebrated at Cambridge.

6. It was announced that the King had conferred on Mr. Alan Cobham a Knight-Commandership of the British Empire.

8. A Peerage was conferred on Lord Justice Warrington (Baron Warrington of Clyffe of Market Lavington in the County of Wilts) on his retirement from the Court of Appeal.

12. Anner Castle in Ireland, built about 70 years ago, was destroyed by fire.

14. Mr. Albert W. Searle made a gift of 10,000*l.* to the King Edward Hospital Fund.

15. General Lord Byng of Vimy, on relinquishing his appointment as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, was made a Viscount.

16. Lord Woolavington gave 10,000*l.* to the University of Edinburgh for the endowment of the Animal Breeding Research Department.

18. The *Daily Graphic* was amalgamated with the *Daily Sketch*.

19. The tablet erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the million dead of the British Empire was unveiled by the Prince of Wales.

20. A hurricane swept over Cuba, killing 650 persons and injuring many more.

21. It was announced that the *Morning Post* had acquired an important interest in a new company which had taken over the controlling interest in the *Financial News*.

— Public honour was paid to Mr. C. P. Scott in commemoration of his eightieth birthday which occurred on October 26, and his 55 years editorship of the *Manchester Guardian*. There was a large gathering in the Manchester Town Hall and a bronze bust of Mr. Scott was presented to the City of Manchester.

— Ilford celebrated the granting of a Charter of its Incorporation as a borough.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The Betting Tax came into operation.

— The number of unemployed persons on the registers of Employment Exchanges in Great Britain was 1,559,200, being 43,209 more than a week before and 351,588 more than a year ago.

5. It was announced that the Prime Minister had appointed Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, M.P., to be Chairman of the Conservative and Unionist Party organisation in succession to the Rt. Hon. F. S. Jackson.

6. *The Times* announced that Sir Alfred Yarow had made a donation of 10,000*l.* to the funds of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

11. The Swedish Academy awarded the reserved Nobel Prize for Literature for 1925 to Mr. George Bernard Shaw.

12. A Royal Charter of Incorporation was granted to the Imperial College for Tropical Agriculture.

15. Luton celebrated the Jubilee of its incorporation as a borough.

17. The Rt. Rev. Cyril Charles Bowman Bardsley, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, was appointed first Bishop of the new Diocese of Leicester.

26. At the by-election at Central Hull, Lt.-Comdr. J. M. Kenworthy obtained the seat for the Labour Party by a greatly increased majority.

— Prof. H. J. W. Hetherington, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool.

30. The rainfall in November (5.20 inches at Kew Observatory) was the heaviest since 1852.

## DECEMBER.

1. At the Chelmsford by-election, Lt.-Col. C. K. Howard-Bury retained the seat for the Conservatives by a slightly reduced majority.

4. *The Times* announced that Dr. Herbert, Bishop Suffragan of Kingston, was appointed Bishop of the new Diocese of Blackburn.

— 50th anniversary of the formation of the International Sleeping Car Co.

9. Dr. W. Essex Wynter, formerly senior physician of the Middlesex Hospital, presented Bartholomew Manor, Newbury, in Berkshire, together with sixteen sixteenth-century cottages to be used as a home for retired sisters and nurses of the staff of the hospital.

15. Mr. David Emrys Evans, Professor of Classics at Swansea University College, was appointed Principal of University College of North Wales, in succession to Sir Harry Reichel.

21. At the by-election at Smethwick, Mr. Oswald Mosley retained the seat for the Labour Party by a majority of 6,582, as compared with the Labour majority of 1,253 in the 1924 election.

— The Venerable D. L. Prosser, Archdeacon of St. David's, was elected Bishop of St. David's in succession to the late Bishop Owen.

24. The total number of persons on the registers of Employment Exchanges in Great Britain was 1,351,000, being an increase of 41,261 over the previous week.

31. Sir Gilbert Wills presented 50,000*l.* to Guy's Hospital.

31. During the year the Southern Railway carried 2,000,577 passengers to the Continent—a record figure.

— In the London area 517,680 telephones had been installed, as compared with 475,780 at the end of 1925 (see under July 16).

— Less sunshine was recorded at the Rothamsted Experimental Station during 1926 than in any previous year: the total amount being 1,336·6 hours as compared with 1,563·2 hours, a year's average.

— The total amount of rainfall was 3 per cent. in excess of the average.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1926.

### LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1926 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. R. J. Marston. The total output was less than that of 1925 by 403, but in view of the economic conditions of the year it is remarkable that the number of books published should be the second highest yet recorded.

### CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1926.

Classes of Literature.	New Books.			New Editions.
	New Books.	Translations.	Pamphlets.	
Philosophy - - - - -	211	19	16	38
Religion - - - - -	656	48	69	90
Sociology - - - - -	550	24	237	37
Law - - - - -	159	1	36	96
Education - - - - -	156	—	31	20
Military and Naval - - - - -	118	—	80	22
Philology - - - - -	151	—	3	39
Science - - - - -	505	20	52	83
Technology - - - - -	467	9	83	70
Medicine, Public Health, etc. -	273	8	37	81
Agriculture, Gardening - -	133	3	28	20
Domestic Arts - - - - -	65	—	12	12
Business - - - - -	104	—	8	14
Fine Arts - - - - -	288	10	30	44
Music (Works about) - - -	84	2	7	12
Games, Sports, etc. - - - - -	159	1	14	31
Literature - - - - -	374	26	35	95
Poetry and Drama - - - -	418	45	147	154
Fiction - - - - -	1,424	77	8	1,455
Juvenile - - - - -	649	9	106	189
History - - - - -	468	32	27	56
Description and Travel - - - -	417	16	17	76
Geography - - - - -	30	1	1	12
Biography - - - - -	433	50	15	64
General Works - - - - -	167	—	—	—
Totals - - - - -	8,489	401	1,099	2,810
		9,989		

The following may be singled out as among the most noteworthy additions to the list of periodicals: *The Journal of Philosophic Studies*, edited by Mr. Sydney E. Hooper and other members of the new Institute, was a quarterly intended to appeal to everyone interested in the subject, whether layman or expert; the *Quarterly Review of Biology*, published from Baltimore, U.S.A., was evidently launched with the view of doing similar work in its own field, but the task had clearly been much more difficult; the Medieval Academy of America issued the first number of *Speculum*, a journal of medieval studies, with the support of a number of English scholars; *The New Criterion* was an enlarged form of perhaps the most eclectic literary quarterly of post-war days, under the editorship of Mr. T. S. Eliot; Philology was represented by *Word-Lore*, a magazine dealing with folk-song, folk-lore, dances, and names, and *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, issued from the Celtic Department of the University of Aberdeen, which defended Gaelic as spoken in Scotland from the reproach of being a debased form of Irish.

A great deal of distinguished work in all branches of literature saw the light during 1926, and most contemporary authors of repute presented new volumes. The economic tempests of the year evidently did no harm to the harvest of fiction, and it is doubtful if they were really responsible for the falling-off in the matter of reprints. The book trade seemed, indeed, to be exceptionally prosperous; and the publishers even survived the disclosure of the secrets of their calling by one of their number, Mr. Stanley Unwin, in *The Truth About Publishing*.

Among the biographies of the year must be mentioned Mr. Shane Leslie's *George the Fourth*, in which the author strove to contest Thackeray's verdict on that monarch. Mr. Carl Sandburg's two volumes, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, were devoted to the "long Abe" of Springfield days, and his whole queer personal and social environment. *Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge: the Man who is President*, both by Mr. William Allen White, were effective works of smaller calibre. British statesmen were the central figures of several attractive works. Mr. Philip Guedalla's *Palmerston* was a piece of characteristic narrative and a contribution to political history made all the more valuable by its verve and polish. The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., confined himself mainly to the political aspect of the period of which he is one of the few survivors in his concise, yet dramatic, *Benjamin Disraeli: The Romance of a Great Career (1804-1881)*. Further evidence of the revival of interest in Parnell was afforded by two new works: *Parnell: The Last Five Years*, told "from within" by Sir Alfred Robbins, and *The Parnell of Real Life*, by his faithful lieutenant, Mr. William O'Brien. The latter made some points against Mr. St. John Ervine's study of the Irish leader, published last year, and put the blame for the mischief-making round the O'Shea suit on the shoulders of Lord Morley; Sir Alfred Robbins was less of a partisan, and decided that Parnell's personality and actions could not be explained by ordinary formulas. The two massive volumes of Mr. Piaras Béaslai's *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland* had considerable historical value, but they failed as a biography through their lack of that chivalry towards



the enemy which was so fine a part of the nature of Collins. Books on administrators and diplomats included *Raffles, 1781-1820*, by Professor R. Coupland, the inspiring story of the founder of Singapore and of the Zoological Gardens, and *The Right Honourable Sir Mortimer Durand*, by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, the life of a brilliant and devoted public official and a man of rare charm and versatility. Among collections of biographical material there stood out Mr. E. Thornton Cook's vivid portraits of our Queens from 1066 to 1910 in *Her Majesty*; Mr. Philip Guedalla's *Independence Day: A Sketchbook*, a series of lively portraits of the Englishmen and Americans (not to mention Louis XVI.) who brought into being the United States of America; *Victorian Photographs of Famous Men and Fair Women*, by Mrs. Julia Margaret Cameron, which takes its place in this section by right of Mrs. Virginia Woolf's account of the prodigious, inexhaustible woman who showed such astonishing artistry with the camera; and Mr. A. G. Gardiner's portraits of personalities of to-day—Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, Dean Inge, Jack Hobbs, Charlie Chaplin—in *Certain People of Importance*.

In *Fourteen English Judges* the Earl of Birkenhead added to the value of biographical studies ranging from Bacon to Halsbury by including notes of the chief legal decisions each Judge contributed to English law. Mr. R. Macnair Wilson's *The Beloved Physician: Sir James Mackenzie*, was an arresting account of the achievements and the human qualities of a figure that does not come far short of the heroic, and the services of two noble women to medicine and science were commemorated in Lord Riddell's *Dame Louisa Aldrich-Blake* and Miss Evelyn Sharp's *Hertha Ayrton*. Affectionate tributes to departed scholars of the two great Universities were paid in *James Leigh Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol*, by Professor J. W. Mackail and others, and *Henry Jackson, O.M.*, by Dr. R. St. John Parry. Biographies and critical studies of literary men were plentiful, and of a high standard. The "great twin brethren" were linked once more in Mr. Frederic T. Blanchard's *Fielding the Novelist*—a bulky collection of what must be nearly all that has ever been said of Fielding and his works from his own day to the present, with a running commentary—and Mr. Lewis Melville's *Life and Letters of Tobias Smollett (1721-1771)*. *The Life of William Godwin*, by Mr. Ford K. Brown, was excellent in execution, though not convincing as an essay in rehabilitation. Mr. Hugh I'Anson Fausset displayed unusual sympathy and understanding in the elaborate portrait presented in his *\* Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, and Mr. H. W. Garrod discussed the poet's misjudgment of his own gifts in his *\* Keats*. In *Samuel Butler and his Family Relations*, Mrs. R. S. Garnett made a curiously ineffectual attempt to defend Butler's family, his father in particular, against the imputations of *The Way of All Flesh*.

The new volumes of the series of *English Men of Letters*, edited by Mr. J. C. Squire, were the work of members of the younger school of critics, and included Mr. J. B. Priestley's *George Meredith*, which emphasised the duality of the man and the writer; Mr. Harold Nicolson's *Swinburne*, in which the theory of arrested development was driven rather too far; *Herman Melville*, by Mr. John Freeman, the first English book on that

strange genius ; and Mr. John Bailey's just and penetrating *Walt Whitman*. This American poet was also the subject of Mr. Cameron Roger's novel-biography, *The Magnificent Idler : The Story of Walt Whitman*. Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch's *Edgar Allan Poe : a Study in Genius* treated Poe and his art from the standpoint of the new psychology in a balanced and convincing manner. Mr. Austin Harrison, forbidden to write " a filial and full-dress biography " of his father, limited himself to a character sketch and reminiscences in *Frederic Harrison : Thoughts and Memories*, and Mrs. Jessie Conrad remained within the bounds indicated in the title of *Joseph Conrad as I Knew Him*, a candid, unconventional, yet pleasing picture of the novelist at home. Mr. Isaac Goldberg's excess of enthusiasm somewhat marred his *Havelock Ellis*, but the book was welcome as a piece of tardy justice to a prophet not sufficiently honoured in his own country.

The new *Republic of Letters* series justified high expectations with its useful volumes on *Pushkin* and *Gogol*, by Prince D. S. Mirsky and Mr. Janko Lavrin respectively. \* *The Life, Work, and Evil Fate of Guy de Maupassant*, by Mr. Robert Harborough Sherard, would have been much more impressive if its author had shown some sense of proportion. Mr. E. J. Thompson brought to his *Rabindranath Tagore* a profound knowledge of the Indian poet's work and the history and philosophy which form its background.

From an unusual number of works on musicians it is only possible to select Mr. Jeffrey Pulver's *Brahms* ; the life-like portrait of the most English of all composers, and an incorrigible gambler, in Mr. Henry Saxe Wyndham's *Sullivan*, whose contribution to the success of the Savoy operas was also examined in Mr. A. N. Godwin's *Gilbert and Sullivan* ; and the two volumes of Mr. Charles L. Graves' authoritative and detailed *Hubert Parry*, most intimately portrayed in the whole of his interests and activities as composer, performer, yachtsman, naturalist, author, husband, and friend. *The Life of Jenny Lind* was briefly told by her daughter, Mrs. Raymond Maude, O.B.E. Mr. Arthur Symons collected various scattered papers to form his *Eleonora Duse*. The careers and personalities of great artists inspired Mr. William Howe Downe's *John S. Sargent : his Life and Work*, which contained a valuable chronological list of works verified by the artist himself, and Mr. A. M. Ludovici's amiably indiscreet *Personal Reminiscences of Auguste Rodin*.

There seemed to be no slackening in the output of books of an autobiographical character. Among the outstanding productions in this department were the two volumes of *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, arranged as a narrative by Professor Charles Seymour, which covered the periods of 1912-1915 (Behind the Political Curtain) and 1915-1917 (From Neutrality to War). The greater part of the work was devoted to Colonel House's story of his relations with President Wilson up to America's declaration of war, and his two extraordinary missions to the belligerent countries in pursuit of a plan for stopping the war through the intervention of the United States. The value of this record to the historians of the war will be immense. Dr. Sven Hedin's adventures on the famous expeditions to Central Asia and Tibet with which his name is associated made up his

latest volume, *My Life as an Explorer*. Sir William Nott-Bower, K.C.V.O., combined his personal recollections of many famous criminals—amongst them Charles Peace, Mrs. Maybrick, and the Fenians—with illuminating chapters on police organisation in *Fifty-two Years a Policeman*. The *Autobiography of Sir Felix Semon*, edited by Mr. Henry C. Semon and Mr. Thomas A. McIntyre, contained discreet gossip about the great laryngologist's more exalted patients. The humanity and humour playing over every page of Viscount Knutsford's *In Black and White* made his story of a pleasant social life in the intervals of strenuous and enterprising work for the London Hospital one of the most delightful books of 1926. Mr. E. D. Cuming discovered and edited the century-old memoirs, hitherto unpublished, of one whom his contemporaries regarded as the supreme type of all-round English sportsman, and *Squire Osbaldeston: His Autobiography*, had the advantage of an introduction by Sir Theodore Cook, whose own reminiscences in *The Sunlit Hours* ranged over every form of enterprise in the realms of sport and journalism. Sir H. Rider Haggard's two volumes, *The Days of My Life*, edited by Mr. C. J. Longman, were full of interesting material about the origins and success of his romances; yet the author left it clear that his social and agricultural researches and responsibilities had been to him the serious things of his life.

*The Fire of Life*, by the late Mr. Harold Spender, depicted many of the historic personalities and events of the last half century in England, Ireland, the Balkans, and South Africa. Mr. Richard Le Gallienne, whose qualifications for the task are unrivalled, produced, in *The Romantic '90s*, an authoritative and entertaining account of a great period of seed-time in art and literature. Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, who so ably provided or edited the lighter literature of the same day, was once more humorist and sentimentalist by turns in *My Life and Times*. Described as a "spiritual autobiography," Mr. Forrest Reid's *\*Apostate* contained some exquisite writing. Mr. Stephen Gwynn portrayed all manner of people and parties in England and Ireland in his *Experiences of a Literary Man*, and no one can better interpret one nation to the other. The book closed with his election to Parliament in 1906. Women distinguished in social and political work were represented by Mrs. Beatrice Webb in *\*My Apprenticeship*, and Mrs. Margaret Wynne Nevinson in *Life's Fitful Fever*. Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell's *All Summer in A Day: An Autobiographical Fantasia* was a highly deliberate work of art, a *tour de force* in the rendering of experience in terms of images and analogies, and "ransoming lost moments with a phrase."

Among letters and diaries, pride of place belongs to *\*The Letters of Queen Victoria, Second Series*, edited by Mr. George Earle Buckle, from Her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1862 and 1878. Beginning in the gloom of mourning for the death of the Prince Consort, and covering the difficult period of the Queen's withdrawal from personal contact with her people, these two volumes nevertheless afforded striking evidence of her continual, helpful, and decisive influence on affairs at home and abroad. Many hitherto unpublished letters were given in the two volumes of *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of*

*Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703*, edited by Dr. J. R. Tanner, including his intimate correspondence with Evelyn, a series of letters on second sight in the Highlands, and a brief exchange with Newton on lottery chances, but chiefly devoted to letters to and from Pepys' nephew and heir, John Jackson, then on the grand tour. Sir Robert Walpole, Fox, Pitt, North, Hume and Boswell were amongst the correspondents in the third volume of Mr. Paget Toynbee's *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*. The second series (1863-1865) of *The Letters and Memoirs of Sir William Hardman* was full of gossip and somewhat boisterous fun. *The Letters of Bret Harte*, assembled and edited by Geoffrey Bret Harte, had anything but the atmosphere of humour and romance that characterises his other writings. *The Letters of Maurice Hewlett*, edited by Mr. Laurence Binyon, with an introductory memoir by Mr. Edward Hewlett, provided a refreshing contrast in their reflection of an impetuous and knightly spirit exploring every aspect of letters, politics, and life. In *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1879-1922*, edited by Lady Raleigh, with a preface by Mr. David Nichol Smith, we were given two volumes amazing in their variety, vivacity, originality, and scholarship lightly borne.

The list of diaries was again headed by a volume, this time the sixth, of *The Farington Diary*, edited by Mr. James Grieg, rich in quaint and interesting scraps of information, but with little reference to the important events and personages of the day. Despite the title and authorship of *A Great-Niece's Journals, 1830-1842*, by Fanny Anne Burney (Mrs. Wood), edited by Miss Margaret S. Rolt, there were only two entries referring to Mme. d'Arblay; however, the intrinsic interest of the remainder was considerable. Similarly, in the case of *Cummy's Diary*, kept by R. L. Stevenson's nurse, Alison Cunningham, while travelling with him on the Continent in 1863, its real value depended not on the references to R. L. S., which were few, but on the reaction of a pious and unsophisticated nature to foreign scenes and customs. In the two volumes of *The Journals of Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson, 1879-1922*, the great craftsman revealed himself as less preoccupied with beautiful books and social reform than with an inner life devoted to the search for the ultimate secrets of human existence. *The Richmond Papers*, edited by Mrs. A. M. S. Sterling, were the memoirs of two famous artists, George Richmond, R.A., and his son, Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A., K.C.B., and were particularly notable for their wealth of good stories and the number of men and women of note, from William Blake to Mr. John Burns, who thronged their pages. *The Diary of Arthur Christopher Benson*, edited by Mrs. Percy Lubbock, was another rather saddening disclosure of the disparity between a man as seen by his fellows and as he appears to his secret self. The late Master of Magdalene College could help others towards inward peace: he himself never knew it.

In the category of historical works, reference must be made to the appearance of Vol. IV. of the \**Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by Professor Bury, Dr. S. A. Cook, and Mr. F. E. Adcock, which was devoted to the Persian Empire, its attempts at expansion westward, and the art and culture of its opponents in Greece; and of Vol. V. of the \**Cambridge*

*Medieval History*, which covered the struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Professor M. Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* made use of the enormous quantity of new evidence which has become available of recent years, and promised to be a mine of information for future historians. The last work of the late Sir Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age*, chronicled a terrible period of cruelty, treachery, and superstition in the dawn of French history. Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's \* *History of England* was acclaimed on all hands as a most brilliant performance, certain to take rank as a classic. The four volumes of *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, drawn from the Company's records by Dr. H. B. Morse, and *John Company*, by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., exploring the byways of its history in India, were complementary works invaluable to the student of the merchant ventures which brought the Empire into being. *The Making of Rhodesia*, by Lieut.-Colonel H. Marshall Hole, C.M.G., was an authoritative account of early exploration and the competition for that rich territory between the Powers and among the concession-hunters, and the ultimate triumph of Cecil Rhodes. The fifth and concluding volume of *The Empire at War*, edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas, was a record of the war services of Malta, Gibraltar, Egypt, Palestine, Aden, India, Ceylon, Malaya, and the British in China. Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson's *Sarajevo : a Study in the Origins of the Great War* exonerated the Serbian Government and placed the chief responsibility on the shoulders of Count Berchtold. The two volumes of *Soldiers and Statesmen*, by Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Bart., G.C.B., were a disquieting revelation of the feuds and intrigues between the politicians and the military leaders, the War Cabinet and the Higher Command, the Easterners and the Westerners, as exemplified in the relations between the author and Mr. Lloyd George. An extraordinary chapter of the fighting in Russia, during the war and after the Bolshevik Revolution, was related in Mr. Henry Baerlein's account of the experiences of the Czechoslovak Legion, *The March of the Seventy Thousand*. The greater part of *Turkey*, by Professor Arnold Toynbee and Mr. Kenneth P. Kirkwood, was concerned with post-war events, and provided a somewhat partial study of the Nationalist régime under Mustapha Kemal. The great criminal processes, like the great love stories, never lose their appeal, and Lord Birkenhead's *Famous Trials of History* found favour with a very large public. Works of a similar gruesome fascination were *The Complete Newgate Calendar*, in five volumes, collated and edited by Mr. J. L. Rayner and Mr. G. T. Crook, and Mr. Arthur L. Edwards' edition of Captain Alexander Smith's *A General History of the Highwaymen*. To a certain extent, Mr. J. Paul de Castro's *The Gordon Riots* modified one's view of the unrelieved brutality and intolerance of the times; and the period was, perhaps, seen to best advantage in the convivial glow of Mr. A. L. Simon's *Bottlescrew Days : Wine-Drinking in England during the Eighteenth Century*. To those who are "eloquent in praise of the very good old days which have long since passed away" may be recommended the study of the details of the changes in social and domestic life in

England from 1820 to 1920 given in Mrs. C. S. Peel's \* *A Hundred Wonderful Years*. There was a lively controversy during the year between Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Mr. H. G. Wells over the latter's *Outline of History*, and a Laodicean public found considerable entertainment in the swingeing buffets exchanged in Mr. Wells's *Mr. Belloc Objects*, and the retort thereto, *Mr. Belloc Still Objects*.

The literature of politics and economics again received important and interesting additions. In \* *Fifty Years of Parliament*, by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, K.G., the autobiographical element was so carefully suppressed that the work may be ranked as objective political history. *On England, and Other Addresses*, by the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, contained some forty speeches and other public utterances, all of them pointed and persuasive, several of them eloquent to an unusual degree, and calculated to promote confidence in the essential soundness of the country. The Very Rev. Dean Inge was far less reassuring in his \* *England*, but every allowance had in this case to be made for the personal element. In *False Dawn* Mr. Al. Carthill argued that our society was not offering sufficient resistance to subversive movements he regarded as premature though not unnatural or essentially detrimental. Sir Valentine Chirol's *India* was a most detailed, temperate, and convincing account of modern Indian conditions. Mrs. Annie Besant's *India Bond or Free?* traced all the afflictions of the country to the decline of its village communities, and outlined the system of autonomous Indian Government which is to restore them. Mr. J. A. Spender, on the other hand, during the recent visit described in *The Changing East*, found India a much more happy and hopeful place than when he left it fourteen years ago; he was also favourably impressed by the promise of the new *régime* in Turkey. *The South Africans*, by Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin, provided an excellent and concise survey of the problems—Anglo-Dutch, Asiatic, Native—and conditions of South Africa to-day. Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs, 1924*, with a preface by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, inaugurated a series of annual volumes designed to treat the events of the year under a few main headings—in this case, Security and Disarmament, the relations of the Allies with Germany, the Soviet's relations with the rest of the world, and the Movement of Population. Two works on the present situation in Italy provided an unusually striking conflict of evidence—Comendatore Luigi Villari's extravagances in defence of Fascism against its liberal critics in this country in *The Fascist Experiment*, and a dispassionate indictment of Fascism as an inverted form of Bolshevism in *Italy and Fascismo*, by a distinguished victim of the new *régime*, Don Luigi Sturzo. The upheaval in China called forth several volumes in elucidation of the present state of affairs, the most noteworthy being Mr. Putman Weale's *Why China Sees Red* and *The Vanished Empire*. Professor P. J. Noel Baker brought forward profound and practical arguments for the reduction and limitation of armaments in his *Disarmament*. Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson set himself to convince the younger generation of the necessity for reform in intercourse between nations by means of the painstaking analysis of the course of events leading up to the Great War in \* *The International*

*Anarchy, 1904-1914.* Professor R. M. MacIver ranged over a wide field in *The Modern State*, tracing the differences between ancient and modern States, the development of democracy, and various theories of the State and its functions. Mr. B. G. de Montgomery covered much of the same ground in *Issues of European Statesmanship*, giving more attention to internal and international questions of the day, with a specially careful examination of State interference with industry. Mr. R. G. Hawtrey's analysis and criticism of the individualist system in *The Economic Problem* delved into fundamentals, and it, too, discussed the relations of Government to economic enterprise and the opposing standpoints of Socialism and mercantilism. Professor J. H. Jones's *Economics of Private Enterprise* was a more general work on modern economic science than the title would indicate. Mr. J. M. Keynes gave his interpretation of the signs of the times in \* *The End of Laissez-Faire*, while in *To-Day and To-Morrow* Mr. Henry Ford and Mr. Samuel Crowther denounced with no little vigour and impressiveness any interference on the part of politicians, reformers, labour organisations, or idle shareholders with large-scale business and the millennium it will bring about if left to itself. Widespread interest was aroused by *The Secret of High Wages*, by Mr. Bertram Austin and Mr. W. Francis Lloyd, a study of the policy of the leading industries in America, and its counsels, implicit and direct, to employers and trade unionists in this country. The relation of religious and economic developments in the later medieval times was the subject of Mr. R. H. Tawney's \* *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. *The Rise of Modern Industry*, by Mr. J. L. Hammond and Mrs. B. Hammond, was a highly readable and informative volume. Mr. J. A. Hobson set himself the task of examining "the limits set upon the intellectual integrity and accuracy of thinking" in economics, politics, ethics, and anthropology in *Free Thought in the Social Sciences*, and came to no very flattering conclusions.

The most ambitious undertaking in the department of theology and philosophy was *An Outline of Christianity* in five volumes, edited by Professor A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., and the Rev. R. G. Parsons, D.D. Although the aim of this compilation was essentially "popular," the names of the contributors, who included Dean Inge, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Lord Oxford, Canon Streeter, and Professor J. Arthur Thomson, were sufficient guarantee of its scholarship and catholicity. Two unusual and interesting studies of the Founder of Christianity were published: Dr. Joseph Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth: His Times, His Life, and His Teaching*, translated from the original Hebrew by Mr. Herbert Danby, a work of immense learning and scrupulous objectivity, despite the author's definitely Jewish standpoint; and Mr. J. Middleton Murry's subtle and profound interpretation in \* *The Life of Jesus*. The late Mr. Arthur Clutton-Brock's *Essays on Religion*, edited by Canon Streeter, were the result of the lamented author's attempt to clarify his own mind and confront the difficulties of making religion acceptable to those of his contemporaries. *Essays Catholic and Critical*, by Members of the Anglican Community, edited by Mr. E. Gordon Selwyn, B.D., were a joint effort in the same direction, examining Christianity and its institutions in the light of modern criticism.

The frank discussions of the supreme problems of pain, evil, Nature and Man, and immortality, and its bold defence of the anthropomorphic view, gave Canon B. H. Streeter's *Reality* an unusually wide appeal. Bishop Gore caused perturbation in some quarters by his open abandonment of literalism in *Can We Then Believe?*, but his attitude, while eminently liberal, was definitely anti-Modernist. The second volume of *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, by Mr. A. B. Cook, one of the most erudite works of our time, appeared after a twelve years' interval. Sir James Frazer continued his labours on primitive beliefs in the Gifford Lectures expanded to form Vol. I. of \* *The Worship of Nature*; and Dr. Westermarck presented the fruit of years of research and observation in the wilds of Northern Africa in his *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle made his gifts of narrative and exposition the servants of an ardent conviction in his two-volume *History of Spiritualism*. Dr. Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*, which has had so far-reaching an influence upon German thought, was translated by Major C. F. Atkinson as *The Decline of the West—Form and Actuality*. This morphological treatment of history in terms of culture-cycles, not of nations or of persons, was baffling in much of its detail, but there was no question of its place in the forefront of modern philosophical literature. In the august company of the statesmen-philosophers we have long reckoned with Viscount Haldane, whose *Human Experience: A Study of its Structure* expressed the author's faith in a graded system of orders of reality culminating in the highest spiritual values. It was, however, surprising to find in such a man of action as General J. C. Smuts the author of *Holism and Evolution*, a thesis on the tendency of creative evolution to produce wholes, organic or spiritual, with Personality as the crown of its achievements. In *Science and the Modern World* Dr. A. N. Whitehead made a contribution towards that task of reinterpreting familiar conceptions to meet the requirements of modern knowledge which is now as necessary to the scientist as it has long been to the theologian. \* *On Education, Especially in Early Childhood*, by Mr. Bertrand Russell, largely based on the writer's own experience as a parent, stated and illustrated felicitously a number of important principles.

In the matter of travel books there was once more an embarrassing excess of riches. Two historical works bearing on the subject may head a group that can only be representative of the year's output: *The Highway and Its Vehicles*, the text by Mr. Hilaire Belloc accompanying over a hundred illustrations collected by Mr. Geoffrey Holme, and a series of erudite papers by expert hands edited by Mr. Arthur Percival Newton under the title of *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*. The late Marquess Curzon of Kedleston's *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-Book* took the reader from St. Helena to Chitral, from the monasteries of Mount Athos to those of the Diamond Mountains of Korea, and into the secret places of the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, beguiling these journeys with unexpectedly lively accounts of the humorous incidents that had diversified the author's official life in India. Mr. William Beebe's gorgeous work on oceanographic research in the Sargasso Sea and the Galapagos and Cocos



Islands, *The Arcturus Adventure*, was everywhere acclaimed as a contribution to literature as well as science. The journey to the mysterious oasis of Jabrin recorded in Major R. E. Cheesman's *In Unknown Arabia* had natural history research for its chief motive, but his study of his host, the Sultan Ibn Saud, conveyed information not elsewhere available as to the aims and personality of that remarkable potentate. Captain Angus Buchanan was another field naturalist who did valuable geographical work on the arduous journey described in *Sahara*. A mass of information regarding the Belgian Congo was afforded by *An African Eldorado*, by Mr. T. Alexander Barnes, and Major E. Alex. Powell showed himself equally optimistic about the same region in *The Map that is Half Unrolled*. Mr. Hugh Pearson's *The Diamond Trail* surprised the reader by its disclosures as to the huge areas still undeveloped in Brazil. Among the fruits of pilgrimages that were quite as much spiritual as physical were Mr. St. Loe Strachey's *American Soundings*, strongly influenced by the author's enthusiasm for an Anglo-American *rapprochement*, and Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's *Gifts of Fortune*, revealing the same exquisite style and lofty personality in every variety of setting and incident from Southern England to the Malay Peninsula. The younger school, the pilgrims of modernity, to quote a critic's gibe, included Mr. Aldous Huxley, who turned a penetrating and irreverent eye, a sensitive nose, and an intelligence awesome in its range, upon all he encountered in India, Malaya, the Philippines, Japan, and the United States, and gave the diary of his journey the title of *Jesting Pilate*; and Mr. B. Ifor Evans, whom an Albert Kahn Fellowship took abroad to acquire almost equal disillusionment and record it in *Encounters*. Miss V. Sackville-West, who travelled to Persia and back via Russia and revolution-ridden Poland, showed in her *Passenger to Teheran* much more cheerfulness and no less fidelity to the thing seen. Places nearer home were described in Mr. James F. Muirhead's compendious *A Wayfarer in Switzerland*, and Mr. Sidney Dark's mixture of history and personal impressions in *Paris*, admirably illustrated by Mr. Henry Rushbury, A.R.A. \* *The Changing Face of England*, by Mr. Anthony Collett, had a quality all its own, and made excellent reading. Of several works on London, the most handsome were two by Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor: *Lost London*, a description of landmarks which have disappeared, pictured by J. Crowther, circa 1879-1887; and *The West-End of Yesterday and To-day*. Mr. James Bone's *The Perambulator in Edinburgh* was a welcome re-issue as a companion volume to his last year's book on London, and contained new illustrations by Mr. E. S. Lumsden, A.R.S.A.

The improved processes of reproduction render art books more desirable year by year; unfortunately, their costliness increases in proportion. One of the most beautiful works issued for a long time past was *Sailing Ships and Barges of the Western Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas*, illustrated with exquisite hand-coloured line engravings by Mr. Edward Wadsworth, with a pleasing introduction by Mr. Bernard Windeler. Another handsome volume was *The Bridge*, containing twenty-four pictures in colour by Mr. Frank Brangwyn, R.A., as well as many drawings

in black and white, the accompanying text being written by Mr. Christian Barman. The same artist's work supplied the subject and illustrations of Mr. W. Gaunt's *Etchings of Frank Brangwyn*. The text of Mr. Walter Shaw Sparrow's *British Etching from Barlow to Seymour Haden* traced the progress of the art in this country from the Commonwealth to the present day. Mr. Laurence Binyon stood sponsor to a splendid edition of *The Engraved Designs of William Blake*. Three useful volumes of an *Old Master Drawings* series made their appearance: *Drawings of the Early German Schools*, by Mr. K. T. Parker; *Flemish Drawings of the 17th Century*, by Mr. T. W. Muchall-Viebrook; and *Florentine Drawings of the Quattrocento*, by Mr. H. S. Ede. Mr. John Rothenstein's iconography, *The Portrait Drawings of William Rothenstein, 1889-1925*, contained 101 collotype reproductions and a preface by Mr. Max Beerbohm, who also issued *Observations*, a new book of his own caricatures. Another noteworthy production in this latter field was Mr. Bohun Lynch's *History of Caricature*. Mention should also be made of a remarkable one-volume *Encyclopædia of Furniture*, compiled by authorities in various countries under the general direction of Dr. Hermann Schmitz of the Schloss Museum, Berlin.

The appearance of several new series of essays emphasised the continued popularity of this form with the writers of to-day and their public. The *Hogarth Essays* continued a successful career; *Essays of To-day and Yesterday* reprinted small selections by many popular living writers; and *Essays of To-day and To-Morrow*, original and suggestive theses with classical titles interpreted in the sub-titles—e.g. *Sibylla, or the Revival of Prophecy*, by Mr. C. A. Mace, or Professor F. C. S. Schiller's *Cassandra, or The Future of the British Empire*—attracted much attention. One of the cleverest was Mr. Douglas Woodruff's imitation of a Socratic dialogue in *Plato's American Republic*. Under the pleasant heading of *These Diversions* appeared works on *Talking* and on *Reading*, by Mr. J. B. Priestley and Mr. Hugh Walpole respectively. The informal addresses collected in *\* Fallodon Papers*, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G., combined the observations of the ornithologist and fisherman with those of the man of letters and statesman in a tranquil and refreshing volume. The Very Rev. Dean Inge displayed his usual blend of scholarship, originality, courage, and prejudice in *Lay Thoughts of a Dean*, and a younger homilist of another Church, often preaching in lighter vein, addressed the public from *An Open-Air Pulpit*, by Father Ronald Knox. Lord Darling gathered occasional papers written since his retirement under the heading of *A Pensioner's Garden*. Joseph Conrad's *Last Essays*, introduced by Mr. Richard Curle, contained material that varied greatly in quality and significance, letters, prefaces, reviews, sketches of life at sea during the war, and finally the diary Conrad kept in the Congo in 1890. Two fine studies of Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold, and several papers on æsthetic principles, made up the late Mr. Arthur Clutton-Brock's *Essays on Literature and Life*. The autumn brought its usual harvest of collected essays originally contributed to the Press. The authors' names form a familiar list: Mr. E. V. Lucas, with *Events and Embroideries*; Mr. Robert Lynd, with *The Little*

*Angel*; Mr. Hilaire Belloc, with *Short Talks with the Dead and Others*; Mr. E. V. Knox, with *It Occurs to Me*; Mr. James Agate, with *The Common Touch*; and Mr. Ivor Brown, with *Masques and Phases*. *The Return to the Cabbage* was Mr. Gerald Gould's first appearance in this group, and it may be hoped that his duties as our greatest mass-critic of fiction will allow him to become a permanent member. Literary criticism of a more serious order was unwontedly abundant. The most striking pages of Sir Henry Newbolt's *Studies Green and Gray* examined the metaphysical basis of the highest poetry with great subtlety and insight. The essays and addresses composing Mr. John Buchan's *Homilies and Recreations* made up an agreeable medley of literature, topography, military history, politics, reflection, and adventure. The academic outlook was represented by Professor J. W. Mackail's *Studies of English Poets* and Professor H. J. C. Grierson's *The Background of English Literature*. Contemporary writers were subjected to some excellent analytical and constructive criticism in Mr. Edwin Muir's *Transition*. It was a pleasure to read once more in *Authors Dead and Living* the brilliant reviews of poetry which Mr. F. L. Lucas originally contributed to the *New Statesman*. Among the Hogarth Essays two volumes came in felicitous juxtaposition: Miss Rose Macaulay's *Catchwords and Claptrap*, an entertaining paper on the abuse of language, and Miss Gertrude Stein's *Composition as Explanation*, which enjoyed a success of curiosity as the leading modern example of the wantonly unintelligible. It may here be permissible to refer to one of the most useful, individual, entertaining, and compendious works on the English language ever issued, which appeared during 1926: Mr. H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Professor Lascelles Abercrombie worked out a consistent philosophy in *Romanticism*, treating Realism, not Classicism, as its true antithesis. Mr. Laurie Magnus's one-volume *Dictionary of European Literature* was a remarkable production, despite some peculiar exclusions; its system of subject-entries and its succinct appreciations of authors and their work added greatly to its value. Prince D. S. Mirsky's *Contemporary Russian Literature, 1881-1925*, from the later works of Tolstoy to the "proletarian literature" of the Bolsheviks, was a survey of the highest merit, not likely to find a rival in its particular field.

The printed play maintained its popularity, and most of the dramatic successes of the year were published in book form. Mr. George Bernard Shaw collected such topical trifles of the past as *Press Cuttings*, and his version of Herr Trebitsch's *Jitta's Atonement*, in a volume aptly entitled *Translations and Tomfooleries*. The principal works of Mr. Henry Arthur Jones made up the four volumes of his *Representative Plays*. The verbal warfare of the late Mr. Israel Zangwill's *We Moderns*, described as a post-war comedy in three movements, *allegro*, *andante*, and *adagio*, could be better appreciated on the printed page than it had been in the theatre. Mr. Sean O'Casey's humorous though grimly-realistic drama of the rising in Dublin, *The Plough and the Stars*, reflected the prevailing mood of disillusionment in Ireland. *The Constant Nymph*, by Miss Margaret Kennedy and Mr. Basil Dean, made its geniuses more attractive and its conventionalists more repellent than in the novel, but this change of balance was

justified by its success. Other noteworthy texts included Mr. John Galsworthy's *Escape*, an episodic play, in a prologue and two parts, not particularly impressive in this form; Mr. Noel Coward's Ruritanian romance, *The Queen Was in the Parlour*; and *Granite*, a powerful tragedy by Miss Clemence Dane. Princess Elizabeth Bibesco published two witty three-act pieces, hardly robust enough for the actual stage, in *Points of View* and *The Painted Swan*. In *The Death of Socrates* Mr. Laurence Housman achieved a neat condensation of the account in Plato's Dialogues, and he also continued his Franciscan series with six playlets entitled *The Comments of Juniper*. Mr. D. H. Lawrence's \**David* was an ambitious and, on the whole, successful treatment of the story of Saul and David, following the order and frequently the words of the original chapters of Scripture. Mr. Ashley Dukes dramatised the serio-comic exploits of the Flemish liberator who wore the guise of Tyl Ulenspiegel in *The Song of Drums*, a heroic comedy in a prologue and three acts, besides translating Herr Ernst Toller's drama of the English Luddites, *The Machine-Wreckers*, in a prologue and five acts. Among other foreign successes were *The Rising Sun*, the story of a stoic father and daughter, by the Dutch playwright Herman Heijermans, and a Czech fantasy by Josef Capek, *The Land of Many Names*, a vast universal satire having for its scene a new sixth continent flung up by the ocean; these were translated by Mr. Christopher St. John and Mr. Paul Selver respectively.

The title of *Collected Poems* seems to have lost its old suggestion of finality, for it appears on volumes recently issued by younger poets with many fertile years still in prospect—among them Mr. James Stephens, who included a few poems not in his earlier volumes; Mr. W. W. Gibson, whose output had attained greater dimensions than one had suspected; and Mr. Edward Shanks, who also was something of a surprise in that respect. Mr. J. C. Squire assembled all the published verse he felt inclined to reprint, together with a few new pieces, in *Poems in One Volume*, and Mr. Richard Hughes gave his own harvest the title of *Confessio Juvenis*. A distinct feature of the year's work was the return to the form of the long single poem, narrative or reflective, more usually both. Perhaps the most striking production of this kind was Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *News of the Devil*, which developed from a satirical story of a vulgar newspaper proprietor who set out to exploit Christianity, into a singularly elevated expression of the poet's conception of Deity. The same duality of satire and metaphysics was evident, though less perfectly controlled, in Mr. W. J. Turner's *Marigold: an Idyll of the Sea*. Miss V. Sackville-West achieved remarkable success in her English Georgic poem, *The Land*, a beautiful, veracious, classical yet individual description of "the cycle of my country's year." *Branches of Adam*, by Mr. John Gould Fletcher, was a powerful reinterpretation of the Book of Genesis, rather too heavily laden with symbolism. In *Two Lives* Mr. William Ellery Leonard told, in sonnet form, the story of the marriage of a young professor to a beautiful girl dogged by insanity, and critical opinion awarded unusual praise to this bold approach to the Meredithian demesne. Mr. W. H. Davies published two new volumes of his quaint and lovely lyrics in *The Bird of Paradise*

and *The Song of Love*. The chief interest of Mr. John Galsworthy's *Verses New and Old* lay possibly in their authorship, but his poems lacked nothing of the quick sympathy characteristic of his work in other spheres. The shorter lyrics in Irish forms were the best part of Mr. Austin Clarke's *The Cattle-drive in Connaught and Other Poems*. Mr. George Rostrevor Hamilton's austere and epigrammatic style charged every line of *The Making* with significance; *Poems*, by Mr. Peter Quennell, whose Muse, though of no common beauty, is anything but tranquil, made an effective contrast. With *Pillicock Hill* Mr. Herbert Asquith came near joining Mr. de la Mare and Mr. Milne among the authors of modern children's classics. "The Sitwells," who are universally treated as a separate school, were prodigal of their elusive, image-laden verse, issued in sumptuous form: Miss Edith Sitwell in an *Elegy on Dead Fashion*, a lament for the transitoriness of other things besides our trappings; Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, in *Exalt the Eglantine, and Other Poems*, at times as cryptic as the lines inlaid on a table at Hardwicke Hall from which the title is taken; and the two of them together with Mr. Osbert Sitwell in *Poor Young Things*.

The names of Messrs. Kipling, Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, Walpole, Moore, and Montague in the list of the year's fiction afford some guarantee that it was of exceptional quality. There were again some signs of the long-heralded return to romance, and a perceptible and welcome trend towards the fantastic. "Detective stories" came from the publishers in a positive torrent to meet an eager popular demand. The longest novel of the year, if its three-volume form was not deceptive, was Mr. H. G. Wells's testamentary trilogy, \**The World of William Clissold*. Mr. Arnold Bennett displayed his worldly wisdom and cynicism at the expense of war-time politicians in *Lord Raingo*, exercising his virtuosity in the longest death-bed scenes known even to English fiction. Mr. Galsworthy continued his study of the later Forsytes in \**The Silver Spoon*. In *Harmer John* Mr. Hugh Walpole staged another tragedy in Polchester, where the underworld of the cathedral city rejected and martyred a Swedish apostle of physical culture and housing reform. Mr. Ford Madox Ford did some of his best work in his third volume on the eccentric Tietjens and his abominable wife, *A Man Could Stand Up*; the war chapters deserved and evoked particularly high praise. Another poignant story of the war concluded Mr. C. E. Montague's \**Rough Justice*, which opened with one of the most charming studies of childhood one can remember. Mr. Maurice Baring gave his *Daphne Adeane* the name of a woman who was dead before the story began. She had been loved by everyone who knew her, and Fanny Weston, resembling her so strangely, exerted the same spell on the same persons; yet her own marriage was loveless, and her one true passion baulked by religious scruples. In *Summer Storm* Mr. Frank Swinnerton's cleverly-contrasted girl partners in a typewriting business fell out over the same handsome but feckless young man—little people, small affairs, yet a touching and spirited story. Mr. T. F. Powys was at his most ruthless in his annals of the appalling inhabitants of the village of Maddar (aptly named) in *Innocent Birds*. Mr. George Blake took some risks in adding to the numberless volumes that follow the hero

from boyhood to relative maturity, but *Young Malcolm* was memorable for its pictures of humble life in Glasgow and Pimlico. There was gloom, bitterness, and tragedy enough in the modern Ireland of Mr. Donn Byrne's *Hangman's House* and Mr. Liam O'Flaherty's *The Informer* (awarded one of the year's literary prizes) and Mr. Gilhooley. If we may trust Mr. George Moore's romance of a noble troubadour and a runaway nun in *Ulick and Soracha*, fourteenth-century Ireland was a much more cheerful place. Mr. John Masefield and Mr. D. H. Lawrence both returned to South America: the former in a rather ragged and repetitive adventure story, \* *Odtaa*, and the latter in his tale of a fascinated European girl in the heart of Mexico and a prophet of the revival of the country's ancient myths, *The Plumed Serpent* (*Quetzalcoatl*). It is unusual for a historical novel to win a prize competition, but Mr. Peter Hastings' stirring story of the gladiator-Emperor in *S.P.Q.R.* well deserved its exceptional fortune. The satirists were in formidable strength once more. Mr. Osbert Sitwell's *Before the Bombardment* was a peculiarly close study of a stagnant backwater of English society before the war, with its dire array of invalids and eccentrics in a Northern seaside resort. *One, Two, Three*, by Mr. Paul Selver, was a diverting lampoon on theatrical managers and producers, and Father Ronald A. Knox made merry play with the spiritualists in *Other Eyes than Ours*. The whole of plutocratic civilisation provided the targets for Mr. Eimar O'Duffy's *King Goshawk and the Birds*, quaintly connected with the ancient heroic tales of Ireland, after the manner of Mr. James Stephens. Two clever fantasies of present-day Paris, wavering pleasantly between journalism and fairy tale, were presented by Mr. Sisley Huddleston in *Mr. Paname* and Mr. Norman Matson in *Flecker's Magic*. *Winnie-the-Pooh* was another permanent addition to the treasures of the nursery bookshelf from the hand of Mr. A. A. Milne. American authors produced some striking volumes, the most considerable of them—certainly as regards dimensions—being Mr. Theodore Dreiser's \* *An American Tragedy*. Mr. Sinclair Lewis published one of his earlier satirical works, *The Job*, the career of a bright young woman from housework to financial success, and *Mantrap*, a comedy-romance of a hunting holiday in Canada undertaken by two incompatibles and ending in an elopement and a pursuit by a husband anxious only for the safety of the hero. Mr. Christopher Morley slipped from outer world to inner world in \* *Thunder on the Left*. In *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* Mr. John Erskine turned to great advantage the old device of giving the ancient story modern form and dialogue. Mr. Carl Van Vechten provided a bold and curious description of the negro quarter of New York in *Nigger Heaven*. The most unexpected success of the year was that of a lengthy and impressive historical romance of eighteenth-century Germany, *Jew Süss*, by Herr Lion Feuchtwanger, admirably translated by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Muir.

Among our women novelists Miss Sylvia Thompson enjoyed, perhaps, the most general popularity with *The Hounds of Spring*, a story of young lives brought to wreck by the war. \* *Crewe Train* was a lively piece of mischief by Miss Rose Macaulay. "Elizabeth" displayed unwonted

benevolence to the untutored but devastatingly beautiful Salvatia Pinner, whose ultimate conquest of a ducal family was related in *Introduction to Sally*. Miss G. B. Stern added another volume to her Rakonitz saga in \* *A Deputy was King*. Miss Stella Benson's *Good-bye Stranger* portrayed a changeling undergoing exile from fairyland in China with an American wife, and Miss Elinor Wylie's *The Venetian-Glass Nephew* told how a Cardinal in eighteenth-century Venice employed a magician to provide him with a nephew, who was made of Murano glass, and how the fragile creature's love affair had a beautiful but tragic consummation. Another fantasy, \* *The Green Lacquer Pavilion*, by Miss Helena Beauclerk, took some eighteenth-century exquisites on a hazardous journey through a Chinese screen, and Miss Sylvia Warner produced a strange and intriguing story in \* *Lolly Willows*. Miss F. Tennyson Jesse wrote a remarkably powerful story of the sea in \* *Tom Fool*. Miss May Sinclair's \* *Far End* was a psychological study of married life. Mrs. Olive Schreiner left behind her a vast and tragic fragment, *From Man to Man*, the story of two sisters in South Africa, one ruined by her husband, the other, an idiot, destroyed by many men. A brief but haunting tale of a South African Tess, *The Beadle*, by Miss Pauline Smith, was hailed in many quarters as a work of genius. The feverish monologue of the heroine of Miss Fannie Hurst's *Appassionata* was too unrestrained and unrelieved to be truly impressive. In *The Show Boat* Miss Edna Ferber wrote a colourful romance of the floating theatres that used to tour the riverside towns of the Mississippi with *East Lynne* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Among the authors of short stories Mr. Rudyard Kipling led the field with his \* *Debts and Credits*, the work of a master hand. Mr. Walter de la Mare's *The Connoisseur* was a collection of eerie tales told with the disturbing imaginative realism and oppressive atmosphere of dream that no one else can summon up so swiftly and so surely. Mrs. Edith Wharton also exploited the supernatural in some of her stories in *Here and Beyond*. *Two or Three Graces* did not show Mr. Aldous Huxley at his best. Mr. G. K. Chesterton's priest-detective displayed greater insight and virtuosity than ever in *The Incredulity of Father Brown*, but abstruseness threatened to become his bane. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith followed the fortunes of her earlier heroine in the principal story in *Joanna Godden Married*, the other tales in the book being highly varied but not particularly important.

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Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice ; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey :—

#### GENERAL LITERATURE.

**Samuel Taylor Coleridge**, by Hugh I'Anson Fausset (Jonathan Cape).—The object of this critical biography is "to explain a poet's achievement in terms of his personality and against a background of his life." In the case of Coleridge the critic's task is to make us understand why such high

gifts, such superb promise, had no richer fruition ; why the vision faded and the glory departed. Mr. Fausset has found a formula—not the physical damage wrought by opium, but the more subtle demoralisation caused by habitual indulgence since childhood in any spiritual narcotics that would enable him to escape from the actual into the imaginary. In his dreamy inactive childhood it was the fables of the *Arabian Nights* ; in his schooldays he intoxicated himself on metaphysics ; in his manhood happiness was to come of pantisocracy, domestic bliss, rustic simplicity, epic poetry, anything that could be contemplated and discussed indefinitely without being translated into action and disillusionment. Mr. Fausset shows notable psychological skill in his treatment of Coleridge's relations with his wife and the other women who gave him at once more and less than he needed of them. There is still plenty of room for argument as to the mutual influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge, how far the former fostered the genius of his friend, how far Wordsworth's achievement developed in Coleridge an inferiority complex which induced poetic sterility, but Mr. Fausset's contribution to the study of the problem is of the highest value and importance.

**Keats**, by H. W. Garrod (Clarendon Press).—Lectures delivered from the Chair of Poetry at Oxford in 1925 make up half the substance of this small volume. Mr. Garrod affirms that Keats was much more the child of the Revolutionary Idea of his time than is generally supposed, but he does not believe that, had he been spared, his work would have shown any great development in that direction. He was preoccupied for a long time with the idea of a philosophic poetry, poetry with a message, and only reluctantly did he bring himself to leave "great verse" to the Miltons and the Wordsworths. Yet nothing, in Mr. Garrod's view, is more certain than that his real effectiveness lay in the exercise of the five senses, and that "only as he sustains the earnest sensuousity to which nature dedicated him does his genius thrive"—this in despite of Matthew Arnold's endeavours to intellectualise the poetry of Keats. When he does abandon himself to the "exquisite sense of the luxurious" for which he hardly thinks himself "calculated," to use his own queer phrase, we have the golden period of the first eight months of 1819. Mr. Garrod holds that *Hyperion*, conceived as an allegoric epic of the Revolutionary Idea, must have remained a fragment, but the Odes can be declared immortal, beyond criticism ; and he accordingly discusses them at length, with a minute examination of their technique. He also speculates most interestingly on the circumstances of the composition of the *Ode to a Nightingale*, in relation to a walk and talk with Coleridge described in one of Keat's letters ; and he closes by repeating that Keats was one of the purest expositors of the romantic ideal, mistaken only when he allowed himself to be lured into the regions of philosophy, politics, action, and character. An analytical note on Keats' *Use of the Sonnet* concludes a most suggestive and convincing study.

**The Life, Work, and Evil Fate of Guy de Maupassant**, by Robert Harborough Sherard (Werner Laurie).—The year has seen a remarkable recrudescence in England of interest in Guy de Maupassant. For the first time his works have been translated in their entirety, and two rival editions



have made a simultaneous appearance. Mr. Sherard's biography is therefore timely. Whether it is altogether satisfactory is another matter. He has certainly been very industrious in the collection of material, and he has been able to correct Maupassant's official biographer, M. Maynial, in several particulars. His inquiries among people who knew the novelist in his earlier days have been fruitful. But the result of his labours is to some extent vitiated by a lack of the sense of proportion, which is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that he devotes his first two chapters to the history of the woman who served as model for the heroine of *Boule de Suif*, and also by a certain theatricality in his manner of presentation. He is inclined to insist too much, and in terms too melodramatic, on the third clause of his title. It is common knowledge that Maupassant died of general paralysis of the insane, and that there is only one cause for that terrible affliction is also common knowledge. The world has outgrown the prudery which deemed such topics unmentionable, and Mr. Sherard is right in insisting on the effect which Maupassant's secret foreknowledge of his fate had on his character. But he has allowed the matter to become something of a King Charles's head, and to obtrude itself where it is not *à propos*. This is a pity, for he has much that is interesting to tell of his subject's relations with Flaubert, Zola, Marie Bashkirtseff and others. He would have written a better book had he written a shorter one, and written it with greater detachment.

**Apostate**, by Forrest Reid (Constable & Co.).—In the world of boyhood and adolescence Mr. Forrest Reid seems to have found his own artistic kingdom. *Following Darkness* and *The Spring Song*, though basely neglected by the general public, are novels whose admirers find it hard to be sufficiently enthusiastic; and the "spiritual autobiography from childhood to young manhood" contained in the present volume has all the qualities that have won him fit audience though few. It is a deft interweaving of the everyday and external in the environment of an imaginative boy with the secret and inviolate inner world in which his profoundest experiences are laid. Outwardly Mr. Reid was a little boy in Belfast whose older brothers and sisters were outside his sphere, and apparently there was no other general company in which he could mingle. He was thrown back upon himself, especially after the age of six, when the embodiment of comfort and reassurance in a dismaying world, his stout nurse, Emma, returned to her home in Bootle. While she read him improving literature on Sundays, the boy's mind had gone off on voyages to a younger, lovelier, pagan shore which made the life he came back to "pale and feeble as a candle in the blazing sun." And thus he formed the habit, which banished all daily tribulations and night fears, of lapsing into his dream of the enchanted island and the visionary companion with whom he explored it. He had an outer life of normal occupations, it is true: his eldest sister taught him with undiminished impatience; he went on forays with a highly unscrupulous friend; he collected matches, posters, stamps, fossils, butterflies and moths, until one disaster or another caused his ardour to fail; but the dream remained the reality to which the rest was merely contributory, if it counted at all. When he was about

seventeen he lost his power to enter this Elysium, and the beauty of the real world brought only longing for the vision that had vanished. Life as a clerk in a Belfast warehouse must indeed have been a sad decline. Nevertheless, the intensity with which Mr. Reid conveys the rapture of these excursions into the secret kingdom suggests that his exile is not so complete and irrevocable as he would have us believe.

**My Apprenticeship**, by Mrs. Beatrice Webb (Longmans, Green & Co.).—Mrs. Webb's description of "the craft and creed of a social investigator" (a phrase which does less than justice to the remarkable human interest of her book) is largely based on extracts from her diary, ending with her marriage in 1892. Fortunate in her parents, the daring and successful entrepreneur, Richard Potter, and his gifted wife, she yet seems to have been a lonely, introspective, and unhappy child. Ill-health had a great deal to do with this condition, no doubt, but it is curious to find a girl of ten, with eight sisters, surrounded by every refinement and interest in her home, or rather homes, capable of the melancholy self-analysis her diary reveals. It was perhaps the immature form of that divine discontent with things as they are which has inspired the vast sociological labours of her later life. Her parents had famous friends, Huxley, Comte, Charles Booth, Galton, and above all Herbert Spencer, whose portrait by his affectionate but critical disciple is the most vivid in the book. For a time she found some relief from her religious and moral perplexities in the Unknowable of which Spencer was the prophet, until at length she reached that deep belief in the power of prayer which came to satisfy all her spiritual needs. Her intellectual curiosity remained the chief fact in her being; her real career opened in 1882 when she became her father's confidential secretary, and her interest in the conditions of labour was roused by the documents which passed through her hands. In 1883 a visit *incognito* to some working-class relations in East Lancashire had been her first real experience of social investigation; then work as a rent-collector in a block of tenements developed into extensive activities in supervision and research in the East End, in the sphere of the Barnetts and other inquirers and reformers. In 1885 her father's illness set limits to her acquisition of first-hand knowledge, and she flung herself with all her ardour into the study of the history and theory of social questions. A year later she began to help Charles Booth in his great inquiry, and the House of Lords Committee on the Sweating System in 1888 was startled to find itself in the hands of a brilliant woman who had discovered for herself what it was like to be a seamstress in an East-End sweat-shop. Her next immense undertaking, begun in 1889, her study of the co-operative movement, separated her at length from the individualists and brought her into contact with the Fabians; and on February 1, 1890, she was able to exclaim, "At last I am a Socialist!" With the beginning of her collaboration with Sidney Webb and their marriage in 1892, she considers her apprenticeship to have reached its term. Mrs. Webb's earlier works have not been of a nature to allow the reader to suspect the warmth, intimacy, grace, and feeling with which her autobiography is vibrant; it is in every way worthy of a woman whose countrymen do not fully realise what they owe to her single-minded and courageous labours.

**The Letters of Queen Victoria : Second Series.** 2 Vols. Edited by George Earle Buckle (Murray).—The first series of Queen Victoria's letters, which were published nearly twenty years ago under the editorship of Dr. Arthur Benson and Lord Esher, concluded with the death of the Prince Consort. The new volumes, therefore, find Her Majesty in the first flush, if one may so phrase it, of her very sincere but somewhat flamboyantly expressed sorrow. Nowhere, indeed, could better evidence of the Queen's remarkable personality be found than in the letters of this period. It might almost be called a dual personality. Her heart was buried in her husband's grave, but her mind could travel with lucid intelligence through the most intricate State papers. In one and the same letter she could, without hypocrisy, disclaim any remnant of personal interest in mundane affairs and make extremely acute, not to say acrid, comments on public business and her Ministers' conduct of it. These early letters give the note of what follows. Throughout the period with which Mr. Buckle's volumes are concerned, the years from 1862 to 1878, Queen Victoria was at once the dedicated widow and the sovereign who had no intention of relinquishing the helm of the ship of State into other hands. Indeed her grasp on it grew firmer as, with the inevitable weakening of the influence of her husband's memory and the disappearance of her uncle and mentor, Leopold of Belgium, from his effective position behind the scenes, she became more and more reliant on her own opinion. She eschewed the displays of royalty, to the temporary detriment of her popularity, but she showed an assiduity in the exercise of the functions of her office which was sometimes embarrassing to the servants of the Crown. Mr. Buckle, who has done his work with great skill and judgment, has made his selection not only from the Queen's own letters and journals, but from the letters written to her by her Ministers and others. He has produced a book which makes extraordinarily interesting present reading, not unlightened by passages of conscious or unconscious humour, and will be of capital importance to future historians of the mid-nineteenth century.

**The Cambridge Ancient History**, edited by J. B. Bury, M.A., F.B.A., S. A. Cook, Litt.D., F. E. Adcock, M.A. Volume IV. : The Persian Empire and the West (Cambridge University Press).—The central point of the present volume is the crisis in the history of the Western world created by the advance of a great Oriental Power and dispelled by the resistance of a few small city states. In this issue we are all partisans, and Greece dominates our sympathies so thoroughly that it is no reflection upon the labours of the late Dr. G. B. Gray if one feels that the chapters which bring the history of the Persian Empire down to the end of the reign of Darius move rather heavily despite the freshness of much of the matter they contain. Professor Adcock and Mr. E. M. Walker then bring Athenian history from Draco down to the coming of the Persians, and the description of the antecedents and actual condition of the protagonists being thus completed, Mr. J. A. R. Munro proceeds to an elaborate critical study of the Invasion itself. Next come Professor R. S. Conway's remarkable inquiries into the mystery surrounding the Etruscans and their origin,

and Mr. Casson's discussion of Etruscan art, enthralling in themselves, if possibly more suited to a volume definitely devoted to the history of Italy. Under the guidance of Professor Ure we follow the Greeks in their expansion to the Black Sea, Egypt, and the Western Mediterranean, until they come into conflict with the Phœnician power established in Carthage; and Mr. Hackforth deals with the history of Sicily and Syracuse, and the lengthy rivalry which ends in the Carthaginian defeat at Himera. The use of coined money resulting from the spread of Greek influence evokes a chapter by Dr. Hill on Coinage down to the time of the wars with Persia. Professor Bury returns to an old love in his paper on early Greek literature, and the ancient philosophers and the religious mysteries form the subject of a particularly understanding contribution by Mr. Cornford. Early Greek Art down to 500 B.C. is in the hands of Professor Beazley, and Mr. D. S. Robertson provides the concluding paper, a brief sketch of Greek Architecture. The volume embodies the results of the latest researches and is bound to find a place in the library of every serious student.

**The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. V., Contest of Empire and Papacy** (Cambridge University Press).—This long-awaited volume, representing as it does the work of the foremost living scholars in this field, and unhappily of some who did not live to see their contributions presented to the public, has all the virtues of concision, precision, and proportion which distinguished its predecessors. Its lavish detail and numerous divisions are not allowed to obscure the main story of the momentous struggle between Church and State. Mr. Z. N. Brooke's study of Hildebrand and his times, and the line of Popes from Gregory VII. to Calixtus II., and Mr. A. L. Poole's admirable history of the Germany of the period, should henceforth be decisive on the question of the real significance of Canossa. Mr. Previté Orton gives a most learned account of the foundation of the Italian municipalities, and this survey of the administrative and economic units of the age is continued in Miss Lodge's chapter on the communal movement, with special reference to France. The history of Barbarossa and the Lombard League is the work of the late Count Ugo Balzani. Mr. Kingsford goes farthest afield with his record of the causes, incidents, and consequences of the Crusades. England at length begins to count for something in Europe, though the history of the Norman Conquest, brilliantly set forth by the late Mr. W. J. Corbett with a close adherence to the material and financial aspect of William's freebooting enterprise, is treated as only a passage in the great story of the Normans, whose kingdom in Sicily forms the subject of another interesting chapter. Mr. Corbett's description of conditions during the reign of Stephen suggests that the times were much less turbulent than exaggerated accounts of purely local violence have led historians to believe. The period of Henry II. is in the hands of Mrs. Stenton, while Professor Halphen supplements her account from the French side. Several excellent chapters are devoted to medieval thought, education, and law. Professor Hamilton Thompson contributes a study of the Monastic Orders from the sixth century to the sixteenth which is a marvel of succinct, unbiased information on a complex and controversial subject, and Mr. H. V. Reade supplies a most useful and

enlightening analysis of the philosophy of the schoolmen. The maps and other apparatus of the volume are all that could be desired.

**History of England**, by George Macaulay Trevelyan (Longmans, Green & Co.).—Mr. Trevelyan's book takes its place at once among the standard one-volume histories of this country. Numbers of partisan works and specialist monographs have appeared of recent years, but there has been nothing to equal this survey in scope, authority, impartiality, or attractiveness. It begins with the dark Iberians and takes us down to the establishment of the League of Nations, and the wonder is, not that the author omits a few legends, stock sayings, and romantic incidents, but that he covers so completely every important aspect of the dynastic, political, military, and social history of England. For mere traditions and speculations the author has but little respect; he can be just to a defeated cause without wishing it had proved victorious. He is no medievalist, yet he can acknowledge the great services to civilisation of the medieval Church; if he is a Whig he is neither hostile to modern democracy nor blind to all that England owes to earlier systems; and prominent among his heroes are the simple country Justices of the Peace. Perhaps one catches something of a plangent tone when he speaks of the nineteenth-century urbanisation of the England whose ancient countryside he depicts in several passages with delightful sureness and affection. Our expansion has cost us something of our personality, and the burdens it has imposed are enormous: however, as he admits, life is "increasingly tolerable to forty millions in an island where seven millions had found it hard to live before." Throughout the book the writing, as was to be expected, is admirable, abounding in suggestive and provocative phrases. His personal portraits, however brief, are remarkably vivid. His treatment of Elizabeth shows him at his best, for there his sympathies seem really engaged. There is no Englishman who would not be the better for reading this vivid, fair-minded, and comprehensive survey of the process by which his country succeeded where all others have failed in reconciling executive efficiency, popular control, and personal freedom; and if he would carry his studies further, Mr. Trevelyan has provided excellent bibliographies for his guidance.

**A Hundred Wonderful Years**, by Mrs. C. S. Peel (John Lane: The Bodley Head).—This "account of the social and domestic life in England from 1820 to 1920" would make an excellent sociological supplement to Mr. Collett's book on the "changing face" of our country, noticed below in this section. A firm belief in "the good old days" is a phase, often the final phase, in the mental history of most human beings; but to anyone of advancing years who wishes to resist this tendency Mrs. Peel's work may be recommended as an admirable corrective. To most women the numerous illustrations of female costume during the Victorian period will be sufficiently convincing even without the many passages of the text which bear upon the position of their sex before the era of emancipation. On her opening page Mrs. Peel lays stress, as Mr. Wells has done before her, on the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the mightiest potentate had no advantage in the way of transport over Julius Cæsar:

he could travel as fast as a horse or a sailing vessel could take him, and no faster. The degree to which steam and other means of rapid transport have altered our society both in structure and in detail is brought out very skilfully in the pages that follow. Mrs. Peel has drawn the material for this study from every imaginable source: newspapers, official documents, memoirs, diaries and letters, published and unpublished, conversations with people of long memories in every walk of life, and her own clear and accurate recollections. Her method is to begin at the top, in the palaces where Queen Victoria sat shivering because the laying of her fire was within the province of the Lord Steward, while the lighting of it was one of the functions of the Lord Chamberlain's department, and not even the lowliest representative of these dignitaries would stray an inch from his allotted sphere; and to work downwards through the aristocracy and the middle classes, with their rigid caste distinctions, their elaborate etiquette, their cruel sports and coarse pleasures, to where the very poorest eked out a wretched existence in a state bordering on slavery, downtrodden, untaught, and more than half starved. The book is no less fascinating in its detail than in its broad outlines. The little changes in our social and domestic habits, the hours of meals, the amount of food and drink consumed, passing fancies in furniture, pictures, books, amusements, dress, and speech, are all no less faithfully recorded than the enlargement of the bounds of polite and influential society for which the accession of Edward VII. may be taken as the signal. Whatever tendencies have yet declared themselves, Mrs. Peel seems to have recorded, and her book sets a high standard for the social historian of the future.

**Fifty Years of Parliament.** Two volumes. By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith (Cassell).—The period covered by these volumes falls just short of the half-century, beginning with the General Election of 1868, when its noble author was still a schoolboy, and concluding with the outbreak of war in 1914. It is thus a mixture of history and reminiscence, with very definite limitations and omissions; and in spite of all its learning, its dignity and felicity of style, and personal and historical interest, the reader is conscious of some disappointment. No one expects Lord Oxford to pander to vulgar curiosity, or to deal in indiscretions; but he might have come forward with a larger measure of new information, and have spoken with less detachment and reserve. In the absence of fresh facts, the work is chiefly valuable for its portraits of prominent politicians (*e.g.*, Gladstone, Disraeli), and its treatment of such incidental issues as Third Parties, Cabinet procedure, and patronage. A digression on parliamentary eloquence includes due tribute paid to John Bright and Robert Lowe, and we pass on to the career of Lord Randolph Churchill (he and Chamberlain are described as "both born and highly trained demagogues"); the Pigott case, in which, as Parnell's counsel, the author came into close relations with that "strange compound of insight and obtuseness;" and the closing period of Gladstone's career, with respect to which Lord Oxford becomes more intimate and informative. The second volume opens with the new century and covers the last fourteen years of a remarkable period of political stability, in which the system seemed able to survive any

imaginable strain. One striking passage describes how the news of the death of King Edward reached the author at Gibraltar on the Admiralty yacht, and he finds nothing to regret in the action he took to arm himself against the opposition of the House of Lords by conditional assurances obtained from the new monarch. The work ends with two entertaining appendices, one on Offices and Pensions, containing interesting notes of the holders of the Poet Laureateship, and another on such political catchwords as "Cave of Adullam," "bag and baggage," "the lonely furrow," and "wait and see" (which is here traced back to Napoleon). It is at any rate certain that future historians of the unparalleled era of industrial amelioration and evolution whose political battles Lord Oxford has chosen to describe, will find these two volumes a treasure-house of pregnant phrases and authoritative judgments.

**England**, by William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's (Ernest Benn).—This book is a characteristic product, containing much that is hasty and inaccurate, much that is provocative in the wrong manner and not likely to further the causes the Dean has at heart, yet certain of being forgiven all these errors for the sake of its nobler parts. It is divided into five chapters and an Epilogue, in which the author deals with the physical configuration of the country, the racial composition of its people, the history and destiny of its language, the national character and its reflection in English theology, philosophy, science, and literature, and the chances of holding together or of losing our overseas Empire, which he sees imperilled by the labour policy of the Dominions, Irish hostility to the English, the absence of a supreme authority, and "the cant of self-determination." "Industrialism" sketches the transformation of the whole type of our civilisation during the nineteenth century, notes the passing of a supremacy based on coal and iron, studies the economic consequences of the Great War, and raises the question of a deliberate policy of birth-control. The Dean cannot "pretend to see a ray of hope for British industry in the future." "We have to face a period of contraction, in which both wealth and population will shrink." He disregards, of course, the new industries springing up about us every day, but then he is nothing if not dogmatic. Consigning us to a reversion to the England of the mid-eighteenth century, he passes on to a consideration of "Democracy," in which, one knows, he will not stay to be either prudent or charitable; for on all the issues he assembles under this head, his opinions are already notorious. He is by turns bold and timorous, humane and perverse, generous and narrow-minded, and the class-consciousness he so freely denounces in the working classes is surely at its most aggressive in himself. Nevertheless, with a great deal of what he says any honest man is bound to agree. He may exaggerate the decay of Parliament, but the tendencies he deplores are evident enough: "the leaders are led, the legislators are delegates, and the electors are ignorant and indolent." In spite of all, however, even against the alternative of bureaucratic State Socialism, the Dean believes that our present form of government will endure; and he concludes his Epilogue with the avowal that he has never been tempted to wish that he was other than an Englishman. A true lover of his country he undoubtedly is, and it is

a pity that he cannot realise, even after the lesson of the War, how few of his fellows do not deserve the same title.

**The International Anarchy, 1904-1914**, by G. Lowes Dickinson (George Allen & Unwin).—What made it possible, Mr. Dickinson asks, for “these little men,” the European statesmen who, when all is said, have to bear most of the blame, to bring about a world-wide catastrophe they did not actually desire? His answer is, “the anarchy of armed states pursuing by war the maintenance or the extension of power;” and this thesis is supported by a detailed analysis of international policy in the ten years before the war, the formation of the hostile camps in Europe, and the prophetic, preliminary crises in North Africa and the Near East. He addresses himself to the younger generation, in whom alone he can place any hope for the reform of the whole system and spirit of international intercourse. His austere self-purgation of national prejudice does not cause him to defend the policy of every country but his own, but he is careful to put forward whatever can be said in reasonable explanation of the policy of enemy Powers. There is no denying the skill and impressiveness of his analysis of the network of contradictory obligations in which the members of both groups of Powers had involved themselves. The cynicism of war undertaken in defence of any one treaty selected from such an assortment might well make Mr. Dickinson despair, as despair he does. The great fault of the book is, indeed, its pessimism, which, justified or no, would scarcely encourage the young readers for whom it is intended. For Mr. Dickinson seems to have persuaded himself that there has been no change for the better, whereas public opinion in the great communities of Europe is undoubtedly more informed and influential in these matters than ever before, and the forces now making for international co-operation have never been so strong. However, any citizen of to-day would do better to study Mr. Dickinson’s indictment and share his forebodings than to maintain his own optimism on a comfortable basis of ignorance.

**The End of Laissez-Faire**, by John Maynard Keynes (The Hogarth Press).—Interesting in itself, this little volume of 54 pages is also noteworthy as being a good example of the growing tendency to consider questions of the day in booklets which are really pamphlets. Mr. Keynes’ pamphlet, though it is concerned with what appears to be an abstruse subject, is eminently readable. He considers the origin and growth of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in a style which will capture even the most careless reader, and his thesis is that, even if there ever was a complete policy of *laissez-faire* (which is by no means certain), in the future that policy will be considerably modified. Mr. Keynes does not go so far as to profess the Socialist faith; he believes in the potency for good of the money-making and money-loving instincts of individuals. But he sees that the day of collective action is fast approaching, and when it comes it will improve the technique of modern Capitalism. But he is not clear as to the forms which this improvement will take, and he pleads therefore for thought on the subject. “We need by an effort of the mind to elucidate our own feelings.” His pamphlet unquestionably helps towards this end.

**Religion and the Rise of Capitalism**, by R. H. Tawney (John Murray).—



Throughout the Middle Ages religious precepts as formulated by the doctors of the Church had a profound influence on economic activities. Such doctrines, for example, as that of just price or of the heinousness of usury, for a time at least, were not without practical effect. But as economic activities became more complex, the needs of life, which are dynamic, outgrew the ordinances of the Church, which tended to be static. The Church condemned interest on capital; the needs of everyday life and of expanding commercial relations required the aid of capital and, willy-nilly, interest-taking became general. This disharmony between theory and practice made it necessary for ecclesiastical thought to attempt to bring itself more into accord with the requirements of the market-place. The readjustment was already beginning when the Middle Ages came to an end, and it was carried over into what is termed the modern period, especially the age of the Reformation. It is with this problem that Mr. Tawney has set himself to deal, and it is hardly necessary to add that he has acquitted himself with the scholarly thoroughness which we have come to associate with all his writings. The problem has interested well-known learned men on the Continent, and notably Professor Max Weber in Germany; it is not too much to say that Mr. Tawney's book will deservedly occupy a place of honour beside the studies on this subject of continental scholars. The value of the book is enhanced by copious extracts from the writings of Reformation and Puritan theologians; though economic conditions changed, the later ecclesiastics differed little from their predecessors, still preaching that in business a man should strive "to avoid sin rather than loss." Mr. Tawney's volume is no mere academic effort; its theme has a bearing on the great economic problems of the day. For in one sense the conflict between Individualism and Socialism is due ultimately to different standards of social values; on one aspect of these differences Mr. Tawney is particularly illuminating.

**The Life of Jesus**, by J. Middleton Murry (Jonathan Cape).—Books on this theme are legion: yet Mr. Murry's was worth doing if only because of its delicate style. From this point of view it may be regarded as one of the outstanding books of the year. Whether its treatment of the subject will convince or attract many people is another matter. Possibly Mr. Murry does not care whether it does or not; as he confesses, he wrote the book because he needed to write it, because he wanted to make Jesus real to himself. What is the result? It must be confessed that Mr. Murry has conceived a figure of his own, based on numerous assumptions, supported by no historical evidence, a mere mystical figure, to whom he assigns a certain attitude to life and to conduct on grounds that seem to rest in Mr. Murry's consciousness alone. The critical reader is troubled by the number of instances in which Mr. Murry says "it is evident," "probably," "we must conceive of Jesus," "we may suppose," "much must have been due," "doubtless." On such a basis it is possible to portray any figure the author cares to imagine. After all, Jesus was an historical character, and any consideration of his life and work and teaching must have some relation to historical fact. Judged from this standpoint Mr. Murry's presentation of Jesus is greatly disappointing. He depicts

a personality of his own creation ; wholly human, the expression of the highest mysticism. This character, according to Mr. Murry, "declared what men did when they were re-born ; and declared also what men must do if they desired to be re-born." Re-birth in God is thus the good life ; and in order to be so re-born a man must renounce his attachment to worldly things. Jesus did so, and what he did others may do. It must be admitted that here and there passages occur in Mr. Murry's pages that are not easily intelligible. "In Jesus' teaching the re-birth of the individual man was a birth into a knowledge of God as Father : " this may serve as an example. Mysticism has no canons and no bounds ; in mystic thought everything is possible. Mr. Murry has written a mystical life of Jesus, and the best that can be said of it is that it is a splendid piece of writing.

**The Worship of Nature** (Volume I.), by Sir James George Frazer (Macmillan).—This volume contains the Gifford Lectures of 1924-25, and is marked by those attractive qualities which give distinction to all the work of Sir James Frazer. Here he deals with the story of man's reaching out to the divine, worshipping what seemed most wonderful. First it was the sky, then the earth, then again the sun, then lastly the dead. The personification of natural phenomena which underlies the worship of Nature is the theme of this volume ; the method is that usually followed by Sir James in his other books. He traces the story of the worship of the sky in turn among the Vedic Indians, the ancient Iranians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Chinese and the peoples of Africa. So with other forms of the worship of Nature. Throughout the author draws on his wonderful fund of knowledge of literature and folklore, and he presents his story in so attractive a style that the reader cannot but enjoy the narrative. Where there is so much that is excellent it is difficult specially to commend any particular portion. But perhaps the chapters concerned with Greek mythology reach a level of beauty which is classic. The story of Zeus, for instance, is told in a wondrously attractive fashion ; it is one of the glories of a great book. From the point of view of pure literature alone, Sir James Frazer has written one of the most distinguished books of the year.

**On Education**, by Bertrand Russell (George Allen & Unwin).—Mr. Russell always writes thoughtfully ; a thoughtful and courageous handling of the problem of Education is one of the needs of the time. Mr. Russell is concerned chiefly with the education of young children, and with the education of character ; but in all things he is reasonable : "cast-iron rules are above all things to be avoided." He surveys some existing educational ideals—those of Dr. Arnold, of the Jesuits, of China and Japan, of modern America, and he sets forth an ideal of his own, which in his judgment is in accord with the best thought of our own time. In this there enter four characteristics which he commends as being the basis of character formation : vitality, courage, sensitiveness, and intelligence. "I firmly believe (Mr. Russell writes) that, by proper physical, emotional, and intellectual care of the young, these qualities could all be made very common." How to achieve this end he shows at length in his book, and

his suggestions are worth pondering. They are attractive, earnest, and sincere; and Mr. Russell claims for them that if they were generally adopted in educational practice, "very few people would be unhappy."

**The Changing Face of England**, by Anthony Collett (Nisbet).—Mr. Collett must be the incarnation of the predominant partner in the firm of Eyes and No-Eyes. No ordinary powers of observation, analysis, and synthesis have gone to the making of this book, which can only be the fruit of an unusual combination of assiduous field-work and indoor study; and in addition to his learning in geography, geology, botany, animal life, anthropology, and a dozen other branches of science, its author shows that he possesses both vision and uncommon practical sense. Few people realise the gradual but insistent changes in progress all about them, the erosion of the coast, the silting up of the mouths of rivers and the shifting of their beds, the redistribution of population, the alterations in the face of the fields and in the cattle and the wild birds and beasts inhabiting the countryside. Changes in the type of the population itself are not, for obvious reasons, conspicuous to the eye of a single generation; but Mr. Collett points out how swift and readily discernible they have been in our own day. All that we so lazily overlook he perceives and explains as he watches Nature at her work, in such sections of his book as "Shore, Storm, and Tide," "The Wrinkled Hills," and "Along the River," or sees the great cities striving to dispeople their centres to the imminent danger of what still remains green and pleasant in the surrounding country. There can be no question as to the interest and value of his rich contribution to our knowledge of England, and of his power to make us see it, not as the scene of a proud history and the centre of an Empire, but as a living thing continually varying in the details of its beauty, and in sore peril from certain tendencies of our civilisation.

**Fallodon Papers**, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G. (Constable).—Of the seven papers contained in this volume all but one were delivered as lectures. They were never written, for the state of Lord Grey's eyesight precluded him from writing, but they were taken down by a shorthand writer as they were delivered, and it is from these reports, subjected to some revision, that they have been printed. Lord Grey explains this by way of apology for their shortcomings, but no apology was necessary, for the method, much as its occasion is to be regretted, has given the papers a conversational tone which is a rare and pleasant thing in literature. They are the talk which comes out of a well-stored contemplative mind. Only one of them, "Some Thoughts on Public Life," deals with politics. The rest are concerned mainly with the profitable use of leisure. Lord Grey, though he was once a player of real tennis, a strenuous game, is for the quieter recreations. He is not in much sympathy with an age of high-speed motoring and ragtime music. Reading and the study of nature commend themselves to him more, and he commends them to his audiences. He likes what Tennyson called "those large still books;" Wordsworth is his favourite poet; and he chose the "Prelude" as the subject of his presidential address, here included, to the English Association. He is most delightful, however, when he is talking of the open air and especially

of birds, whose ways he has studied with loving attention. His account of the ducks which he encouraged to live on the ponds at Fallodon is extremely attractive, and so is his account of a walk in Hampshire with President Roosevelt, who, wishing to take advantage of a visit to England to study the songs of English birds, applied to the British Ambassador at Washington for a guide and was recommended to the Foreign Secretary himself. Altogether *Fallodon Papers* is a book which most people who read it will keep by them to read again.

**David**, by D. H. Lawrence (Martin Secker).—In this play the art of Mr. Lawrence is seen at its very best. The stricter form of the drama keeps him from the exuberance to which he is prone, and for which the novel gives him too easy an opportunity. He has always been capable of reaching a higher level of beauty than almost any living writer, and here he has not only reached that level but stayed at it. The great English of the Authorised Version has inspired without overwhelming him. This play is a genuinely original piece of work, though its author has followed closely the biblical story of the life of his hero from the time of his anointing by Samuel till he is driven into the wilderness by Saul's frenzied jealousy. What Mr. Lawrence has done is to crystallise the essential moments of the story into dramatic scenes and find appropriate and telling speech for the actors in it. He has individualised and humanised his characters, Saul and Jonathan, David and Samuel, Merab and Michal, without sacrificing the epic and hieratic quality of his theme to the exigencies of modern realism. His notes of humour are introduced with perfect discretion. Of late years a good many poets and dramatists have gone for subjects to the Bible, but none of them has done so with such striking and convincing results as Mr. Lawrence in *David*.

#### FICTION.

**The World of William Clissold**. Three volumes. By H. G. Wells (Ernest Benn).—In his Preface to the first volume the author adopts a very pugnacious attitude towards any one who may suggest that "William Clissold" is anything in the way of an alias for H. G. Wells. Clissold himself is allowed to refer to "a distant relative of mine, Wells," but there officially the kinship ends. No one, of course, would find any similarity in the personal histories of the author and his creation; but so close is their mental affinity that, if the slender framework of fiction were removed from these volumes, the remainder would instantly be recognised as the latest testament of H. G. Wells, and of no other living writer. The story and its personages matter very little; as a piece of literature it does not represent its author's creative powers at their highest; but the reader is swept along by a wonderful flow of social and philosophical commentary, exposition, and prophecy whose influence is not likely to be limited to a single generation. William Clissold's scientific studies have impressed him with the order that reigns in the universe, and disgusted him with the aimless confusion we call civilisation. A mystical belief in the ultimate triumph of "the mind of the race" is his substitute for

a religion. Socialism disappoints him, and he has nothing but contempt for the Marxian gospel. He rises to prosperity in a huge steel company, and gradually he comes to place his hopes for humanity in a kind of supreme directorate of industrial and financial magnates, benevolent despots of the world of "big business," who are to achieve the "simplification by concentration into large organisations of the material life of the whole community." Scientists, artists, and an incorruptible international Press, will aid them to rearrange political divisions and institutions so as to form from the existing chaos a sane, happy, peaceful, productive, and superlatively manageable confederation of peoples. How the merchant princes of our world are to be endowed with sufficient virtues to enable them to be entrusted with such powers, Clissold does not tell us. The career and comments of his brother Dickon, the sardonic embodiment of material success, provide the corrective for much of the vagueness and grandiloquence of William. He is the agency through which Mr. Wells scoffs in the third person at the cosmic ardours and agitations he expresses in the first person. Dickon carps while William generously dreams. Meanwhile Clissold finds it easier to reconstruct society in theory than to lead an ordered personal life in fact. His marriage is a mistake from first to last; nor are his numerous love affairs satisfying. But his disquisitions on love and the relationship between men and women of to-day are illuminating and comprehensive. So is his indictment of modern education, and especially of the ancient universities. It is impossible to do justice to the range and quality of the social criticism contained in these volumes. Mr. Wells, or rather William Clissold, is as fertile in suggestion as he is sweeping in censure, and occasional unfairnesses and irreverences may be forgiven to a writer so eager and untiring in the cause of greater human enlightenment, order, and happiness.

**The Silver Spoon**, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann).—Here is the second part of Mr. Galsworthy's new trilogy of the later Forsytes, which began with *The White Monkey*. The symbolical picture of the first part loses its conspicuous place upon the wall, and the symbol of the silver spoon is emphasised in its stead. It is both personal and national. Soames Forsyte's daughter, Fleur, was born with it in her mouth; so was everybody in the society in which she moves; so was the England of her time. Fleur's husband, Michael Mont, has ceased to be a publisher and has gone into politics, where he is a forlorn evangelist preaching an unromantic gospel of Imperialism according to old Sir James Foggart. Foggartism is based upon a rather cold-blooded policy of emigration; it asks the country to face the fact that it can no longer support itself in the style to which it has been accustomed, and to believe that the real hope of England is now in the Dominions. No one in the House or outside it will take it seriously, and Michael finds that he cannot expect any sympathy from his socially ambitious wife; yet they have a baby son, "the eleventh baronet," to whom these issues may one day be grave indeed. He may have nothing to pick up with his silver spoon. Husband and wife are at a crisis in their relations. Michael sees that Fleur is essentially shallow, and the society slander action in which she is involved is a further revelation

of her selfishness and vanity. Meanwhile Michael's activities have brought him in contact with a woman of real worth and nobility of character, Norah Curfew, and though she remains in the background her figure is laden with significance in its contrast with that of Fleur. When the book closes, one is left speculating on the fate of the Monts, the future of Foggartism, and the lessons that Mr. Galsworthy means his characters to learn outside their native land.

**Rough Justice**, by C. E. Montague (Chatto & Windus).—This is an unusually fine book, which would have been much finer were it not so direct a dramatisation of *Disenchantment*, its author's earlier essay on the War. The same lessons are all too manifestly being driven home. This is not to say that they are not salutary lessons, of the utmost importance for our times; but didacticism in fiction is not the wear. His hero, Auberon, Bron for short, is the son of the proud, high-minded Thomas Garth, who has withdrawn himself from the contamination of public life. Bron is brought up with his cousin and foster-sister Molly, and their childhood in the old house by the river is described with great deliberation, affection, and beauty. Their standard of conduct is superlative, their every instinct is fine. Nothing in Bron's school or university days succeeds in soiling him physically or mentally, and he develops into what, one feels, is Mr. Montague's ideal of English youth, delighting in the world about him, inarticulate but imaginative, and above all unblemished. Thus August, 1914, finds him and his friends, the wily Colin and the witty Victor, fit victims for the sacrifice, and to the War they go. Bron accepts it at first as he would have accepted any other adventure, but the long years of it with their constant tale of incompetence in high places, useless slaughter, and the wasted gallantry and profitless endurance of the common soldier, bring him, as they brought his creator, disillusionment bordering on despair. Colin cynically amasses decorations of every description without going near the line. Victor Nevin, who goes out in the ranks as Molly's betrothed, meets a hideous fate. He for whom the paths of peace had always been so smooth cannot face the ordeal by battle. Stunned on his way to the trenches, he deserts and makes his way to a farmhouse where a Frenchwoman keeps him concealed to serve her own ends. His friends think of him as "missing, believed killed," but Bron hears the true story from the foul Immals, who takes a loathsome pleasure in his task of executing men for cowardice and boasts to a party of officers of how he dispatched "this swine Nevin" with his own hand. This episode is perhaps the best thing in the book, certainly the most painful, and it is to be hoped that it may convey its moral to some who are yet obtuse to the less familiar implications of war. Bron survives the campaign with scars on his mind worse than those on his body, and the love that has always existed between him and Molly is in the end avowed and rewarded. Mr. Montague has never written finer prose than is to be found in the pages of this novel, whether it echoes the talk of the childish adventurers on an eyot in the Thames or vibrates with irony and indignation as the best blood of England is squandered on the Flanders clay.

**Odtaa**, by John Masefield (Heinemann).—Inevitably, perhaps, consider-

ing the setting of both stories, this novel recalls *Sard Harker*; and the hero's terrific journey over the worst of country through perils manifold and continual is certainly somewhat daring in its repetition of a similar exploit in the earlier work. However, other writers of stories of adventure—Dumas, Henty, and Haggard, to name three at random—have not scrupled to repeat themselves, and no one need complain. The scene is once more the Republic of Santa Barbara, and the vile Don Lopez de Meruel is its Dictator. His great opponent is Don Manuel Encinitas, the leader of the Whites, also known to us from *Sard Harker*. Young Highworth Ridden, who “would answer to Hi,” comes out from England, a boy fresh from school, to make a career for himself. His is not a complex character; courage and determination are its chief components; and the contrast between his simple hardihood and the ways of a people inured to every form of perfidy and cruelty is extremely effective. The story is simple. A message has to be taken across country inland to Don Manuel to tell him that his betrothed is in the hands of his enemy, and Hi takes it. The vicissitudes of this dreadful journey are supposed to give its esoteric meaning to the title of the book, representing the initial letters of “One D— Thing After Another.” He is only a boy, wandering in an unknown country, and the whole enterprise is beyond his powers, but he will not yield. He strays further and further out of his way, encountering and overcoming every obstacle that Nature and desperate enemies can place in his path; he experiences every kind of disappointment and mischance; and in the end he fails. Nevertheless, the struggle may be more than the prize, and this is not the first time Mr. Masfield has shown us the glory of high endeavour meeting with defeat, in a rousing and romantic story, full of colour and excitement.

**An American Tragedy**, by Theodore Dreiser (Constable).—For many years past, American critics have been citing Mr. Dreiser as the type of the disregarded native genius who has not even been compensated by any proportionate amount of recognition abroad. He can never have foreseen that, of all his works, this particular novel would be the first to attract the attention and capture the imagination of the mass of his fellow-countrymen. For it is in several respects a book to daunt the average reader. It is immensely long, the style is often grotesque and never captivating, the central figure is a youth, a social misfit, who commits a sordid murder and pays the penalty for it; and it has been stated that the case has been taken from real life practically unaltered, while the evidence and the documents in the lengthy murder trial are reproduced word for word from the actual court proceedings. Clyde Griffiths might stand for any one of half a million youths drifting aimlessly through life in a great city, half-educated, indiscipled, predatory, eager for every circumstance of material success but with no gifts and no industry that might ensure it. Mr. Dreiser describes his daily life with enormous patience and exactitude, as a bell-boy in a hotel, as a clerk in the factory owned by a rich uncle, and in the rather “fast” set of young people in much better circumstances with whom chance enables him to mix. Clyde is not inarticulate, and he has definite social ambitions; he wants money and power, but he has no

chance of acquiring either on his merits. There comes a time when both appear to be within his grasp, for his infatuation with a wealthy and distinguished girl seems to be returned, and such a marriage would fulfil his every desire. These hopes are wrecked when Roberta, a factory girl whom Clyde has seduced, reveals that she is with child by him. Nothing in his code or his environment impels him to keep faith with the desperate girl, and when other shameful possibilities have been vainly explored, he resolves to get rid of her. In the end he does not actually take her life, but leaves her to drown, himself standing in the water irresolute till the last moment. The civilisation that made him what he is then punishes him for being so, and the protracted and increasingly harrowing drama of the scenes in the court and the condemned cell culminates in his journey to the electric chair. This is an impressive, a minatory novel to which a synopsis can hardly do justice. Its women, Clyde's mother, Roberta, Hortense, are portrayed with wonderful sympathy and simplicity, and the whole work is conceived and executed on a scale which sets it apart from the rest of contemporary fiction.

**Thunder on the Left**, by Christopher Morley (Heinemann).—Mr. Morley makes pretty play—how pretty one might not have realised without the modest and helpful introduction contributed by Mr. Hugh Walpole—with childhood and middle age, Then and Now, the secret thought and the spoken word, and all that separates innocence from experience. Martin has a party to celebrate his tenth birthday, and he and his sister Bunny, and their friends, Ruth, Phyllis, Ben, and the sensitive Joyce, begin after the manner of children to consider grown-ups and their mysterious works and ways. Grown-ups, they know too well, will never tell children the truth about their free and happy estate. The only thing to be done is to spy on them, see exactly how they behave, and then draw up a report. The idea makes a great appeal to Martin, but the enterprise is interrupted by the ritual of birthday presents, and he is all alone when he slips through a chink in time into a future twenty-one years ahead. There the children of the party are men and women; Phyllis and her husband, George Granville, have even children of their own, and it is in their household that Martin makes his appearance in the semblance of a man but with the mind of a child. Preparations are going forward for a picnic, and the guests are Ruth and her husband Ben, as well as Joyce, who has become another complication in the sufficiently stressful relations of her host and hostess. Martin's appearance and his answers to Phyllis's questions cause him to be taken for an artist, and he is invited to join the party. In the circumstances nearly everything he says arouses either laughter or consternation, and he is happiest when they leave him to play with the children. We shift from mind to mind, dimension to dimension, now reminded by the ghostly voice of Bunny calling to her brother that Martin is a visitor from elsewhere, now assured that the whole company belongs to the material world by the comments of the cook in the kitchen and the amours of the nurse; until we are translated back to the end of the birthday party. This is an original and charming fantasy, written with rare deftness and felicity; it has, however, but a melancholy philosophy.



**Lolly Willowes**, by Sylvia Townsend Warner (Chatto & Windus).—Miss Warner's admirable style, simple, witty and deliciously ironic, owes much to the influence of Miss Austen; but her subject nothing at all. *Lolly Willowes* is a book that Jane could only have conceived in a nightmare; but then Jane, of course, had never heard of Freud, nor guessed the joys of poking impartial fun at those who believe in him and those who don't. Lolly is a modern, middle-aged spinster who sells her soul to Satan and becomes a witch, thereby fulfilling her dreadful vocation. Her vocation might have been matrimony or religion; but she is a natural child of Satan, and witchcraft is in her blood. For a long time, indeed, it lies quiescent or only faintly stirring, half smothered by the suffocating kindness of a crew of stupid, managing relatives. But at last in middle life the call becomes insistent and Lolly follows it, not to the wilderness, as saints are led, but to the seclusion of Great Mop, a village whose inhabitants are nearly all witches or warlocks. Here she makes a compact with the Devil, a pleasant gentleman, flatteringly keen in the pursuit of decayed, undesired gentlewomen. She then acquires a familiar in the shape of a kitten called Vinegar and develops into an authentic witch, making her bow with great *éclat* at the Witches' Sabbath, a highly diverting function. The whole book is highly diverting; yet there is a weird atmosphere about it which turns a chuckle into a shudder as easily as Lolly curdles milk. Miss Warner herself is a bit of a witch.

**Crewe Train**, by Rose Macaulay (Collins), takes its title from the familiar old music-hall refrain about the lady who wanted to go to Birmingham and found herself at Crewe. One doubts if Denham Dobie, the heroine, anti-social from birth, ever really wanted to reach any definite destination whatever; her training and her natural inclinations would rather have led her to camp out in the first waiting-room handy and support existence on provender from the automatic machines. When her father died, Denham's aunt, with her clever and sophisticated offspring, came on the scene, and the girl was transplanted to Bloomsbury and the restless artificial world of the garrulous Greshams. Needless to say, she proved rather disconcerting even to polite Bohemian London; her perpetual "Why?" to all it assumed or accepted had a devastating effect. Miss Macaulay's last book took society to a desert island; the story of Denham Dobie is, so to speak, a reversal of this process, and the lavish wit of the authoress glosses over what is in essentials a tragedy. For polite society has its way in the end, and the girl's wings are clipped. She becomes the wife of Arnold Chapel, a young novelist and publisher, who finds it nearly impossible to lure her back to London once she has established herself in a rudimentary cottage in Cornwall with a secret passage into the caves below. There she stays, indifferent to all entreaties, causing scandal by her unconventionality and her expeditions on a motor-cycle about the countryside. In the end the couple live outside the London Denham detests, but within reach of it, amid the ordered ruralities of Metro-land. This is an entertaining story, containing some of its authoress's best touches of caricature as well as several types with whom she repeats the success of previous works. The

fact that it is clearly Miss Macaulay who is putting some of Denham's innocent questions makes them none the less difficult to answer.

**A Deputy Was King**, by G. B. Stern (Chapman & Hall).—Like Mr. Galsworthy, Miss Stern has brought her saga down to the post-war generation, and if its figures have not the massive picturesqueness of the Rakonitzes of an earlier epoch they are not lacking in variety and vitality. Matriarchy is not a form of government likely to commend itself to them, and though the great Anastasia dies unconquered, the system she represented has evidently predeceased her. Toni Rakonitz, at any rate, has released herself from the family. Half Jew, half Gentile, conducting with consummate skill the successful business of a fashionable dressmaker, "Toni's" of Hanover Square, she is not the person to count herself a mere unit in a vast tribal system and submit her affairs to the counsel and judgment of innumerable relatives. But this shrewd, capable woman succumbs to a curious temptation, a sudden longing to be a spoilt creature, a clinging, cherished, helpless wife; and while the fit is on her she marries the ultra-English Giles Goddard, and proceeds to enjoy the "good time" which is to compensate her for her strenuous business life and him for six years of war. The interplay of personality is deftly sketched in the novel,—Tom and Giles, Giles and Loraine, Loraine and Stephen. Miss Stern has conceived her story on the grand scale, and has enriched it with vivid and humorous detail.

**The Green Lacquer Pavilion**, by Helena Beauclerk (Collins).—This was one of the most successful fantasies published in a year distinguished by a welcome revival of that delightful genre. Miss Helena Beauclerk has the eighteenth-century manner to perfection, and Mr. Edmund Dulac has supplied the story with illustrations that render the extravagant in terms of the formal and unsurprising as skilfully as does the text. It all took place in 1710, at Taveridge Hall in Surrey, where the overwhelming Sir John Taveridge and his appealing lady had invited an elegant and varied company for a brief rest from the hectic delights of the season in town. The house-party included the modish Mr. Valentine Clare, Lord Bedlow and his garrulous wife with their niece, Julie Cherrivale, the captivating Mrs. Wynton, and Mr. Gilvry, the philosopher, deeply versed in the occult. During the talk and music after dinner Clare and Julie calmly walked into the pavilion in the Chinese landscape of Lady Taveridge's lacquer screen, as easily as Alice passed through the looking-glass, and the rest of the company followed them. Therewith their wonderful adventures in China commenced, including capture by pirates, love affairs with bewitching Eastern princes and princesses, conversations with philosophers and even experiences with cannibals. In the end they all returned to the pavilion, and the party met at breakfast next morning at Taveridge Hall, the same yet not the same. One hardly knows which to admire most—Miss Beauclerk's rich and subtle invention, her suave unhastening style, or the wisdom and tenderness that make the glamour of the dream-idylls of Lady Taveridge and Mr. Clare a permanent enrichment of the imagination.

**Tom Fool**, by F. Tennyson Jesse (Heinemann).—When first we encounter Tom Fould—his dreamy nature and the "stary fits" of his childhood

gave the nickname sufficient point to make it stick—he is on the point of going down with a sinking ship. The last scene of all shows him heading another vessel, the *Happy Return*, straight into a waterspout in the desperate hope of putting out the fire which is raging in her hold. Between the two we are shown a life of rich adventure, with moments of danger, of love, of crisis. Throughout Tom is swept along by a passion for ships and the sea. Miss Jesse's novel is superbly written, with a wealth of technical detail that can only be called amazing.

**Far End**, by May Sinclair (Hutchinson).—This is a rather confusing book, possibly because it treats numerous difficult problems in a comparatively brief space. It is described as “a psychological study of married life,” but its real theme would seem to be the influence of place; for *Far End* is a house, an enviable house in delightful surroundings, and instead of bearing the conventional curse, it appears to convey a blessing upon those who dwell in it. As long as Christopher Vivart the novelist and his wife live there, all is well with them. But when urged to leave the house by tragic war memories, they let it and move to Hampstead. The two are happy and prosperous for a time, wrapped up in each other and their baby girl. But when they become the parents of a sickly boy, a constant preoccupation to his mother, there is no more domestic peace and comradeship, and Christopher is forced to engage a typist and work outside. The complications usual in fiction ensue, and in the end Hilda takes back her reformed husband, just as if he had recovered from a physical illness, and all is well until the fascinating Mrs. Templeton lays siege to him and he falls in love with her “wonderful mind.” Hilda meets this with a declaration of mental, not physical, separation—this doctrine of the independence of mind and body in such a relationship comes oddly from a philosopher of Miss Sinclair's attainments—but soon afterwards “Far End” becomes available once more, and they return. Almost as soon as they are there again they feel that the gap of time has been filled, their present has been joined on to their past, and all between is as though it had never been. On the whole the book is not worthy of Miss Sinclair; it is hasty and unconvincing, and the dialogue between husband and wife is often bookish and unnatural.

**Debits and Credits**, by Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan).—As in his former volumes, Mr. Kipling ranges wide both in subject and in manner, and there is no falling-off in the power and penetration of his sterner pieces, the gusto of his humour, and the tenderness which he can bring to a quiet and homely story. The book opens with one of his Oriental apologues, “The Enemies to Each Other,” a new version of the story of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, and of “their Uniter and their Comforter” under the curse. It is followed by “Sea Constables,” a war story of '15, told over a dinner-table, of the pursuit to his doom of a “neutral” engaged in refuelling enemy submarines. “In the Interests of the Brethren” shares with two other tales the esoteric interest attached to its setting in an unorthodox war-time Masonic Lodge with whose proceedings it is principally engaged. The characters of *Stalky and Co.* reappear in the knockabout comedy of “The United Idolaters” as leaders in the great

schism and conflict arising from the cult of the tales of Uncle Remus ; and again in a more subtle and delightful misapplication of literary enthusiasm, this time the intensive study of the Baconian heresy, to personal ends in "The Propagation of Knowledge." The power of the written word seems, indeed, to have occupied Mr. Kipling's mind a good deal of late, for in the story which met with the most general applause, "The Janeites," he tells of the prodigious effects of the worship of Jane Austen in a Garrison Artillery battery at the Front. The supernatural enters into three impressive pieces : "The Wish House," a tale of unlawful love and self-sacrifice in a lowly Sussex setting, and the wraith that transferred the curse of cancer to a woman from her lover ; "A Madonna of the Trenches," with a woman's ghost and a suicide in a dug-out ; and "The Gardener," in which a mother visits the grave in Flanders of the child who has always passed as her nephew, and sees a Gardener who knows her secret—and all secrets. "The Prophet and the Country" contains a highly entertaining forecast of the perils of Prohibition in the United States from the mouth of an American sufferer. Mr. Kipling achieves another success in animal psychology with the story of the vengeance taken on his tormentors in the arena by a bull who rationalised his battles, in "The Bull that Thought." There is the same touch of brutality in "A Friend of the Family," in which an Australian soldier, born and bred far from civilisation, stages an imitation air-raid in an English village by way of reprisal on the local enemies of a comrade at the Front. "On the Gate," a tale of '16, is a wise and amusing fantasy of the scenes at the gate of Heaven when the angelic officials were well-nigh overwhelmed by the incessant stream of victims of the War ; and in "The Eye of Allah," the discovery of the microscope is related in a medieval monastery, and the instrument itself destroyed as an untimely birth. This volume contains some of its author's best verses. The imitations of Horace, and "Untimely," "The Supports," "We and They," and "The Birthright" demand mention for their own high qualities, and "The Vineyard," a bitter poem on the late entry of America into the War and her subsequent attitude, for the indignation it aroused across the Atlantic.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

### THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

THE unusual interest in evolution aroused in 1925 by the Tennessee trial died down, and the chief echo this year has been a spate of smaller ephemeral books on the subject. No outstanding contributions have been made during 1926 to our knowledge of human evolution, and the skull found in Java has proved not to be human. McGregor (Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.) has re-examined *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and finds that while in general form the brain resembles that of the gibbon, its convolutions are more like those of the gorilla. In both size and form, however, the brain is distinctly closer to man than that of any ape. Two important books which may be mentioned here are Darwin's "Eugenic Reform," and Hauschild's "Grundriss der Anthropologie."

Whilst the fact of evolution throughout organic life is accepted, the mode of evolution becomes increasingly a source of discussion. Kammerer, supported in this country by MacBride, has championed the inheritance of acquired characters, but certain of his specimens having been criticised by Noble (Nat.), these were re-examined by him and found to have been tampered with, whereupon Kammerer committed suicide, protesting the good faith and accuracy of his work. The general opinion of biologists is crystallising against a Lamarckian viewpoint, but the latter has received unexpected and weighty support from the work of Harrison and Garrett (P. Roy. Soc.), in which a transmissible melanism was induced by feeding certain lepidoptera on manganese or lead. From the more general standpoint evolution has been treated by Watson (P.T. Roy. Soc.), who discusses the manner in which an air-breathing life was first introduced among primitive amphibia, and by Leathes (B.A.), who considers from the physiological aspect the structure and functions of living organisms in relation to variation and evolution. During the year more results of the American exploration of Central Asia have been published, and have justified Osborn's prediction that the high desert plateau were formerly a centre of reptilian and mammalian radiation. The only outstanding general treatise on evolution has been that by Berg, entitled "Nomogenesis: or Evolution Determined by Law," a translation of a Russian work in which the whole subject is reconsidered from the standpoint of multiple origins and convergent evolution. Another Russian, Vavilov (Bull. App. Bot., Lenin-grad), has studied the origin of certain cultivated plants, and finds that these are of polyphyletic descent, each line with its own centre of origin and entering cultivation independently in different localities.

The "Age and Area" hypothesis of Willis has been vigorously attacked and defended (Q. J. Biol.), and its author has carried his ideas a step further (Ann. Bot.) by concluding that in certain plant forms not only new species but even new genera may arise by single mutations. The arising of new forms by mutation (De Vries) as against their origin by hybridisation (Lotsy) has been the subject of much controversy. Davis (Gen.) and other students find that many forms showing mutation are really hybrid types in which segregation is occurring. Further, Clausen (Hered.) and others, show that crossing can produce new chromosome numbers, and so lead directly to the evolution of new forms. Turessen (Hered.), working on *Festuca ovina*, supports his view that great importance must be attributed to selective crossing of biotypes determined by the environment, and this gains weight from the researches of Allan (J. Ecol.) on epharmonic response in New Zealand plants. During the twenty-six years of modern genetics, research has dealt almost entirely with cytology and Mendelian breeding, and numerous studies along these lines during 1926 have increased our knowledge of this aspect of organised life. A welcome turn has, however, been given to genetic study by the introduction of a more physiological viewpoint, and of note is the paper by Plunkett (J. Ex. Zool.) dealing with the interaction of genetic and environmental factors in development. Two books of outstanding importance have appeared, a new edition of Johannsen's "Elemente der Exakten Erblchkeitslehre," and Morgan's "Theory of the Gene."

Much attention has been given during the year to problems of sex, especially sex-reversal. Of particular note is the work of Goldschmidt on *Bonellia*, of Essenberg on viviparous Teleosts (Biol. Bull.), of Aron on *Rana* (Ar. d. Biol.), and of Caridroit (Bull. Biol. Belg. and Fr.), and Roxas (J. Ex. Zool.) on the domestic fowl, in all of which cases the basis of sex expression and development was found to be related to glandular secretions. Parkes (P. Roy. Soc.) has added to our knowledge of oestrous cycles, sex-ratios, and cognate phenomena in mice. Further work has been carried out on the biochemical differences between the sexes, and Blakeslee and Satina (P. Nat. Acad. Sci. Wash.) have shown that the Manoilov test applies even to certain fungi. Microbiologists have studied closely sexual and other genetic phenomena in fungi and bacteria, and determinate results of surprising complexity have been obtained by F. Chodat (Bull. Soc. Bot. Gen.), Bruce White (Med. Res. Com.), Mellon (J. Bact.), and many others, the interpretation of which is difficult.

In general zoology valuable works have been published by Pearse on "Animal Ecology," by Hinton on the "Voles and Lemmings," by Stuart Baker on the "Birds of British India," by Thompson on "Bird Migration," and by Heilmann on the "Origin of Birds." The comparative researches of De Beer (Q.J.M.S.) and Norman (P.T. Roy. Soc.), show that a remarkable uniformity underlies the skull in all vertebrates. De Beer has also published an important monograph on the structure and development of the pituitary gland, and Bowen (Q.J.M.S., Anat. Rec.), has found that in all gland cells the origin of secretory products is in the Golgi apparatus. Bischler and Schotté (Rev. Suisse. Zool.), both working on

newts, have thrown considerable new light on the phenomenon of regeneration. Numerous researches on invertebrate forms have appeared during the year. Russell (J. Mar. Biol. Ass.), Southern and Gardiner (Irish Fish.) and Farran (J. Linn. Soc.), have added greatly to our knowledge of the distribution and systematy of marine plankton. Of entomological studies, attention may be drawn to Warren's monograph of the European Hesperid butterflies (T. Ent. Soc., Lond.), Hering's volumes on the biology of lepidoptera, and the ecology of leaf-mining insect larvæ; Tillyard's work on the insects of Australia and New Zealand, Theobald's monograph on the Aphids of Great Britain; Mjoberg's paper (Psyche) solving the mystery of the "trilobite" larvæ of the Lycinid beetles, and a paper by Snodgrass (Smith. Misc. Coll.) on the morphology of insect sense organs and the sensory nervous system. Of considerable interest also are papers by James and Shute (L. of Nat.) on malaria in England, in which emphasis is laid on the importance of the individual infective mosquito in fever houses, and by Senior White (Bull. Ent. Res.), in which valuable light is thrown on mosquito ecology. The histology of spiders has been elucidated by Millot (Bull. Biol. Belg. and Fr.), and monographs have been published by Broleman (Ar. Zool. Ex. and Gen.) on the French West African Myriapods, by Nuttall, Warburton, and Robinson on the Ticks, and by York and Maplestone on the Nematode Parasites of Vertebrates. Of more biological interest are the researches of Nomma (Tohoku Univ. Repts.), who has found that the response of earthworms to light is determined by the antagonistic functioning of the cerebral ganglia and the ventral nerve cord; of Matthai (P. T. Roy. Soc.), who shows that in *Astræid* Corals, "the whole colony must now be regarded as the individual, not the separate polyp," and of Dendy (Q.J.M.S.), who concludes that sponges are symbiotic complexes analogous to lichens and that spicules are fossilised bacteria. Several important studies of Protozoa have appeared, Schaeffer (Carn. Inst. Wash.), dealing with the systematy of the Amebas, Bělář dealing generally with the structure of the Protozoan nucleus, Baker (Biol. Bull.), describing typical mitotic nuclear division in *Englena*, and Pantin (B. J. Ex. Biol.), giving his results on the effect of calcium and magnesium on amœboid movement. Valuable general treatises on the Protozoa have been published by Craig, by Calkins and by Wenyon. Wilson, Chambers, Seifritz, Heilbrunn, and Cowdray have discussed the structure of protoplasm (Am. Nat.), and all emphasise its great complexity.

In general physiology, Hill (P. Roy. Soc.) has elaborated a new method in nerve study, and shown the possibility of measuring heat production in isolated nerve at a point distant from the stimulus applied. The results agree well with those obtained by Parker's method (J. Gen. Phys.) on carbon dioxide output. In his Croonian lecture Hill has also given a very useful synthesis of his work on the laws of muscular motion. The cultivation of tissues *in vitro* has been widely adopted as a method of research, and a noteworthy investigation is that by Strangeways and Fell (P. Roy. Soc.), in which the eyes of fowl embryos grown *in vitro* for sixty-four to seventy-two hours were found to show normal tissue differentiation

at almost normal rate. A result of outstanding importance during 1926 is the synthesis by Harrington (Biochem. J.) of thyroxine, the active agent of the thyroid gland. Dale and his collaborators (P. Roy. Soc.) have studied the action of insulin in the body and find that a large part of the sugar which disappears is deposited as glycogen in the muscles. Important monographs have been published by Macleod and by Aubertin on Insulin. Valuable summaries of much recent work on bodily functions and processes are to be found in the volumes by Dale, Drummond, Henderson, and Hill on "Certain Aspects of Biochemistry," by Lovatt Evans on "Recent Advances in Physiology," and by Pryde on "Recent Advances in Biochemistry." Attention may also be drawn to volumes by Jackson on "The Effects of Inanition and Malnutrition upon Growth and Structure," by Sharpey-Shafer on "The Endocrine Organs," by Achard on "Nutritive Disorders," and by Crile who has formulated a bipolar theory of living processes. Using insects as test subjects, Tattersfield, Gimingham and collaborators (Ann. Appld. Biol.) have added materially to our knowledge of the fundamental problem of the relation of toxicity to chemical structure.

In botany much general progress has been made during the year. A new Supplement to the Index Kewensis has appeared, and Hutchinson has published an important volume on the Dicotyledons. The latter is, perhaps, the most noteworthy attempt to solve the puzzle of the phylogenetic lines of families of angiosperms since the system of Engler and Prantl, and is based on the view that petaliferous flowers preceded apetalous ones and bisexual flowers preceded unisexual ones. Floral anatomy and phylogeny have been neglected of late years, but McLean Thompson (Liverpool Univ. Bot. Stud.) has contributed valuably to our knowledge, and his illustrations stand in a class by themselves. Cheeseman's new "Manual of the New Zealand Flora" and a paper by Lewis (Ann. Peradeniya) on the altitudinal distribution of the Ceylon endemic flora are important in themselves and because of the theories that have been based by Willis largely on the plants of these islands. Summerhayes and Williams (J. Ecol.) have studied the Oxshott woods felled during the war-time and find birch colonisation reverting finally to pinewood.

Considerable advances have been made in our understanding of the functioning of plants. Molz (Am. J. Bot.) has shown the importance of temperature and moisture both in the air and soil in relation to the suction force in plants, and MacDougal (Carn. Inst. Wash.) has contributed extensively to our knowledge of the hydrostatic system in trees. Pearsall and Hardy (Ann. Bot.) have analysed the form and development of leaves in terms of growth factors, water supply, and internal hydrostatic pressures. Important memoirs have been published by Maximov on the physiological basis of drought resistance in plants, by Johansson (Sv. Bot. Tid.) on the gaseous exchanges of agricultural plants, by Spoehr on photosynthesis, by Bose on the nervous mechanism of plants, and by Ungerer on plant integration. Kostytshev has published a general treatise on plant physiology which makes available much unknown Russian work. Hutchins (Pl. Phys.) and workers from the Boyce Thomson Research Insti-



tute have advanced our knowledge of the conditions of tuber sprouting and seed germination, and Murneek (Pl. Phys.) has shown that, in the tomato, vegetative growth and fruit formation vary in inverse ratio. Important volumes have been published by Hayek and by Campbell on "Plant Geography," by Weaver on the "Root Development of Field Crops," and Salaman on "Potato Varieties," and an extremely useful book on "The Study of Vegetation" has been edited by Tansley for the British Empire Vegetation Committee. One of the outstanding books of the year is the second edition of Lester Sharpe's "Cytology," and almost equally important are the new volumes in Linsbauer's "Handbuch der Pflanzen-anatomic."

Of fossil plants the Cretaceous flora has received the greatest attention. Berry (U.S.A. Geol. Survey) has investigated an upper Cretaceous horizon in the United States and described 135 species belonging to 71 genera. Seward (P.T. Roy. Soc.) has described a large number of species from Cretaceous beds of Western Greenland, and arrives at the interesting conclusion that "the Greenland Cretaceous flora represents more fully than the floras of other countries the early stages in the transitional period from an older Jurassic-Wealden vegetation to the type of flora which continued into the Tertiary period and still persists in regions remote from its original home."

Great activity has been shown in the study of cryptogams during 1926. A masterly work by Bower has appeared on the Ferns (Vol. II.), and Funfstück and Zahlbruckner have issued a volume on Lichens (Engler and Prantl, second edition). Bristol-Roach (Ann. Bot.) has studied the growth of certain green algæ in pure culture in relation to various carbon compounds, and has found that the rate of growth can be represented by a simple exponential curve. R. Chodat (Rev. Hydrol.) has published an important memoir on Scenedesmus, and Grubb (J. Linn. Soc.) has investigated the male organs of the Florideae.

The fungi have received much attention. The importance of mycorrhiza is becoming increasingly evident, and recent work has been synthesised by Rayner (N.P.). An important paper by McLennan (Ann. Bot.) adds considerably to our knowledge of the endophytic fungus in *Lolium* sp., and the conclusion is reached that the exchange is carbonaceous rather than nitrogeaneous. The outstanding event, however, this year, as in the last two to three years, has been the development of a new orientation regarding sexuality and all its corollaries in the fungi and the confirmation of a determinative and extremely complex genetical process in these organisms. Papers on these problems have been published by Betts (Am. J. Bot.), Couch (Ann. Bot.), Newton (Ann. Bot.), Gilmore (Bot. Gaz.), Kniep (Zts. Pilzk.), and others, the latter author describing a state of tri-hybridism in the Smut fungi. Archer (Ann. Mycol.), Wehmeyer (Am. J. Bot.), and others have advanced our knowledge of the cultural study of fungi, and Naunizzi (Ann. Mycol.) has published an important memoir on the fungi causing skin diseases in man. Supplementary Vol. X. of Saccardo's "Sylloge Fungorum" has appeared, Thom and Church have issued a volume monographing the *Aspergilli*, Cholodny (Pflanzenforch) has

monographed the Iron Bacteria, Gaumann has published a notable book on the general morphology and cytology of the fungi, and important volumes on Yeast fermentations in industry have been published by Henneberg, by Schoen and by Allen.

A great number of useful papers have been published, particularly by American workers, on plant disease. It is not possible to describe the general advances in our knowledge, but attention may be drawn to the important work of Riker and Keitt (Phytopath) on Crown Gall and Wound overgrowths, to Rivera's (Ann. Inst. Past.) studies of the effects of X-rays on normal and pathological plant tissues, and to Müller's volume, "Die innere Therapie der Pflanzen." Ferraris and Heald have published important general treatises on plant disease, and Fawcett and Lee have collaborated in an outstanding volume on "Citrus Diseases and their Control." An interesting practical development during 1926 has been the use of aeroplanes in the spraying and dusting of crops on a large scale. The greatest interest during the year has centred in the study of virus diseases, particularly by American students, and various organisms have been described from diseased tissues. All require confirmation, as does also the claim that any single virus can be cultivated *in vitro*. One of the most striking papers is that of Kunkel (Am. J. Bot.), who finds an incubation period inside the insect vector of aster yellows, analogous to the malarial parasite, and comparable with the phenomena described for curly-top of sugar beet some years ago.

Paillot (Ann. Inst. Past.) and others have shown that virus diseases are not uncommon amongst insects. With regard to the virus causing foot and mouth disease of cattle a point of immense practical importance ascertained during 1926 was the tracing of a source of infection to the landing of fresh carcasses from the Continent.

The problem of the Bacteriophage is still a source of controversy. D'Herelle, in his volume, "The Bacteriophage and its Behaviour," has brought forward further evidence that it consists of living individual corpuscles, but the general opinion is perhaps crystallising against this view.

In cancer study there has been nothing this year comparable with the results of Gye and Barnard last year. An immense amount of attention has been given to this work, and both positive and negative conclusions have been drawn. In a symposium by Strong, Murphy, Bagg, and Smith (Am. Nat.), the general outcome was that judgment must still be reserved. An interesting volume on the general subject of cancer published in 1926 is that by Morley Roberts on "Malignancy and Evolution."

At the British Association meeting at Oxford, the President, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, discussed the relation of the State to scientific research, and the service that the latter can render; Graham Kerr (D) emphasised the importance of biology in the training of the citizen; Ormsby-Gore (E) considered the various biological problems involved in the development of tropical Africa; Fleure (H) interpreted the present-day distribution of the physical characters of man on evolutionary lines; Leathes (I) discussed function and design in the animal body; Bower (K) considered the chang-

ing aspects of botanical research since 1887, and Hall (M), discussing the relation between agriculture and population increase, showed that the way out lies in the application of science and the intensification of production. At the Imperial Conference biology occupied a prominent place, and arrangements were made for supporting research, more particularly on plant diseases and forestry, the funds being derived from the Empire Markets Board. A number of important congresses have taken place during 1926. Of these, two, the International Ornithological Congress (Copenhagen) and the International Botanical Congress (Ithaca, U.S.A.), were postponed from 1915. The Indian Science Congress was held in Bombay, the World's Forestry Congress was held in Rome, fifty-six countries participating, and the Triennial International Congress of Physiology was held in Stockholm.

Several new biological journals were commenced during the year, among which may be noted *Biological Abstracts*, the *Quarterly Review of Biology*, *Protoplasma*, *Plant Physiology*, the *Journal du Conseil* (marine fisheries) and *Ergebnisse der Biologie*.

#### THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

No very revolutionary advances were made in the physical sciences during the year. On January 1 the high-power wireless station at Rugby was opened by the Post Office for world-wide telegraphic communication, and at the end of the year a wireless telephone service between the London and New York telephone areas was announced for the beginning of 1927, the charge to be 15*l.* for a three-minutes' conversation. Short wave beam stations were erected at Bodmin in Cornwall and near Montreal in Canada, and these were put into commercial operation in October. Similar stations for communication with other parts of the Empire were in course of erection. A re-arrangement of the wave-lengths of the European broadcasting stations, designed to avoid interference, was arranged at Geneva, and put into successful operation in the autumn. The change in the dimensions of certain quartz crystals brought about by the electrification of the surfaces of the crystal was made the basis of a method for the automatic control of wave-lengths. The departmental committee on broadcasting recommended that, on the expiration of the contract of the British Broadcasting Company on December 31, control should pass, for a period of ten years, to a corporation responsible only to Parliament. A Bill was passed to give effect to this and other recommendations of the Committee, and the corporation, with a Board of Governors, was formed to take over the work of the company in the New Year. It was given large powers, and a greater share in the licence fees paid to the Post Office than had been granted to the Company. The only notable advance in the design of wireless appliances was provided by the introduction of a new series of low current valves which showed a marked improvement on their predecessors.

A method for the transmission of photographs and pictures by telephone wires or radio waves was devised some years ago, and although

the process is far from perfect it is used commercially. Television of the reproduction on a distant screen of pictures of events as they occur is a much more difficult problem, but by making use of the properties of the photo-electric cell Mr. J. L. Baird achieved some measure of success.

The British Association met at Oxford in the first week of August, the Prince of Wales being President. In his address the Prince emphasised the need for research in all branches of science and more especially into the resources of the Empire. Professor A. Fowler, President of Section A (Mathematics and Physics), took as his subject the "Analysis of Line Spectra," and dealt particularly with recent progress in the analysis of complicated spectra. In this subject theory and experiment have kept pace with one another and Professor Fowler expressed the opinion that our present resources would prove adequate for the elucidation of most of the outstanding problems. Professor J. Thorpe, the President of Section B, chose as his subject, the "Scope of Organic Chemistry."

The need for co-operation in research between the various parts of the Empire was stressed at the meeting of the Imperial Conference, and the delegates seemed to realise that a successful solution to the serious economic problems facing the Empire could be founded only on a scientific basis.

Following an investigation and report by Sir Frank Heath in January, the Institute of Science and Industry of the Commonwealth of Australia was reorganised. A National Council, consisting of a chairman, two members appointed by the Governor-General, and six members nominated by the six States, was set up to control the State-aided research in the Commonwealth.

The strong feeling in certain quarters that delegates from "enemy countries" should no longer be excluded from International Conferences concerned with scientific matters resulted in a special meeting of the International Research Council being held at Brussels in June. The following resolution, proposed by the President of the Royal Society, was passed unanimously: "That this meeting of the extraordinary general assembly of the International Research Council decides to invite Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria to join the International Research Council and the unions attached to it and, in doing so, to indicate the institution which will act as adhering body."

The Nobel prize in Physics for 1925 was divided between Professor J. Franck, of Göttingen and Professor G. Hertz, of Halle; that for 1926 was awarded to Professor J. Perrin, of the Sorbonne. The Chemistry prize for 1925 was awarded to Professor R. Zsigmondy, of Göttingen, and for 1926 to Professor Svedberg, of Upsala.

An Optical Convention, the first since 1912, was held in London in April, the Astronomer Royal, Sir Frank Dyson, being President. The programme comprised a series of papers concerned with the progress of the British Optical Industry, an exhibition of apparatus, and an entertainment section. Perhaps the most notable of many interesting contributions was the paper read by Mr. J. Guild, of the National Physical Laboratory, entitled "Survey of Modern Developments in Colorimetry."

It dealt with the theory and practice of colour measurement and specification, and showed that this difficult problem has now been solved in an exact and scientific manner.

Among other meetings of special interest were the International Geological Congress held in Madrid in May; the World Power Conference at Basle, and the meetings in connexion with the jubilee of the Mineralogical Society in September.

The Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge was opened formally on May 22. Delegates from the Continent who had promised to attend were prevented by the general strike, and the ceremony was much curtailed in consequence. The first *Conversazione* of the Royal Society had to be abandoned on account of the strike. The second *Conversazione* was held in June as usual.

Finsbury Technical College, so rich in its associations with eminent engineers and physicists, was closed at the end of the summer term. The number of students in attendance in previous years had been small, and the L.C.C. considered that the annual grant was no longer justifiable.

The most interesting paper read during the year was that in which Dr. J. H. Jeans summed up his researches in Cosmical Physics (*Nature*, Dec. 4). It is now generally agreed that, in the hot central regions of the stars where the temperature rises to many million degrees centigrade, the atoms are stripped of their electrons and exist as bare nuclei. Proceeding outwards to the surface, the temperature decreases and the atoms are more and more fully formed. The matter of the star is kept in a diffuse condition by the incessant impacts of the atomic nuclei, free electrons and "molecules" of radiation. The "free path" of the radiation is much greater than that of the nuclei or electrons and, in consequence, the transport of energy to the stellar surface is almost entirely due to the radiation. This means that the build of a star is almost entirely determined by the opacity of its interior to this radiation. If a star was completely transparent it would have zero temperature and infinite extent; if it was completely opaque, infinite temperature and infinitesimal size. In fact, of course, some intermediate condition obtains and the giant red stars, such as Betelgeux, owe their vast size to their relatively small radiation. The opacity can be calculated in terms of the luminosity, mass, and surface temperature of the star and also, according to a generally accepted theory put forward by Kramers, in terms of the atomic number and atomic mass of the elements composing it. We have thus a means of estimating these latter quantities. The calculations gave two very unexpected results. In the first place the mean atomic weight was found to be much greater than that of any terrestrial element, and secondly this mean value is greatest in the newest stars and decreases as we pass to the older ones. Jeans supported these results by considerations based on the facts that the atoms near the centre of a star must be substantially heavier than those at its surface, and that atoms of atomic weight less than uranium could not provide the intense and lasting radiation emitted by the stars. The source of this radiation is the energy liberated by the self-annihilation of the protons and electrons which constitute stellar matter. The

possibility of such self-destruction must be inherent in the stellar atoms, since it would require temperatures of many thousands of millions of degrees to produce it artificially.

We have thus to picture a new star as being largely built up of heavy elements unknown on the earth. As time passes they gradually disappear and the mass of the star diminishes. [The sun decreases in mass by 250 million tons every minute.] The earth represents a residual inert "ash" left after vast periods of disintegration. The conditions necessary for life as we know it must occur very rarely, and very possibly may exist nowhere else in the universe.

One novel feature of the theory lies in the fact that it presents us to a new star composed of exceedingly complex atoms. Accepting the idea that matter and radiation are interchangeable, how are these very complex entities formed? Dr. A. Haas gave reasons for supposing that, as a consequence of the Compton effect, a quantum of radiation impinging on fast moving molecules, may have its energy increased by repeated impacts until it becomes equal to that of a proton and an electron and is transformed into these two constituents of matter. The step between this conjectural process and the formation of heavy atoms is very great.

An interesting contrast to Jeans' paper was provided by an earlier one by Eddington (*Nature*, May 1).

Jeans' theories received some support from results obtained by Kolhörster and von Salis, namely, that the highly penetrating radiation discovered by Millikan in 1925 reaches a maximum intensity when certain celestial regions, notably the Milky Way, Andromeda and Hercules, culminate in the sky. On the other hand, it was not considered definitely proved that these rays have a cosmic origin at all.

The total eclipse of the sun, on January 14, was observed by several parties. The English expedition, sent out by the Joint Permanent Eclipse Committee of the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society was in charge of Mr. C. R. Davidson, and was stationed at Benkulen, Sumatra. Although the day was cloudy the sky round the sun cleared during the period of totality and the photographic work which had been planned was carried out successfully. Among the results obtained was an accurate measurement of the lines of unknown origin in the coronal spectrum. In addition, the co-operation of Professor L. S. Ornstein of the University of Utrecht made it possible to obtain the first photometric measurements of the intensity of the lines in the coronal and prominence spectra. It is expected that these measurements will give us a more precise knowledge of the nature of the material composing the corona and the prominences.

Abbott treated the measurements of solar radiation obtained at Mount Wilson during the period 1910-20 by a new statistical method designed to eliminate atmospheric effects. He found a well-marked correlation between the solar constant and the number of sun spots; the sun radiating most heat at times of greatest sun spot activity.

In the annual Kelvin Lecture delivered before the Institution of Electrical Engineers in April, Sir J. J. Thomson considered some of the conse-

quences of supposing that electric force is discontinuous in time, *i.e.*, that it consists of a succession of impulses separated by finite time intervals. Among other remarkable results it follows that the energy emitted in the form of electrical waves by a vibrating electron would, in certain circumstances, return back to the electron after travelling a distance which becomes shorter as the frequency of the vibration increases. This being so, the rotation of an electron round a central nucleus could be steady only for a few prescribed orbits, a condition demanded by Bohr's theory of the structure of the atom. It would also follow that radiation must have a dual structure consisting of electromagnetic waves and a quantal core. The concept of discontinuity of electric force involves the existence of a structure in the universe of much finer texture than the electrons, of which the electrons themselves might possibly be composed.

The developments of the quantum theory were chiefly mathematical. A paper by Professor L. V. King, of McGill University, containing an account of a theory of atomic structure equivalent to that of Bohr, but based on gyromagnetic electrons and the classical theory of electrodynamics, did not excite any written comment in spite of its attractiveness. The problems of magnetism received a good deal of attention, especially as they seemed able to throw a good deal of light on the arrangement of the extra-nuclear electrons in the atoms. The results obtained by Glaser last year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, Part II., p. 62), were not confirmed, and it would seem that they were due to traces of moisture in his apparatus.

Professor Keesom, who succeeded the late Professor Kamerlingh-Onnes as director of the Cryogenic Laboratory at Leyden, announced in July that he had been able to solidify helium by the combined action of pressure and cold on the liquid. At  $4.2^{\circ}$  C. above the zero of absolute temperature solidification was effected by a pressure of 140 atmospheres and at  $1.1^{\circ}$  C. above absolute zero (*i.e.*,  $-272^{\circ}$  C.) only 26 atmospheres pressure was required. Solid helium forms a homogeneous transparent mass whose refractive index differs so little from that of the liquid that no visible boundary between the two states was visible. The observations indicated that helium has no solid-liquid-gas triple point. With these experiments all the so-called "permanent" gases have been reduced to the solid state.

A survey of the helium resources of Canada showed that sources of natural gas containing 0.1 per cent. of helium are fairly widespread. In exceptional cases gases containing a considerably greater proportion of helium were found. Three wells in a district 35 miles from Toronto were purchased by the Canadian Government. The gas from them contains 0.8 per cent. of helium and an output of at least 100,000 cubic feet of helium per year was expected.

The problem of the transmutation of the elements caused some controversy. As a result of much careful research by investigators in Europe and America it was concluded that the transmutation of mercury into gold had *not* been effected. The positive results obtained by Miethe and Nagaoka were attributed to the presence of gold in the mercury or in the

metallic parts of the apparatus. These researches resulted in an extraordinary refinement of the chemical methods for detecting gold. The transmutation of lead into mercury and thallium announced by Smits and Karssen of Amsterdam was not confirmed by other workers and must be regarded as *sub judice*. Meanwhile Professor F. Paneth and Dr. K. Peters have described experiments which appear to have resulted in the transmutation of hydrogen into helium. Hydrogen was exposed to the action of finely-divided palladium for several hours and then, after removal of the excess hydrogen, the presence of helium was detected spectroscopically.

In March, Harris, Yntema, and Professor B. S. Hopkins, of the University of Illinois, announced the discovery of the element, No. 61, which Moseley's work had shown to be missing from the rare earth group. Called illinium by its discoverers, it was not obtained in the pure state, but was detected spectroscopically (and by X-ray analysis) in a residue obtained by the fractional crystallisation of the bromates of neodymium and samarium derived from monazite sand. In 1925 two chemists in Berlin claimed to have discovered the missing elements 43 and 75, called by Mendeléeff eka-manganese and dvi-manganese, and named them masurium and rhenium respectively. There was some dispute over priority, specially with regard to element 75; but it would certainly seem that evidence of the existence of all the elements in Moseley's list between hydrogen (1) and uranium (92) has been obtained except 85 (eka-iodine) and 87 (eka-cæsium). In fact, traces of lines in X-ray spectra which might conceivably be due to these elements and to an element 93 have been obtained.

In May, 1924, several tons of explosives were detonated at La Courtine, in France, and preparations were made to listen for the sound all over Western Europe. Immediately surrounding the source the sound is heard by means of waves which have travelled directly from the source, then follows a region where no sound is heard—the zone of silence—and further away still there is another zone of audibility. The sound heard in this last zone has been reflected from the upper layers of the atmosphere and the experiments were made in the hope of finding how this reflection is brought about. The results, published during the year, lent support to the theory, put forward by Lindemann and Dobson, that at a height of perhaps 40 kilometres the temperature of the air increases to about 30° C. after having fallen to at least — 50° C. at lower levels. Such a change of temperature is competent to produce the downward deflection of the sound waves indicated by the experiments, but the reason for it is uncertain. It is possibly due to absorption by the ozone at that level. The results showed that hydrogen could not be responsible for the deflection of the sound and there is no experimental evidence of any kind for the existence of a relatively large proportion of hydrogen in the upper atmosphere. Considerable progress has been made in the use of supersonic waves (*i.e.*, "sound" waves whose frequency is above the limit of audibility) for sounding at sea and the detection of icebergs. This is a development of the method of echo-sounding described in the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, Part II., p. 56.



The Faraday Society arranged two general discussions ; one on gaseous explosions, a subject which is being attacked from many points of view at the present time, and the other on the phenomena which occur at the interfaces of fluid and solid surfaces. The knowledge of long chain compounds which has been supplied by the X-ray spectrometer has thrown much new light on surface tension and allied phenomena, and they formed the subject of many papers published during the year. X-ray analysis has also been applied to the problem of lubrication and showed that, under the action of pressure, the molecules of the lubricant orient themselves, forming layers which can slide one over the other.

## ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

### I. ART.

THE great sale of Sargent's pictures, which caused a sensation in 1925, was surpassed in interest by the exhibition of the works of the American master held in the beginning of 1926. Organised by the Royal Academy, of which he was a distinguished member, and displayed at Burlington House, it was a great artistic success, and beyond comparison the most remunerative of all the winter exhibitions held there. The crowds drawn to Burlington House by the memorial exhibitions of the work of Landseer, Millais, and Watts, large as they were, did not approach those attracted by the Sargents. Eleven galleries were devoted to them, and these were frequently as crowded as they usually are in the early weeks of the summer exhibitions.

Large as the collection was, it contained few things from America or the Continent, but it represented with much completeness Sargent's work in England from 1884 until his death. The early examples included "The Misses Vickers," a well-known group of three sisters which was the first large canvas shown by Sargent at the Academy; and the famous "Carnation, Lily, Lily Rose," exhibited in 1887 and bought for the Chantrey collection. Its purchase was resented by a section of the artistic community, for "Carnation, Lily, Lily Rose" was regarded as revolutionary forty years ago, and was attacked by many critics, although the proposal to buy it for the Chantrey collection came from one of the most Academic of the Academicians, Henry T. Wells. It looked extremely well in the Sargent exhibition, and appeared to be in perfect condition, in common with "The Misses Vickers" and most of the early works of the painter. The same could not be said, unfortunately, of some of the later ones, which showed grave deterioration, much of it of a kind that the art of the most skilful restorer cannot make good. Some forty canvasses, most of them important, were affected, chiefly by cracking of the paint, probably caused by working a second time on a surface insufficiently dry, or carrying warm, transparent colour over a solid impasto.

The important groups in the exhibition, in addition to "The Misses Vickers," included "Lady Elcho, Mrs. Tennant, and Mrs. Adeane," "The Ladies Alexandra, Mary, and Theo Acheson," and "The Misses Hunter." Other portraits of special interest were those of the late Earl of Wemyss, Henry James, Mr. Balfour, Sir T. L. Devitt, Lady Sassoon, Joseph Chamberlain, the Duchess of Portland, Mrs. Boit, Mr. Graham Robertson, Miss Octavia Hill, Mrs. Charles Hunter, Mr. George Henschel, the late Lord

Russell of Killowen, Earl Roberts, and Miss Jane Evans. The French Government lent "La Carmencita," and the Imperial War Museum contributed among other canvasses, "Gassed," that immense painting of the dressing station at Le Bac-du-Sud, with temporarily blinded soldiers waiting for treatment. The landscapes were a great feature of the exhibition, and to many of the visitors were a revelation of Sargent's powers in this direction.

For the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy, which succeeded that of the Sargents, rather more than ten thousand works were submitted by outsiders to the judgment of the Selecting Committee. About seven-eighths of these were rejected outright, and 1,186 were given places in the exhibition, 49 more than in 1925. The Selecting Committee was composed of the President, Sir Frank Dicksee; Mr. W. L. Wyllie, Sir J. J. Burnet, Mr. A. J. Munnings, Mr. C. L. Hartwell, Mr. Malcolm Osborne, Mr. W. G. de Glehn, Mr. Alfred Turner, and Mr. W. C. Green. The oil and water-colour paintings were arranged by Sir A. S. Cope, Mr. W. L. Wyllie, Mr. A. J. Munnings, Mr. Melton Fisher, and Mr. Adrian Stokes; the sculpture by Mr. Hartwell; the architecture by Sir E. L. Lutyens; and the miniatures, drawings in black and white, and engravings by Mr. Osborne.

For the first time in the history of the Royal Academy only one line of pictures was hung in the principal gallery, a new departure that was extremely distasteful to the non-member painters, as it meant still further curtailing the space available for the display of their works. They had already been deprived, in recent years, of the wall space in the Sixth Gallery, now occupied by the sculptors. Another incident, almost without precedent, was the removal of a picture from the exhibition after the opening day. This was a dexterously-painted canvas representing a nude white woman dancing before a seated negro musician, "The Breakdown" (600), by Mr. John B. Souter. The subject of the picture was a good deal discussed at the private view, and a few days later "The Breakdown" was removed, at the request, it was stated, of the Colonial Office.

The Chantrey purchases were four in number: two paintings, a head in bronze, and a wood-carving. Of the paintings the most important was "Dawn," a classical composition of girls, asleep and awakening, by Mr. Maurice Greiffenhagen. For this 630*l.* was paid, and 200*l.* for a full-length study of a woman by Mr. Douglas S. Gray, "Rosalind." The other Chantrey purchases were a bronze head, "Bess Norris" (105*l.*), by the late F. Derwent Wood, R.A., and "Malua Head, Pearwood" (95*l.*), by Mr. Alfred J. Oakley.

Although the commencement of the General Strike, coinciding as it did with the opening of the exhibition, was prejudicial to the sales, a considerable number of pictures found purchasers. They included: "Closing Time" (2,100*l.*), by Sir William Orpen; "The Amber Beads" (420*l.*), by Mr. W. W. Russell; "The Mill" (250*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "The Balcony, Cahors" (105*l.*), by Mr. Stanhope Forbes; "The Heat of the Day, Loch Achray, Trossachs" (250*l.*), by Sir David Murray; "Dawn" (200*l.*), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; "Evening, Martigues" (225*l.*), and

"Lagoons, Venice" (100*l.*), by Mr. Terrick Williams; "Durham" (210*l.*), by Mr. Bertram Priestman; "A First Night Harvest" (200*l.*), by Miss Anna Airy; "The Western Sky" (157*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Algernon Talmage; "A Northern Winter" (300*l.*), by Mr. Reginald G. Brundrit; "In Camera" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Frederick W. Elwell; "Twelfth Night" (150*l.*), by Mr. Stephen Reid; "Circe" (315*l.*), by Mr. J. Charles Dollman; "Spring-time" (100*l.*), by Mr. Hal Ludlow; "City of Dreams" (315*l.*), by Mr. Harry van der Weyden; "Mrs. Booker" (150*l.*), by Mr. John Crealock; "Llangollen" (100*l.*), by Mr. Charles Knight; "Jane" (150*l.*), by Mr. L. Campbell Taylor; "The Target" (105*l.*), by Miss Eleanor Fortescue-Brickdale; "London from Waterlow Park, Highgate" (200*l.*), by Mr. R. Vicat Cole; "Summer Flood" (210*l.*), by Mr. Harry Watson; "A Gybe round the Mark on the Crouch" (125*l.*), by Miss Alice Fanner; "Through the Wood" (400*l.*), and "Sheepshearing, Dundonald, Ross-shire" (200*l.*), by Mr. Joseph Farquharson; "Remonstrance, A.D. 1536" (100*l.*), by Mr. John R. Wilmer; and "Patricia" (105*l.*), by Miss Beatrice Bright. Pictures unpriced were sold by Sir David Murray, Mr. Arnesby Brown, Mr. Charles Ricketts, Mr. G. Hall Neale, and others.

Several thefts from the London museums and picture galleries were reported during the year, and one of them was mysterious. It occurred at Burlington House, where, on the staircase leading to the Diploma Gallery, hang many framed sketches, studies, and drawings by deceased members of the Royal Academy. Among them were small oil paintings by Constable, several of which were unscrewed from the walls and carried off in daylight, and while the staircase was in use by visitors to the Diploma Gallery. The mysterious part of the affair was its sequel, for the thief, who had run great risks in stealing the pictures, sent them, a few days later, with one exception, to the office of the *Daily Mail* by parcel post. They have since, with the exception mentioned, been restored to their old positions on the staircase wall. The Victoria and Albert Museum lost a number of rare gold coins and some small panels of stained glass, but here, too, almost everything was recovered, and one of the thieves caught and punished. Other objects of interest were stolen from the Guildhall Gallery and the London Museum.

The pictures acquired during the year at the National Gallery included "Tobit and His Wife," the joint work of Rembrandt and Gerard Dou, bought by the Trustees; a Spanish painting of the fifteenth century, "Death of the Virgin," the gift of Lord Rothermere; a full-length portrait of Sir Brooke Boothby lying on the ground under a tree, by Wright of Derby, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1781, bequeathed by Miss Agnes Best; and "Jacob and Laban," by Henrick Terbruggen, purchased from the fund bequeathed to the Gallery by Sir Claude Phillips. The new rooms at the National Gallery of British Art, built at the cost of Sir Joseph Duveen, were opened in the summer. They are intended for exhibiting the work of Sargent, and of modern foreign artists, and contained on the opening day an interesting collection which included the work of many French painters, and numerous portraits and studies by Sargent, some lent and the others the property of the nation. A special exhibition

was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, composed of selections from the plate and other art treasures of the City Companies.

The removal of the Foundling Hospital into the country caused the closing of a gallery most intimately connected with the history and development of painting in England. In Hogarth's time most of the prominent artists presented pictures to the Hospital, which were on view on Sunday afternoons, and the fact that they attracted many visitors suggested the foundation of public exhibitions in London. The proposal to institute the first of these exhibitions was made at an artists' dinner held at the Hospital in 1759. The members of the National Art Collections Fund were allowed, in June, to pay a farewell visit to the Hospital and take a last view—for the present—of the pictures, busts, and other treasures contained in its ancient rooms. Strawberry Hill, which has similar artistic associations as the residence in the eighteenth century of Horace Walpole, and as the house that contained his famous collections, ceased this year to be a private residence, and will in future serve the purposes of a Roman Catholic training college.

Prominent among the exhibitions of the year was that of a fine collection of English landscapes, held by Messrs. Agnews, in aid of the Artists General Benevolent Institution, and containing examples of Wilson, Gainsborough, Turner and others. Interesting, also, was the third loan exhibition of the Magnasco Society, held at the same gallery. Modern French art was represented at exhibitions at Messrs. Knoedler's, the French Gallery, and the Lefevre Gallery; and the work of the Armenian artist, Sarkis Katchdourian, at the Fine Art Society's, where, also, a collection of works by H. B. Brabazon was shown. The exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries included sculpture by Rodin, Epstein, and Derwent Wood, and paintings by Renoir and van Gogh. At the Chenil Gallery portraits by Mr. Augustus John were shown, and examples of Elizabethan Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

In the saleroom unprecedented prices were paid for English eighteenth-century portraits. The record was cut in the summer when at Christie's Romney's portrait of Mrs. Davenport was sold for 58,000 guineas; but this was easily surpassed at the sale of Lord Michelham's pictures in November, when Lawrence's full-length of a young girl, "Pinkie," standing in a landscape with a very low horizon, was bid up to 74,000 guineas, at which price it was bought by Messrs. Duveen. The original of this portrait was Miss Mary Moulton Barrett, an aunt of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Romney's fine full-length of Lady de la Pole fetched 44,000 guineas, and, curiously enough, the same price was reached for each of the two Gainsboroughs included in the sale, portraits of Master Heathcote and Miss Tatton. Romney's portrait of Lady Hamilton, known as the "Ambassadress," fetched 40,000 guineas, and the sum total of this extraordinary picture sale was 431,926*l*.

## II. DRAMA.

No new reputations were made on the London stage in 1926, either as regards authors or players. It is true that the year brought into notice

an exceptional number of young and little-known playwrights, and that among them there were a few who, if they produced no work of arresting quality, yet seemed to have in them the stuff of which good dramatists are made. Of the older generation of writers almost the only one of real distinction to come forward was John Galsworthy, whose "Escape," staged at the Ambassadors by Leon M. Lion on August 12, enjoyed a long career. The play, though hardly to be reckoned Galsworthy at his very best, possessed qualities that marked it as the work of a dramatist of no ordinary stamp. Moreover, in its more salient passages, it was theatrically effective, but one felt that the author was more than a little indebted at times to Nicholas Hannen, his chief interpreter, for his firmly-drawn and sensitive portrayal of a character whose misfortunes might easily have been made to appear merely melodramatic.

As for the most gifted representative of the young school, Noel Coward, whose contributions to the stage have rightly placed him in recent years among the authors who count, during 1926 he brought forth no work comparable in point of originality and daring with "The Vortex." On the other hand, that play's more unsavoury attributes were absent from "Easy Virtue," a piece for the most part brilliantly written, and revealing deft treatment of one of the oldest of dramatic themes. In any case this play would have been worth seeing if only for the remarkably fine and technically perfect performance of Jane Cowl, an American actress, in the leading rôle. Another work, "The Queen was in the Parlour," showed its young author on the whole in a less favourable light, and, in view of his proclaimed modernity, his choice of a subject somewhat in the "Zenda" vein was reckoned a little surprising. The play, however, while its interest was spasmodic rather than cumulative, was at least useful in enabling Madge Titheradge once more to display her brilliant gifts.

But neither of Mr. Coward's plays—nor, for that matter, any other—achieved anything like the success that fell to "The Constant Nymph," a dramatisation by Margaret Kennedy and Basil Dean of the former's very popular novel. This play, most admirably cast and produced, was somewhat of an exception to the almost invariable rule that novels make bad plays, however good the novel or skilful the adaptation. In this particular instance the whole atmosphere of a novel which depends in no small measure on that indefinable element was most faithfully caught and preserved in the cleverly-made stage version. Incidentally the play greatly enhanced the reputation of Edna Best, to whom was entrusted the part of Teresa Sanger. Another piece founded upon a work of fiction deserves to be mentioned, *viz.*, "Berkeley Square," a by no means unsuccessful attempt by John Balderstone and J. C. Squire to translate a fanciful episode in Henry James's unfinished novel, "The Sense of the Past," into terms of drama. The result was not wholly satisfactory; yet the play had moments of real beauty. On the other hand, "Riceyman Steps"—a novel that showed its distinguished author, Arnold Bennett, at his best—was found entirely unsatisfactory as a play on the occasion of an experimental production. Nor, for more obvious reasons, was it found possible to make a satisfactory play of Hardy's

"The Mayor of Casterbridge." But a worthy attempt to succeed in this endeavour was made by John Drinkwater.

A noteworthy feature of the year was the number of new or scarcely-known playwrights who entered the lists. Not the least promising among them was Ben W. Levy, whose comedy, "This Woman Business," produced at the Haymarket, was found to be an entertaining modern variant of "Love's Labour's Lost." A certain flair for the stage evidenced by Edward Wilbraham—a name thinly disguising the identity of Lord Lathom—in his censored play, "Wet Paint," was found also in a piece from his pen called "The Way You Look at It," although it did not bear out the promise of the earlier effort and gave the impression of a certain air of insincerity in the treatment. A later play by this author, "Tuppence Coloured," introduced by the Venturers' Society, made a sufficiently good impression to secure for it acceptance for an early production in the West End. A young author who came into some prominence was Cyril Campion, who, in association with Edward Dignon, was responsible for a very amusing and ingenious "crook" comedy entitled "Ask Beccles." This piece was more effective than Mr. Campion's "The Lash," which, though more ambitious in aim, relied mainly upon one powerful and theatrically effective scene. Among comedies and other plays of light calibre which were the means of introducing unfamiliar authors must be mentioned Charles Elton Openshaw's "All the King's Horses," a brightly-written piece which marked the very welcome return to this country of Irene Vanburgh; Joan Temple's "The Widow's Cruise," a remarkably promising first effort; "The Cat's Cradle," an entertaining piece by Aimée and Philip Stuart, which owed much to the incomparable gifts of Marie Tempest; Phyllis Morris's "The Rescue Party," which might have succeeded better if the author had made it easier for one to believe in her unconventional clerical protagonist. Women dramatists were very much in the ascendant, and to the list of them should be added Kate O'Brien, whose first comedy "Distinguished Villa," dealing with suburban life, pointed to talent that should bear useful fruit. On the other hand, Dorothy Brandon's "Blind Alley" was a bitter disappointment to those who recalled the high promise of her play, "The Outsider." There was disappointment, too, remembering more than one brilliant achievement by the same author, in Clemence Dane's "Granite." Original it was, both in conception and outlook, but unfortunately the play, besides suffering from unrelieved gloom, failed to realise the expectations created by an arresting first act.

Among playwrights of established repute who, in addition to Mr. Galsworthy, were represented on the London stage during 1926 pride of place may be given to Eden Phillpotts. Early in the year a very pleasant play of his called "The Mother," which was distinguished in parts by some charming writing, was seen at the "Q" Theatre. But he scored his chief success in collaboration with his daughter, Adelaide Phillpotts, the result being "Yellow Sands," a light comedy which proved agreeably reminiscent in environment and characterisation of the long-lived "Farmer's Wife." In a different vein of comedy J. B. Fagan's "And So To Bed" was

welcomed as a pleasant exercise in the art of blending fact and fiction in an Old English setting. Mr. and Mrs. Pepys were his protagonists, and, as portrayed by Edmund Gwenn and Yvonne Arnaud, made capital figures of fun. The late Israel Zangwill emerged from a long silence as a dramatist with "The Forcing House," described as a tragi-comedy, which, in spite of much that was clever and interesting, failed by reason of being overloaded both with incident and dialogue. A happier fate awaited Sir Patrick Hastings's "Scotch Mist," which, while utterly theatrical and unreal, secured nevertheless something in the nature of a *succès de scandale*. Mention should also be made of Monckton Hoffe's piece, "The Unnamed Play." Though a little bewildering, it seemed to warrant wider publicity than could be obtained for it merely by one or two performances given by the Repertory Players. To J. Hastings Turner goes the credit for a bright and neatly-written comedy, "The Scarlet Lady," of which not the least virtue was that it provided Marie Tempest with a rôle well adapted to her personality and gifts.

Two plays of outstanding merit, both of them representing the Irish school of drama, remain to be mentioned. "The Plough and the Stars," which dealt with the Irish rebellion of 1916, was typical of its author, the gifted Sean O'Casey, in its truthful portrayal of Irish types of character, as also in its raciness and curious blending of comedy and stark tragedy. The other play in this category, T. C. Murray's "Autumn Fires," contained elements by no means dissimilar, and was noteworthy as a work of uncommon sincerity. Its occasional note of poignant drama was perfectly reflected in the acting of Una O'Connor and Wilfred Shine. Of the year's melodramas the most popular was Edgar Wallace's "The Ringer," which had in it the "thrills" proper to a mystery play, while in the way of native farces none succeeded better than Ben Travers's "Rookery Nook," a happy medium for the excellent comic acting of Tom Walls and Ralph Lynn. A good run was also secured by an American farce called "Is Zat So?"

Apart from various productions at the Old Vic, there were only two revivals of Shakespeare—those namely of "Much Ado About Nothing" (New, Feb. 5), and "Macbeth" (Princes, Dec. 24). Henry Ainley appeared in both plays, but neither his Benedick nor his Macbeth deserved to rank with his most notable achievements. Sybil Thorndike's Lady Macbeth, despite some fine moments, was not to be classed among the really great readings of that part. Among revivals of modern plays the most successful was that of Somerset Maugham's "Caroline."

### III. THE CINEMA.

During the last few years the cinema world was on the verge of discovering some scheme which would revive the British film industry, but never quite accomplishing it. The year 1926 was as full of abortive attempts as its predecessors.

The three great issues were the quota system and blind and block booking. The first provided that for every hundred American pictures,



a percentage of English pictures would also be acquired. Whether the burden of this measure was to fall on the renter or the exhibitor, or both, was never decided, nor was it made clear whether such British pictures must be *shown* as well as bought. As for blind and block booking, these are closely allied. The former refers to the exhibitors' habit of buying pictures which he has never seen, and which, in many cases, are not even *made*; the latter to his habit of buying a firm's whole output for six or twelve months.

Early in the year the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association decided to shelve the quota system and approve the abolition of block booking and the creation of a central studio. When their decision was communicated to the Board of Trade, it was hoped that the Government would make a grant towards the studio, but in March Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister said that he could hold out no hope of a subsidy. He suggested that there should be a year of voluntary effort before any compulsory quota was introduced, but that the Government was willing to legislate immediately on the question of blind booking. They were, moreover, ready to consider any agreed trade scheme.

In order to arrive at such an agreement a Joint Committee, with representatives from all branches of the trade, met to consider the question. By July it was announced that agreement was found to be impossible. It was then decided to discuss the question of blind booking as a separate issue. A referendum was taken which resulted in a majority being in favour of its abolition. The figures were 1,704, as against 198. Of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association members 71 per cent. polled. As a result a Bill was drafted which was sent to the Government, and on which no action had been taken by the end of the year.

In October the Federation of British Industries presented a memorandum to the Board of Trade demanding a quota of 12½ per cent. This memorandum possibly influenced the Board of Trade in drafting the Bill, which was laid before the Imperial Conference in the following month. It was anticipated that it would form part of the legislative programme of 1927, and would provide guarantees against blind and block booking. The quota was to be started at 5 per cent. For the rest the Imperial Conference confined itself to passing pious resolutions on the desirability of an increase in Imperial films.

Meanwhile a practical step towards a British revival had been taken by the completion of the super-studios which British First National have built at Elstree.

The standard of production improved during the year. A most promising young English director was discovered in Alfred Hitchcock. He made two excellent pictures, "The Pleasure Garden" and "The Lodger." Graham Cutts made two pictures on the American plan, "The Triumph of the Rat," an elaborate melodrama, and "The Sea Urchin," which did not show Betty Balfour at her best. She was more at home in George Pearson's "Blinkeyes." The Empire was represented in "Palaver," a picture of South Africa, and "Hine-Moa," a New Zealand film. War pictures proved popular. "Mons" made with the co-operation of the

Army Council, was an attempt to reconstruct what actually happened; while "Mademoiselle from Armentières" was a popular dramatisation of what might have happened. There were two big naval films, of which "The Flag Lieutenant" was vastly superior to "Second to None." "Nelson" and "Boadicea" were moderately successful attempts to exploit the history of England. "London Love" was Fay Compton's only film in the year. Dorothy Gish has been working in this country and made "London," a picture which involved a dispute with Thomas Burke, who said that his story had been mutilated. The picture was only shown privately, but was badly received by the critics present. Travel films were a British speciality. "With Cobham to the Cape," "Across the Desert to Lima," "Through Wildest Africa," and "With Cherry Kearton in the Jungle" were all first-class pictures.

America sent a number of outstanding pictures. Early in the year "Stella Dallas" made a big sensation, "The Sea Beast" showed John Barrymore at his best, and "Don Juan" showed him at his worst. The height of extravagance was achieved in the expensive production of "Ben Hur;" but the best American picture of the year was "Beau Geste," which made the Englishman, Ronald Coleman, the most popular of stars. "The Big Parade" was a war picture which proved deservedly popular. Mary Pickford's contribution was "Human Sparrows," in which she played another of her famous child rôles. Douglas Fairbanks used colour photography with great success in "The Black Pirate." Harold Lloyd contributed "For Heaven's Sake," and Buster Keaton and Douglas Maclean, in a number of comedies, kept up their standard. Charlie Chaplin's picture, "The Circus," was not completed, so that no picture came from his studio during the year.

The year's best pictures came from Germany. "Vaudeville," with Emil Jannings, Lya de Putti, and the English actor, Warwick Ward, made both a commercial and an artistic success. The two German artists have since gone to Hollywood. In lighter vein, "The Waltz Dream" proved a fine comedy. For the exhibition of an exquisite film version of "The Rosenkavalier" Richard Strauss himself came to London, and on the opening night at the Tivoli conducted the music which he had specially arranged.

From France came two big productions, "Les Misérables" and "Michael Strogoff." The last starred the great Russian actor Moujouskine, who has since gone to Hollywood.

The Plaza, Piccadilly's monumental cinema, was opened early in the year with "Nell Gwynn," a British film, starring Dorothy Gish. The picture was sold to America. The Plaza is owned by Famous Players, and is used as a shop-window for their goods. The Astoria, the big new cinema built with British capital and situated in the Charing Cross Road, was nearing completion at the end of the year.

Among the year's inventions must be reckoned the perfection of the de Forest Phonofilms, talking pictures, which were creating a stir in America, and the Vitaphone, an invention which has not yet been seen in England, but for which big claims are made; with its help the

smallest village hall will be able to have as good music as the West-end cinema de luxe, for it provides a perfectly synchronised orchestral record with the picture. Colour photography has also made steady improvement.

In August the death of Rudolph Valentino led, in America, to extraordinary demonstrations of grief by thousands of persons who had never known him except on the screen. His last picture, "The Son of the Sheik," was shown a few weeks after his death, and proved a great commercial success. Willard Louis, an excellent comedian, the creator of "Babbitt" and "Beau Brummel" died in the following month. Another loss was Harold Shaw, an American producer who had made many pictures, including "Kipps," in England. He was killed in a motor accident.

#### IV. MUSIC.

Yet once more we had a year that busily occupied those professionally musical, but provided little first-rate attractiveness for the genuine amateur. The summer season at Covent Garden showed performances of the highest level of cosmopolitan excellence, but the repertory was entirely familiar. As to the British National Opera Company, there was no season at all. In London, at the Chelsea Palace Theatre, Mrs. Adela Maddison's opera, "Ippolita of the Hills," was produced for a week for charitable purposes by a specially organised company, and at Glasgow the British National Opera Company gave a first performance of "The Leper's Flute," the libretto by Ian Colvin, music by Ernest Bryson, but the work still remains to be heard in London. Rimsky-Korsakoff's opera "Kitesh" was sung as a concert work at Covent Garden under Albert Coates's conductorship, under the auspices of the British Broadcasting Company, but that sums up the list of operas new to us.

As to the Covent Garden season, that was again in the hands of the London Opera Syndicate, and, at its close, it was found that though there was a financial loss, this loss was less than half that of the previous year, and was due largely to the fact that the Auditorium is too small to hold a sufficiency of modern prices. The season opened with "Figaro" (with Lotte Lehmann as a superb Countess) on the night on which the General Strike was declared, and later there followed "Der Ring," with Gertrud Kappel, Olczewska, a remarkable Fricka, Lauritz Melchior and Emil Schipper. Rudolf Laubenthal made a genuine success on his first appearance here as Tristan, but Jeritz's Sieglinde is worth recording only because of the position of the singer. Bruno Walter conducted the chief German operas, in which Elizabeth Schumann, Delia Reinhardt, and Frieda Leider took part. Boito's "Mefistofele" was revived for Chalyapin, who failed to sing it into a success, but a new-comer, Mariano Stabile, made a deep impression on his first appearance here in "Falstaff," "Don Giovanni," and "Otello"—this last bringing back Giovanni Zenatello after many years' absence to sing the title-rôle to the Desdemona of Lotte Lehmann. For Jeritz the tawdry "Thaïs" was revived, as were the delightful "L'Heure Espagnole" by Ravel, with Fanny Heldy, a new-comer, as Concepcion, and "Gianni Schicchi," with Badini, Marguerite Sheridan

(an Irish singer from Milan and other Italian Operas). Dame Melba bade farewell to Covent Garden during the season at a performance attended by the King and Queen, at which were done the second and third acts of "La Bohème," and the "Salce" scene from the close of "Otello." Incidentally, Dame Melba gave a farewell concert in the Albert Hall in June, but lent her services to the Old Vic opera on December 7 for the fund to acquire Sadlers Wells Theatre.

The concert world was stirred almost to its depths at one period of the year by the announcement of William Boosey (representing Chappell & Co., lessees of Queen's Hall) that unless musical finance improved Queen's Hall would possibly be converted into a picture house. No more, however, was heard of this by the close of the year. The Royal Philharmonic, the London Symphony Orchestra, and the New Queen's Hall Orchestra, proceeded, as often before, under various conductors (as to the first two) Weingartner, Walter, Beecham, Elgar, Rhené-Baton, Paul von Klenau, Shavitch and Arbos, the last under Sir Henry J. Wood. The Promenade Concerts, under Sir Henry Wood, seemed to grow in interest, and at them were produced Arthur Bliss's "Introduction and Allegro," Malipiero's "The Mill of Death," D'Indy's "La Queste de Dieu," Hindemith's Concerto Grosso, and Joan Manén's Concerto Espagnol for violin. The B.B.C. organised a series of large orchestral concerts in the Albert Hall under Richard Strauss, Elgar, Hamilton Harty, and Albert Coates.

Sir Henry Wood conducted the Handel Festival at which copious extracts were sung from Handel's operas, the Royal Choral Society performed Bach's B Minor Mass and Verdi's "Requiem," under Malcolm Sargent, and the Bach Choir held a Bach Festival under Vaughan Williams, and also produced his unsatisfactory "Sancta Civitas," the Philharmonic Choir, under C. Kennedy Scott, the London Choral Society (which revived Bantock's "Omar Khayyam"), the Westminster Choral Society, which revived Stanford's "Te Deum," and the Royal Academy of Music, who, under Sir Henry Wood, performed the "St. Matthew Passion" without cuts, all did well.

In chamber music the Flonzaley, the Lener, the Spencer Dyke, the Buda-Pesth, the Capet, the Rosé, and other Quartets visited us, as did the Czechoslovakian male-voice choir, the Emory University (U.S.A.) Glee and Madrigal Society; and among individuals were Rosenthal, Kubelik, Kreisler, Morini, Szigeti, Friedman, Josef Hofmann, Bauer, Giesecking, Gerhardt, Formichi, Josef Schwarz (who died later in the year).

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1926.

THE year 1926 was an eventful period, and more troublous in Great Britain than any year since the signing of the Armistice. Its outstanding features in this country were a great Labour dispute which, beginning at the end of April, lasted until practically the end of the year. The dispute originated over a question of miners' wages, and in order to support their resistance to a reduction the Trades Union Congress called a General Strike, which, however, only lasted about ten days. But it did much economic mischief. The miners refused to follow the lead of the other unions and kept their men on strike until, in the end, they accepted the owners' terms, which included district agreements without any national settlement, such as they had previously enjoyed. The strike, however, had one or two valuable consequences, the principal being a stimulus to combination in industry. Just as the cottage industries were rendered obsolete by the factory in which the efficiency of labour was multiplied many times, so the single factory, working on more or less stereotyped lines on one particular process, is becoming obsolete and out of date by the creation of great units of production and distribution. Big-scale working in the United States and in Germany had shown that the future of industry lies with them and not with the small producer. The more complete the amalgamation of interests the more successful the result has proved. The new industrial theory, however, has made less progress in the unsheltered and world competitive trades than in the domestic trades and industries. But one result of the coal strike was to apply a marked stimulus to the movement in the heavy industries of this country, particularly in coal, iron, and steel, chemicals, dyes, and artificial silk. The Royal Commission on Coal used in its report a significant phrase—namely, that “no sacrifices should be demanded of those engaged in the industry” until it had been reorganised. Reorganisation has begun. A number of collieries have been amalgamated, particularly in the Yorkshire field, among the exporting collieries of Durham, and in the Welsh anthracite industry. Fusions are also under discussion in the iron and steel business; they have been stimulated in turn by the formation of a Continental steel cartel, which the British ironmasters were invited to join. The greatest amalgamation of the year, however, was in the chemical trade; Nobel Industries, Brunner, Mond & Co., the United Alkali Company, and the British Dyestuffs Corporation being merged into one undertaking through the medium of a holding company, entitled “Imperial Chemical Industries,” which has a nominal capital of 65,000,000*l.*, which is equal to that of the great German Dye Trust. Another remarkable event of the year was the firmness of the sterling exchange. In spite

of the fact that the coal strike reduced the volume of overseas trade to the figures of 1923, and caused the country to buy large quantities of coal, instead of selling it, the country managed to add several millions to its stock of gold and to keep its exchange hovering about parity. This conclusively showed that the country's invisible exports had been considerably under-estimated in the past, for according to the old figures the country should have had a real and heavy net adverse payment to meet; and yet she again added to the total of her investments abroad.

On the Continent, an outstanding event was the return of Belgium to the gold standard. She did so by the device not of deflation, but of devaluation. She established a new parity with gold—namely, 175 francs to the gold standard. For this purpose, a new monetary unit was invented—the *belga*, the gold contents of 35 of which are the same as the gold contents of the sovereign. At the end of the year Denmark returned to the gold standard by restoring the convertibility of her notes at the old, pre-war parity. Germany completed the second year's working of the Dawes Plan with conspicuous success, and in spite of the fact that she added considerably to her Budget expenditure, was able to arrange to discount in advance some future payments. In a monetary sense France had a hectic year. Heavy depreciation occurred in the early part of the year, the franc exchange—normally 25f. 22½c. to the pound—rising to nearly 250f. When M. Poincaré returned to power, he brought about a rapid improvement in the franc by various financial devices, the rate at the end of the year being about one-half that current in July. Italian currency, after being weak, improved under a policy of deflation instituted in the latter part of the year. The rise in the value of the franc in France had serious reactions upon trade, and caused strong demands by the industrialists and traders that the franc should be stabilised at about 150f. to the pound. M. Poincaré, however, refused to accept this proposal. He has given no definite indication of his intentions, and it may be he has a notion of stabilising round about 100f. to the pound. If he thinks it practicable he may try an even better figure. The United States had again a wonderfully prosperous year.

*Commodity Prices.*—The course of commodity prices in this country, as in America, was again downward. We reproduce below, as usual, *The Times* index number of commodity prices since January, 1926, based upon the quotations of nearly sixty commodities, with the percentage change each month, together with the number in April, 1920 (when the highest point was touched), and at the close of the years 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, and 1926 :—

		Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. per Cent.
December, 1913	- -	100	100	100	
April, 1920	- -	301·2	382·8	352·9	—
December, 1921	- -	168·1	158·8	162·1	—
„ 1922	- -	163	156·1	158·6	- 54·0
„ 1923	- -	169·1	169·1	169·1	- 2·2
„ 1924	- -	178·1	180·1	179·3	+ 0·6
„ 1925	- -	160·1	148·6	152·8	+ 1·2
„ 1926	- -	148·4	138·5	142·1	- 2·5
					- 7·1

The actual prices in 1926 and 1925 of the commodities included in the calculations are shown below :—

Commodities.	December 31, 1926.	December 31, 1925.
<b>Food.</b>		
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	11s. 11d.	12s. 5d.
„ No. 2, N. Man. - - - - 496 lb.	59s.	66s.
Flour, Ldn., Straights - - - - 280 lb.	45s.	51s.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	10s. 9d.	10s. 6d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	8s.	9s. 3d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship - - - - 480 lb.	30s. 3d.	36s.
Rice, No. 2 Burma - - - - cwt.	16s. 3d.	16s.
Beef, English sides - - - - 8 lb.	4s. 4d.	5s. 7d.
„ S. Amer. chilled - - - - 8 lb.	3s. 7d.	4s.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen - - - - 8 lb.	4s. 3d.	4s. 9d.
Bacon, Irish lean - - - - cwt.	125s.	134s.
„ Amer. Cumb. - - - - cwt.	81s.	112s.
Fish <sup>1</sup> - - - - stone	5s. 3d.	5s. 9d.
Eggs, English - - - - 120	24s.	28s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes - - - - cwt.	38s.	31s. 9d.
„ W. Ind. cryst. - - - - cwt.	35s.	24s.
Tea, Ind., auct. Avg. - - - - lb.	1s. 3½d.	1s. 8½d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid. - - - - cwt.	68s.	65s.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar - - - - cwt.	96s.	125s.
Butter, Danish, fine - - - - cwt.	184s.	176s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails - - - - cwt.	71s.	81s. 6d.
Potatoes, English, good - - - - ton	6l. 10s.	7l.
<b>MATERIALS.</b>		
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro. - - - - ton	92s. 6d.	76s. 6d.
„ Cleve'd, No. 3 - - - - ton	87s. 6d.	68s. 6d.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. - - - - ton	14l. 10s.	14l.
„ Com. bars - - - - ton	12l. 10s.	11l. 10s.
Steel, rails, heavy - - - - ton	8l. 10s.	8l.
„ boiler plates - - - - ton	11l. 10s.	11l. 10s.
„ galvzd. sheets - - - - ton	16l. 5s.	16l. 10s.
„ tinplates - - - - box	21s.	20s.
Copper, electrolytic - - - - ton	63l. 10s.	65l. 15s.
„ strong sheets - - - - ton	92l.	90l.
Tin, stand., cash - - - - ton	300l. 5s.	289l. 2s. 6d.
Lead, English - - - - ton	30l. 5s.	36l. 15s.
Spelter, foreign - - - - ton	32l. 15s.	38l. 12s. 6d.
Coal, lge. steam, Cardiff - - - - ton	23s. 6d.	23s.
„ best gas, Durham - - - - ton	23s.	16s. 3d.
„ best hse., Yorks - - - - ton	30s.	28s.
Petim., Amer. rfd., brl. - - - - gal.	1s. 1d.	1s.
Cotton, Am., mid. - - - - lb.	6-89d.	10-27d.
„ Egypt. f.g.f. Sak. - - - - lb.	14-10d.	17-65d.
„ yarn, 32's twist - - - - lb.	11½d.	16d.
„ „ 60's, „ Egp. - - - - lb.	23½d.	30d.
„ shirtings, 8½ lb. - - - - piece	10s. 8d.	13s. 3d.
„ prnt., 17 × 17, 32 in. 125 yards - - - - piece	27s. 6d.	34s.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's - - - - lb.	19d.	20d.
„ gsy. crossbd., 46's - - - - lb.	14½d.	15½d.
„ tops, 64's - - - - lb.	45d.	48d.
„ „ 40's - - - - lb.	19½d.	22d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. - - - - ton	54l.	71l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair - - - - ton	38l. 10s.	40l.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. - - - - ton	31l. 7s. 6d.	57l.
Hides, Eng. Ox, first - - - - lb.	8½d.	9½d.
„ Cape, dry - - - - lb.	12½d.	12½d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 × 9 - - - - stand	24l.	24l.
„ W'cot oak - - - - lin. ft.	1s. 4d.	1s. 4d.
Cement, best Portland - - - - ton	2l. 18s.	2l. 18s.
Rubber, Plant., sheet - - - - lb.	1s. 7d.	3s. 9½d.
Linseed oil - - - - ton	31l.	33l. 10s.
Soda crystals, bags - - - - ton	5l. 5s.	5l. 5s.

<sup>1</sup> Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

*The Trend of Business.*—Surprisingly favourable were the statistics of failures and bankruptcies in 1926. The number of receiving orders in England was 4,277, a decrease of 442; and the number of deeds of arrangement 1,903, a decrease of 146. The total liabilities involved were 4,686,261*l.* against 6,432,782*l.*, and the total assets 1,972,989*l.*, against 2,166,553*l.* In Scotland the failures numbered 557, a decrease of 83. In Ireland, too, the experience of creditors was more happy. Bankruptcies numbered 168, a decrease of 21, and deeds of arrangement 274, a decrease of 45. In the United Kingdom failures were 737 fewer at a total of 7,179.

In spite of the great strikes, the profits of industrial and trading companies reported in 1926 were quite satisfactory. In the twelve months the reports of 1,572 companies were analysed by the *Economist*, and they showed an aggregate profit of 174,932,912*l.*, an increase of 10,389,481*l.*, or 6·3 per cent., following an increase of 8·7 per cent. in 1925 and of 6·6 per cent. in 1924. The increase, however, was largely due to rubber and oil. Of the total profits, 107,116,726*l.*, or 61·2 per cent., was distributed among the Ordinary shareholders, 18·1 per cent. in Preference dividends, and 20·7 per cent. was placed to reserves of one kind or another. The total profits were equal to 11·3 per cent. on the total Ordinary and Preference capital combined, against 10·9 per cent. in 1925, 10·3 in 1924, 9·8 per cent. in 1923, 7 per cent. in 1922, and 15·2 per cent. in 1920.

*The Budget.*—The Budget for 1926-27 was not so sensational as several previous Budgets, though it contained some novel features. The Budget for 1925-26 had an unfortunate ending owing to the coal dispute. It showed a deficit of 14,000,000*l.* in consequence of the payment of over 20,000,000*l.* as a subsidy to the coal industry. As the expenditure included 50,000,000*l.* for redemption of debt, there was, in fact, no deficit, but a raiding of the sinking fund to the extent of 14,000,000*l.*, so that only 36,000,000*l.* of debt was repaid. Mr. Winston Churchill sought to make good the raid in substance in the Budget for 1926-27 by raising the sinking fund provision to 60,000,000*l.* But the effort was doomed to failure by the coal strike. Another feature of the Budget was the introduction of a tax on betting, which in a full year was estimated to yield as much as 6,000,000*l.* Changes in Customs and Excise duties involved a modification of motor-car taxation and the repeal of the duty on home-grown chicory, and the exemption of antiques over a hundred years old. A duty on imports of packing and wrapping-paper was imposed, amounting to 16½ per cent., with a rebate of one-third in favour of Empire goods. The net effect of the various changes was expected to yield 9,005,000*l.* of new revenue. The total revenue for 1926-27 was estimated at 824,750,000*l.*, of which 691,150,000*l.* was tax revenue (against 812,062,000*l.* and 684,544,000*l.* respectively in 1925-26). Expenditure was put at 820,641,000*l.*, including 364,000,000*l.* for interest on and redemption of debt, these figures comparing with 826,100,000*l.* and 358,229,000*l.* respectively. On March 31, 1926, the national debt amounted to 7,615,911,000*l.*, against 7,646,000,000*l.* a year previously. The floating debt on December 31, 1926, compared as follows with that of December 31, 1925 :—



Floating Debt.	December 31, 1926.	December 31, 1925.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£
Bank of England - - -	14,000,000	16,500,000
Public Departments - - -	168,451,000	164,641,000
Treasury Bills - - -	663,415,000	635,500,000
Total -	845,866,000	816,641,000

The increase was due to the coal stoppage, which interfered with the collection of revenues, and compelled the Government to borrow more than usual.

Two conversion operations were carried out during the year, the first in October and the second in the last week of the year. In October holders of £109,600,000 of 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds maturing on February 1, 1927, were invited to convert into 4½ per cent. Bonds maturing on February 1, 1934, both borrower and lender having the option on giving a year's notice of making or taking repayment on February 1 in any year from 1929 to 1933. Holders on converting received a cash payment of 1l. per cent. Altogether 82,700,000l. was converted, leaving 26,900,000l. outstanding. In December the Government issued a 4 per cent. Consolidated Loan at 85, and invited holders of the balance of the 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds, and of 158,116,141l. of 5 per cent. National War Bonds and 79,983,254l. of 4 per cent. tax free National War Bonds, maturing on October 1, 1927, to convert on those terms. Cash applications amounted to 81,298,575l., and conversion applications to 128,060,313l., making a total of 209,358,889l. The conversion applications were in respect of 9,159,580l. of 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds, of 61,624,364l. of 5 per cent. National War Bonds, and 34,497,150l. of 4 per cent. National War Bonds.

*Banking.*—The industrial dislocation was also responsible for an appreciable decline in the turnover of money during the year. The report of the London Bankers' Clearing House shows that following successive "record" totals in 1924 and 1925, the total amount of bills, cheques, etc., passed through the Clearing House in 1926 was 1·5 per cent. lower than in 1925. The grand total was 39,825,054,000l., a decrease of 612,565,000l. The decrease was due, not to the drawing of fewer cheques, but to the smaller average amount of each cheque. All indications point to the fact that the cheque is becoming more and more the universally-used means of settling financial and business transactions. The average clearings on Stock Exchange settling days show an increase, being 164,461,100l., or 8,624,100l. greater than in 1925.

The decrease in the turnover occurred mainly in the first six months of the year, when the reduction was 585,948,000; in the second six months there was a decrease of only 26,117,000l. The week recording the largest total was that ended January 6, 1926, when the turnover was 968,775,000l., a "record," exceeding the previous "record" week, that ended April 5, 1922 (960,408,000l.), by 8,367,000l. The figures for the past two years are given below :—

	1926.	1925.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	£	£
Grand total - - -	39,825,054,000	40,437,119,000	612,065,000 (1·5 per cent.)
Town clearing total - -	35,346,429,000	35,801,264,000	454,835,000 (1·2 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing total -	1,660,757,000	1,678,347,000	17,590,000 (1 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing total	2,817,868,000	2,957,508,000	139,640,000 (4·7 per cent.)

The totals for the eleven provincial clearings are as follows, with the percentage movement on the year :—

Clearing.	Total.	Inc. or Dec.
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham - - - - -	123,136,000	— 7·4
Bradford - - - - -	76,115,000	+ ·1
Bristol - - - - -	59,304,000	— 2·9
Hull - - - - -	46,508,000	— 13·8
Leeds - - - - -	49,921,000	— 2·3
Leicester - - - - -	39,931,000	— 2·0
Liverpool - - - - -	400,644,000	— 14·0
Manchester - - - - -	685,179,000	— 15·8
Newcastle-on-Tyne - - - -	65,541,000	— 19·5
Nottingham - - - - -	31,710,000	— 7·0
Sheffield - - - - -	49,757,000	— 7·4

In the money market the outstanding feature of the year was the higher level of money rates. This was due to the General Strike and the coal dispute. The Bank of England's minimum rate of discount remained at 5 per cent. throughout the year. This caused the average charge for short loans and discount rates to rule much higher than in any year since 1921, the period of the great commercial " slump." Bankers, of course, benefited from the higher level of interest rates ; they also gained from an active demand for advances, due partly to the prosperity of the building trade—a " record " number of houses was built during the year—the requirements of traders who had to import coal from abroad at high prices, and from heavy borrowing by municipalities which were placed in financial difficulties by the strikes. The latter caused a decrease in commercial bills, but this decrease was more than offset by the larger volume of Treasury Bills which the Government had to issue in order to finance their requirements. The increase in advances and other forms of accommodation naturally brought about an expansion in deposits. The figures of the monthly statements issued by the ten London clearing banks for each month are given below :—

	Deposits.	Cash.	Money at Call and Short Notice.	Bills.	Investments.	Advances.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
January -	1,675,034	195,934	117,600	233,531	277,908	873,539
February -	1,643,472	190,810	114,494	212,394	270,875	879,756
March -	1,624,711	189,687	113,759	189,886	263,027	892,290
April -	1,627,524	189,984	120,827	190,113	260,894	890,126
May -	1,626,909	190,804	117,081	188,297	259,634	893,332
June -	1,667,466	201,870	125,681	212,980	258,841	889,294
July -	1,683,560	197,794	122,658	235,588	261,846	890,067
August -	1,670,826	196,426	121,435	228,632	262,887	888,027
September -	1,660,132	193,656	117,074	220,714	263,605	893,750
October -	1,685,898	195,977	120,147	227,147	265,600	901,428
November -	1,685,117	194,843	121,759	222,196	267,177	903,131
December -	1,725,500	206,388	132,784	233,317	266,074	904,797

000's omitted.

Except in one or two cases the banks reported a slight decrease in profits, but in every case dividends were maintained easily, and large amounts placed to published and unpublished reserves. One of the unusual features of the year was the fact that the rate for Treasury Bills was higher than the market rate for commercial bills; this was the outcome of the larger volume of the former and the smaller volume of the latter, coupled with greater competition for commercial bills, Continental banks being eager buyers of them throughout the year. The average rates for money in the past seven years are shown below:—

1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925	1926.
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
6 14 3	6 2 3	3 14 0	3 9 10	4 0 0	4 11 6	5 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS) AVERAGE.						
6 8 0	5 4 3	2 12 9	2 14 2	3 9 3	4 2 3	4 8 3
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
4 14 3	4 2 4	1 13 10	1 9 9	2 0 0	2 11 6	3 0 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
5 3 7	4 12 8	2 5 11	1 18 4	2 13 0	3 11 3	4 0 0
TREASURY BILL RATE AVERAGE.						
—	—	—	—	3 7 11	4 1 11	3 7 11

In the next table (p. 82) is shown the currency note position at the end of the past three years.

The actual maximum fiduciary issue in any year becomes the legal maximum fiduciary issue in the following year. The highest level of the fiduciary issue reached in 1926 was 246,011,006*l.*, in the week ended May 13.

	End December, 1926.	End December, 1925.	End December, 1924.
	£	£	£
Total outstanding - -	295,172,908	295,460,511	295,460,511
Reserve :—			
Gold - - - -	—	—	27,000,000
Silver - - - -	6,300,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Bank of England notes -	56,250,000	56,250,000	26,950,000
Ratio of reserve - -	18·97 per cent.	19·04 per cent.	18·29 per cent.
Fiduciary issue - -	238,922,908	239,210,511	241,075,311
Legal maximum - -	247,902,549	248,145,386	248,190,953

This figure is the legal maximum for 1927. The principal features of the Bank of England return are the substantial addition made to the stock of gold and the contraction of the note circulation. In the following table the figures for the past three years are compared :—

Bank of England.	End December, 1926.	End December, 1925.	End December, 1924.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion - -	151,118,648	144,556,367	128,560,002
Note circulation - -	140,784,940	144,730,510	128,295,915
Public deposits - -	11,632,266	8,362,323	8,511,485
Other deposits - -	131,342,517	160,680,681	165,779,092
Government securities -	34,167,539	64,087,526	68,579,552
Other securities - -	96,658,843	103,280,596	103,600,354
Reserve (Notes and Coin) -	30,083,708	19,575,857	20,014,087
Ratio - - - -	21 per cent.	11½ per cent.	11½ per cent.

The output of new capital issues was the largest for six years ; this was partly due to the removal of the embargo on overseas loans in November, 1925. Emissions for the year amounted to 230,782,600*l.*, an increase of 10,885,600*l.* Foreign and Colonial issues amounted to 101,606,900*l.*, an increase of 13,808,900*l.* Features were the large number of corporation loans, raised partly for the purpose of paying for relief given during the strikes, the flotation of two more European construction loans, a Belgian Stabilisation loan of 7,250,000*l.* in Seven per Cents. issued at 94, and a Bulgarian Refugee loan of 1,750,000*l.*, also in Seven per Cents., issued at 92. The latter was floated under the auspices of the League of Nations. A large amount was also issued for trust companies. Figures for the past three years are shown below :—

Destination.	1926.	1925.	1924.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom - - -	129,175,700	132,099,000	89,323,000
British Possessions - - -	53,174,300	57,404,000	73,602,000
Foreign Countries - - -	48,432,600	30,394,000	60,721,000
Total - -	230,782,600	219,897,000	223,646,000

The debts of local guardians of the poor were enormously increased during the year. The number of recipients of relief rose from 1,000,000 to 2,225,000, and on December 6, 1926, the loans and overdrafts of the Unions was 16,261,699*l.* against 9,296,750*l.* on March 31, 1926.

*Foreign Exchange.*—Further progress towards normality was made by the foreign exchanges in 1926, Belgium returning to the gold standard in October, and Denmark following suit at the end of the year. Proposals were laid before the Brazilian Parliament for stabilising the milreis at 5·89*d.* gold. Sterling remained very steady, and in spite of the strikes the New York rate at no time fell below gold export point. The Berlin rate, however, after being “unpegged” in August, fell low enough to make

Place.	Parity.	Dec. 31 1926.	Dec. 31, 1925.	During 1926.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York * -	\$4·86 $\frac{3}{4}$	4·85 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·85 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·86 $\frac{7}{8}$	4·84 $\frac{1}{2}$
Montreal * -	\$4·86 $\frac{3}{4}$	4·85 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·85 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·88 $\frac{1}{4}$	4·83 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paris -	25 <i>f.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	122·75	129 $\frac{1}{2}$	245	119 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brussels -	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	34·88 $\frac{3}{4}$ §	106·97 $\frac{1}{2}$	34·91 $\frac{1}{2}$ §	34·80 $\frac{1}{2}$ §
Milan -	25 <i>l.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	108 $\frac{1}{4}$	120 $\frac{1}{2}$	155	104 $\frac{1}{2}$
Berne -	25 <i>f.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	25·11	25·09	25·27 $\frac{1}{2}$	25·05 $\frac{1}{2}$
Athens -	25 <i>dr.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	385 $\frac{1}{2}$	375 $\frac{1}{2}$	463	294
Helsingfors -	193 <i>m.</i> 23 <i>pf.</i>	192·85	192 $\frac{1}{2}$	193 $\frac{1}{2}$	192 $\frac{1}{2}$
Madrid -	25 <i>m.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>pf.</i>	31·74	34·35	34·60	29·60
Lisbon * -	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amsterdam -	12 <i>fl.</i> 107 <i>c.</i>	12·12 $\frac{3}{4}$	12·05 $\frac{3}{4}$	12·14 $\frac{1}{2}$	12·04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Berlin -	20 <i>m.</i> 43 <i>pf.</i>	20·40	20·37 $\frac{1}{2}$	20·46	20·35
Vienna -	34 <i>kr.</i> 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	34·37 $\frac{1}{2}$	34·38 $\frac{1}{2}$	34·60	34·31
Budapest -	27 <i>kr.</i> 82 <i>c.</i>	27·77	27·70	27·95	27·60
Prague -	24 <i>kr.</i> 02 <i>c.</i>	164	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	164 $\frac{1}{2}$	163 $\frac{1}{2}$
Warsaw -	25 <i>m.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>pf.</i>	43·50	42·50	55	33
Riga -	25 <i>m.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>pf.</i>	25·25	25·19	25·40	25·10
Bucharest -	25 <i>lei.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	920	1,055	1,650	855
Constantinople -	110	962 $\frac{1}{2}$	912 $\frac{1}{2}$	990	850
Belgrade -	25 <i>d.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	275	273 $\frac{1}{2}$	280	272
Kovno -	48·66	49	49·12 $\frac{1}{2}$	50·00	49·00
Reval -	—	1,820	1,820	1,850	1,800
Sofia -	25 <i>d.</i> 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>c.</i>	678 $\frac{1}{2}$	675	750	640
Oslo -	18 <i>kr.</i> 159	19·20 $\frac{1}{2}$	23·00	23·99	18·63
Stockholm -	18 <i>kr.</i> 159	18·16	18·08 $\frac{1}{2}$	18·19	18·07 $\frac{1}{2}$
Copenhagen -	18 <i>kr.</i> 159	18·19 $\frac{1}{2}$	19·62	19·79	18·18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Alexandria -	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
Bombay -	24 <i>d.</i>	1/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Calcutta -	24 <i>d.</i>	1/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Madras -	24 <i>d.</i>	1/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hong-Kong -	—	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kobe -	24·58 <i>d.</i>	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shanghai -	—	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Singapore -	2/4	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Batavia -	12·107	12·10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11·97 $\frac{1}{2}$	12/12 $\frac{1}{2}$	11·96 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manila -	24·066 <i>d.</i>	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2·0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rio de Janeiro * -	27 <i>d.</i>	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
Buenos Ayres * -	47 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$
Valparaiso † -	40	39·63	39·80	40·00	39·30
Montevideo * -	51 <i>d.</i>	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lima † -	Par	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ % †	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ % †	36 % †	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ % †
Mexico -	24·58 <i>d.</i>	24	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	23

\* Telegraphic transfers. † 90 days. § Belga = 5 paper francs. ‡ Prem.

it profitable to ship gold from London to Germany; this was largely due to that country's heavy borrowing in America and elsewhere. The French franc moved erratically: opening at 130 to the pound, it rose steadily until a level of 245f. was reached in July; with M. Poincaré regaining power, a strong recovery ensued, and the rate closed the year at about 120f. Italian exchanges moved somewhat similarly. The Oslo rate recovered to within measurable distance of par, and in Spain a marked improvement occurred in the exchange following the surrender of Abd-el-Krim in Morocco. Wide fluctuations occurred in the Athens, Bucharest, and Warsaw rates, but in each case there was little change on the year. A noteworthy event was the issue of the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, which recommended that the rupee should be permanently stabilised at 1s. 6d. (around which level it was steady throughout the year), and that a gold bullion standard should be established, together with a new central reserve bank. The report recommended the reduction of the silver holdings of the Government of India held in the currency reserves, and this was partly responsible for a heavy decline (from over 31d. in January to under 25d. in December) in the price of silver. South American currencies were almost featureless save for a fall in the value of the milreis, which lost most of the ground recovered in 1925. The usual table of exchange rates, extracted from *The Times Annual and Commercial Review*, is given on previous page.

In the next table are shown the New York quotations for foreign currencies:—

New York on—	Method of Quoting.	December 31, 1926.	December 31, 1925.	Rise or Fall per Cent. in Foreign Currencies.
		\$	\$	
London - - -	\$ to £1	4·84½	4·85½	— ·08
Paris - - -	100f.	3·95	3·71	— 6·5
Brussels - - -	\$ to 100 belga	13·92	—	—
Berne - - -	100f.	19·33	19·34	— ·05
Rome - - -	100lr.	4·50	4·00	+ 12·5
Madrid - - -	100p.	15·31	16·14	— 5·7
Amsterdam - -	100fl.	40·00	40·22	— ·55
Copenhagen - -	100kr.	26·68	24·75	+ 7·8
Oslo - - -	100kr.	25·26	20·34	+ 24·2
Stockholm - -	100kr.	26·72	26·84	— ·44
Montreal - - -	Prem. or dis. %.	¾ dis.	¾ dis.	+ ·03
Yokohama - - -	100yen	48·85	43·35	+ 12·7
Calcutta - - -	100rs.	36·15	36·68	— 1·4
Buenos Ayres -	P's per \$100	107·30	106·00	— 1·3
Prague - - -	100kr.	2·96	2·96	No change
Berlin - - -	100mk.	23·83	23·81	+ ·08
Belgrade - - -	100din.	1·77	1·77	No change
Athens - - -	100dr.	1·26	1·27	— ·7
Rio de Janerio -	Cents per mil.	11·90	14·70	— 19·0

*The Stock Exchange.*—When allowance is made for the effects of the General Strike and coal stoppage, the Stock Exchange may be said to have enjoyed a favourable year. The aggregate movement in securities was smaller than in 1925, if the calculations of the *Bankers' Magazine* be

taken as a representative guide. The 87 fixed interest stocks included in those calculations showed a rise in value of nearly 21,000,000*l.*, or 0·5 per cent., to 4,096,456,000*l.* (against a fall of 155,000,000*l.* in 1925). Variable dividend securities, of which 278 are covered in the calculations, rose to 2,446,895,000*l.*, an increase in value of nearly 58,000,000*l.*, or 2·4 per cent.; of this increase, however, over 30,000,000*l.* occurred in eleven United States railroad shares, the British interest in which is much smaller than before the war. The aggregate value of the 365 securities was 1·2 per cent. higher at 6,543,351,000*l.* British funds showed practically no change on the year, the only important movement in the fixed interest class of security being a rise of 8·7 per cent. in foreign Government stocks, in spite of a heavy fall in Chinese bonds. Huge decreases in traffic receipts notwithstanding, British railway Ordinary stocks showed a fall of only 0·3 per cent. The coal, iron, and steel group actually showed a rise of 9·3 per cent., but only fourteen shares are covered in this calculation. Other movements of importance were rises of 8·7 per cent. in electric lighting and power shares and 7·1 per cent. in South African mines, and falls of 15·1 per cent. in brewery stocks, 18·6 per cent. in rubber shares, and 55·5 per cent. in nitrate shares.

*Foreign Commerce.*—In the first four months the apparent adverse trade balance was reduced by 11,000,000*l.*, but the General Strike and coal stoppage reversed this tendency, and for the whole year the adverse balance was 72,109,000*l.* higher at 465,406,000*l.* Owing partly to lower prices, but more to the strikes, the volume of trade fell from 2,248,133,000*l.* in 1925 to 2,020,322,000*l.* in 1926. Imports were valued at 1,242,863,679*l.*, against 1,320,715,190*l.* in 1925, a decrease of 5·8 per cent. British exports were 121,488,198*l.* (15·7 per cent.) lower at 651,892,504*l.*, and re-exports fell by 28,471,166*l.* (18·5 per cent.) to 125,565,633*l.* Imports of food, drink, and tobacco were 39,602,759*l.* (6·9 per cent.) lower at 530,498,259*l.*, and there was a fall of 32,097,930*l.* (7·5 per cent.) to 392,685,218*l.* in imports of raw materials, but those of manufactured articles showed a fall of only 1·4 per cent. (4,657,862*l.*) at 314,973,227*l.* Exports of food, drink, and tobacco declined by 4,520,609*l.* (8·2 per cent.) to 50,465,687*l.*, exports of raw materials by 37,199,612*l.* (44·1 per cent.) to 47,151,025*l.*, and those of manufactured articles by 78,428,558*l.* (12·7 per cent.) to 538,179,480*l.* The decrease in re-exports was evenly spread over food, drink, and tobacco, raw materials, and manufactured articles.

The Board of Trade calculated that the country had an unfavourable trade balance in 1926 of 12,000,000*l.*, as compared with a favourable trade balance in 1925 of 54,000,000*l.*, and of 86,000,000*l.* in 1924. The table is appended (see p. 86).

*Coal and Iron.*—The year was the most disastrous in the history of the coal industry. In the first four months of the year the industry worked at a loss of about 1*s.* 4½*d.* per ton, without allowing for capital charges, estimated at 3*d.* per ton. The strike lasted seven months, and resulted in a loss of output compared with 1925 of 123,000,000 tons, the output being 124,000,000 tons, or about one-half of that for the previous year. The loss in the foreign cargo export trade was about 28,000,000 tons. On

*Balances of Income and Expenditure in the transactions (other than lending and repayment of capital) between the United Kingdom and all other countries.*

(IN MILLION POUNDS.)

Particulars.	1924.	1925.	1926.
Excess of imports of merchandise and bullion - - -	324	384	477
Estimated excess of Government payments made overseas * -	25	11	—
Total - - - - -	349	395	477
Estimated net national shipping income - - - -	140	124	120
Estimated net income from overseas investments - - -	220	250	270
Estimated receipts from short interest and commissions -	60	60	60
Estimated receipts from other services - - - -	15	15	15
Total - - - - -	435	449	465
Estimated total credit (+) or debit (-)			
Balance on items specified above - - - - -	+ 86	+ 54	- 12

\* These include some items on loan accounts.

† Including disbursements of foreign ships in British ports.

the basis of the March figures the loss of production represented 97,000,000*l.*, and the loss of wages 75,000,000*l.* It is important to note in passing that owing to the higher efficiency of coal-burning plants the consumption of coal throughout the world shows a tendency to decline, though the world is extracting more energy from the coal used. The output of coal in Britain in 1925 was over 40,000,000 tons less than in 1913. As a result of the settlement of the strike, about two-thirds of the industry at the close of the year was working on an 8-hour day basis, and one-third on a 7½-hour day. Important amalgamations were effected in the industry, notably in Yorkshire and South Wales. There is more co-operation among producers in selling coal. The total cost of the coal subsidy was 23,000,000*l.*, the lion's share of which went to the collieries in the exporting districts. Shipments of coal as cargo and bunkers in 1926 were only 31,000,000 tons, against 70,500,000 in 1925 and 97,700,000 tons in 1913. Imports of foreign coal amounted to about 20,000,000 tons, valued at about 42,000,000*l.* Next to the coal industry the iron and steel industry suffered most from the coal stoppage. During May, 1926, 124 blast furnaces were damped down, and of the 23 that remained in operation only 5 were working at the end of October. At the end of December the figure was 78. In 1925 the average number of blast furnaces working was 141; in 1920 it was 284. The output for the year was 2,441,500 tons of pig iron (against 10,260,300 tons in 1925), and 3,560,400 tons of steel (against 7,663,900 tons in 1925). The pig iron output was the smallest for seventy-six years, and the steel production the lowest for thirty-one years. Imports of foreign material were a "record"; the total was 3,740,279 tons (against 2,719,715 tons in 1925 and 2,230,955 tons in 1913). Exports were only 2,987,669 tons (against 3,771,096 tons in 1925 and 4,969,225 tons in 1913). An event of outstanding importance was the establishment of a European steel cartel,



which was joined by Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Czechoslovakia. Great Britain was invited to join, but had not decided to do so by the end of the year.

The following table, compiled by the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, shows the average monthly production of pig iron and steel ingots and castings in 1913, 1920, 1923 to 1926, and the production in each month since December, 1925 :—

	Production.	
	Pig Iron.	Steel Ingots and Castings.
	Tons.	Tons.
1913—Monthly average - -	855,000	638,600
1920— " " - -	669,500	735,600
1923— " " - -	620,000	706,800
1924— " " - -	609,000	685,100
1925— " " - -	521,800	615,500
1926— " " - -	203,500	296,700
1925—December - -	503,400	606,800
1926—January - -	533,500	640,400
February - -	502,000	703,800
March - -	568,500	784,100
April - -	539,100	661,000
May - -	88,800	45,700
June - -	41,800	34,500
July - -	17,900	32,100
August - -	13,600	52,100
September - -	12,500	95,700
October - -	13,100	94,200
November - -	12,700	97,500
December - -	98,000	319,300

The December output brings the total pig iron output for the year to 2,441,500 tons, compared with 6,261,700 tons in 1925 and 10,260,300 tons in 1913, and the steel output for 1926 to 3,560,400 tons, compared with 7,385,400 tons in 1925 and 7,663,900 tons in 1913.

*Shipping and Shipbuilding.*—The effect of the coal stoppage on the shipping industry was marked. Passenger lines suffered severely from the increase in bunker coal prices, but the heavy imports of coal brought grist to the mill of tramp steamer owners. The Chamber of Shipping's monthly index numbers of freights are set out below (1913 = 100) :—

January - - -	106.9	July - - -	118.93
February - - -	98.2	August - - -	116.97
March - - -	93.4	September - - -	140.30
April - - -	96.7	October - - -	184.27
May - - -	97.4	November - - -	198.63
June - - -	101.32	December - - -	141.45

The effects of the coal dispute can be traced very clearly in these figures. Shipowners did not reap the full advantage of the rise in freight rates owing to the large proportion of ballast voyages and the increase in fuel costs. The coal strike had an effect also upon the statistics of idle tonnage, as will be seen from the following table :—

Date.	No. of Ships.	Net Tonnage.
January 1	259	407,664
April 1	248	359,848
July 1	518	859,739
October 1	311	371,057

Shipbuilding suffered severely from the lack of supplies of steel. The tonnage launched in Great Britain and Ireland fell from 1,084,633 gross tons in 1925 to 639,568 gross tons in 1926, the aggregate tonnage launched throughout the world falling from 2,193,404 to 1,674,977 gross tons. The world tonnage under construction on December 31, 1926, was 1,933,027 gross tons (against 2,069,545 gross tons at the same date in 1925), of which the British proportion was slightly smaller—760,084 gross tons (against 885,013 gross tons).

*Insurance.*—Notwithstanding the detrimental effect of the stoppage of work in the coal mines on almost all forms of national activity, there was little slackening in the volume of new life assurance business. To some extent this was due to special efforts on the part of one or two large offices. In industrial assurance, with over a million workers wageless and others on half or quarter wages, the chief problem was the prevention of lapsed policies. This was solved by many offices through the reduction of the sums assured sufficiently to liquidate arrears of contributions, and by one office through deductions from the bonus payments when claims arise. Fire insurance companies, on the whole, fared better in 1926 than in the preceding year, losses being estimated at 7,300,000*l.* in comparison with an estimate of 7,700,000*l.* in 1925. An extraordinary feature was the number of fires at country houses, the most expensive being that at Oulton Park, Cheshire, with an estimated cost of 200,000*l.* A notable building to be destroyed by fire was the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon, with a loss estimated at 40,000*l.* Losses in North America were estimated to the end of November at 70,000,000*l.*, the outstanding outbreak being the destruction of oil tanks at San Luis Obispo, California, the cost being put at 1,600,000*l.* In marine insurance somewhat higher rates ruled for hulls, but there was no such recovery in cargo insurance. The chief development in miscellaneous insurance was the holding in London, during December, of an International Conference on credit risks, whereat eighteen nations were represented. It was provisionally decided to form a committee on which all countries transacting credit business would be represented.

## LAW

THAT the profession of the law is particularly sensitive to outside influences is well known, and during the greater portion of 1926, so far as litigation was concerned, the position was one of complete stagnation. The conveyancing side, however, did not feel the depression so acutely, for the coming into operation of the Property Acts of 1925 brought about a considerable amount of business. Even although new litigious work was practically non-existent, in the King's Bench the average period of delay between setting down and hearing was not reduced, and, as heretofore, three to four months elapsed before actions for trial were disposed of.

During the year the Companies Law Amendment Committee made its report, and like the Bankruptcy Report of the previous year, will probably be followed by legislation. A committee was also set up, with Mr. Justice MacKinnon as chairman, to consider the law of arbitration in all its aspects. In April the new scheme of providing legal aid for the poor in civil matters came into operation, and the results of the first six months of its working, under the aegis of the various law societies, showed that at last a practical scheme of poor persons' procedure had been established. The General and Coal Strikes necessitated resort to the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, and proclamations of emergency, together with the necessary regulations, were made, and kept in force from May until November. In June and July the Criminal Justice Act of the previous year came into force, altering the criminal law in many particulars, and amending and improving the system of probation. At the Imperial Conference held in the autumn several points of maritime law and the question of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were considered and discussed, and various resolutions were passed. In December the King's Counsel practising at the Chancery Bar decided to bring to an end the custom of attaching themselves to particular judges, and resolved that all should be entitled to appear in any Chancery Court without the payment of a special fee, thus ending a system that had been in force for many years.

Legislation during 1926 may be said to have returned to normality so far as bulk was concerned, and the statutes passed during the twelve months were of wide and varied scope. The Bankruptcy Act carried out most of the recommendations made by the Departmental Committee, and the Law and Property (Amendment) Act dealt with difficulties that were disclosed when the monumental Property Acts of 1925 came into actual working. Chap. 15 created a Court of Criminal Appeal for Scotland, and

the Re-election of Ministers Act removed the necessity for the re-election of members of the House of Commons on acceptance of office, and did away with the nine months' limitation that previously obtained. The Coal Mines Act, 1926, permitted for a period of five years eight hours' work below ground, and the Boards of Guardians (Default) Act allowed intervention by the Minister of Health where the powers and duties of guardians were not properly discharged. By the Finance Act, 1926, betting duty was established; excess profits duty was brought to an end; and the method of computing profits under Schedule D was altered to the year preceding the year of assessment in the place of the average of three years. Two statutes may be mentioned that intimately affected family life—the Adoption of Children Act, which provided for the making of adoption orders by the Courts, and the establishment of a register, while the Legitimacy Act provided legitimation by subsequent marriage of parents, but excluded those whose father or mother was married to a third person when the illegitimate person was born, and did not enable any interest to be taken in real or personal property save as in the Act expressly provided. Provision was also made for the protection against lead poisoning of persons employed in painting buildings (Chap. 37); Indian and Colonial divorces were dealt with by Chap. 40; and the law relating to smoke nuisances by Chap. 43. The Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act amended the law with respect to their sale, and imposed an obligation to furnish statutory statements and made such statements warrantable. The Merchandise Marks Act required an indication of origin to be given in the case of certain imported goods. The Weights and Measures Act provided for the better protection of the public in relation to the sale of food, including agricultural and horticultural produce. The Law of Coroners has been amended, as also that relating to Small Holdings and Allotments, while by the Electricity Supply Act a central electricity board was created, and provision made for carrying out a wide scheme of electrical supply. Mention must also be made of the Judicial Proceedings (Regulation of Reports) Act, which is designed to regulate the publication of those reports in such a manner as to prevent injury to public morals, and the Penal Servitude Act, which was passed to remove the inadequacy of maximum sentences for offences against young persons.

Not many cases of legal significance were decided during 1926. *Lapish v. Braithwaite* was finally disposed of in the House of Lords, where it was held, confirming the opinion of the Court of Appeal, that an alderman of a city council who was managing director and shareholder in a company having current contracts with the city council, and was paid a fixed salary and not by commission, was not disqualified from being an alderman under the Municipal Corporation Act, 1882, as a person having directly or indirectly a share or interest in a contract with the council. The Final Court of Appeal also held in *Kingston Union v. Metropolitan Water Board* that in the absence of special circumstances, in assessing water or other similar undertakings extending over a large number of parishes, the right method of ascertaining the rent which a hypothetical tenant from year to year might reasonably be expected to pay for the hereditaments in

question was the profits basis and not the contractors' basis. Another important decision given by the House of Lords during the year related to the liability of bonus distributions to super-tax, this depending upon whether or not the undistributed profits were capitalised or were distributed as income. In that case it was held that as the fund representing accumulated profits was at the disposal of the company, which could determine as against the whole world whether that fund should be distributed as income or be retained and applied to capital purposes, and that as the company had elected to apply it as income producing capital, that election was binding on the shareholders and could not be questioned by the Crown (*Commissioners of Inland Revenue v. Fisher*).

A large portion of the professional reports were occupied by revenue cases, and two are certainly worthy of notice. In *Todd v. Egyptian Delta Land Co.*, Mr. Justice Rowlatt held that where a company was registered in England and had a registered office here, but that all that was done in this country by the London secretary was that which was required by the Companies Acts, the whole of the rest of the administration and business of the company being carried on abroad, the company was also resident in the United Kingdom for the purposes of income tax. The same learned judge also held in *Daphne v. Shaw* that the books forming part of a library of a solicitor were not within the words "machinery or plant," and therefore no allowance could be made for wear or tear or for obsolescence. In *Buckle v. Holmes*—the "cat and pigeon" case—the Court of Appeal upheld the decision of the Divisional Court that no distinction was to be drawn at common law between a dog or a cat, and that the owner of a cat was not responsible for a trespass which resulted in damage to an adjoining owner's pigeons. A question of some importance was decided by the Divisional Court in *Noble v. Harrison*, where a branch of a tree on the defendant's land which over-hung the highway fell owing to a latent defect and caused damage. It was there held that there was no responsibility on the part of the tree owner, either on the ground of nuisance or on the ground of absolute liability as a tree was not in itself a dangerous object. In *Cohen v. Sellar* Mr. Justice McCardie reviewed the law relating to gifts in contemplation of marriage, and held that such gifts must be returned by the person who refuses to carry out the promise of marriage.

The somewhat curious position of justices who have to sit in licensing matters was brought into prominence by two cases during the year. In *Frome United Breweries Co. v. Bath Justices*, the House of Lords held that where justices elected to appear as opponents of a renewal of a license, and took active steps by instructing a solicitor to make their opposition effective, they were not entitled to sit at the meeting of the compensation authority as they could not be free from all suspicion of bias when so sitting to adjudicate. In *Rex v. Leicester Justices*, the Divisional Court held that where justices objected to the renewal of a license, and referred the question to a compensation authority making a report that the renewal of the license should be refused, the justices who originated the objection were not for that reason alone disqualified for sitting as members of the compensation authority. The difference between the two cases, however,

lies in the fact that in the latter case the justices were merely acting under their statutory powers, whereas in the *Bath* case they went a step further and by instructing a solicitor to appear for them, acted outside those strict statutory powers. A decision to be noted in these days of industrial unrest was given by the Court of Appeal in *Pontypridd Guardians v. Drew*. In that case, the circumstances of which arose out of the Coal Strike in 1921, it was held that guardians who supply goods by way of ordinary poor relief have no right either at common law or under the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, to recover from the recipient the reasonable value of the goods so supplied.

Two cases during the year attracted a considerable amount of public attention. In *National Sailors and Firemen's Union v. Reed*, Mr. Justice Astbury held that a general strike called by the Trades Union Congress in a trade where no trade dispute exists was illegal, and that persons inciting to, or taking part in, such a strike were not protected by the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. Although some of the learned judge's observations may be regarded as *obiter*, the general principles laid down by him are of considerable interest. The other case was that of *Rex v. Blake*, where the ex-governor of a prison was prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for contributing an article to a newspaper in which statements alleged to have been made to him by a condemned prisoner in his charge were set out. Owing to the wide nature of the statute it was held that its provisions had been infringed and a conviction was recorded.

Changes on the Bench were not many. Lord Justice Warrington retired in October, and was created a peer. Mr. Justice Lawrence was promoted to the Court of Appeal, and Mr. Clauson, K.C., was made a judge of the Chancery Division. Mr. Robert M'Cleary, Mr. Leonard Thomas, Mr. Roope Reeve, K.C., and Mr. W. F. Davies were made County Court judges; and Mr. Sandbach, K.C., and Mr. R. A. Powell Metropolitan Police magistrates. Mr. Harold Morris, K.C., succeeded Sir William Mackenzie as President of the Industrial Court, and Sir Denham Warrington became a registrar in bankruptcy.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

#### REPORT OF INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE (*Imperial Conference*, 1926).

THE Report of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations was adopted by the Imperial Conference on November 19, 1926. The members of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations, in addition to Lord Balfour, included the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Newfoundland, the Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, the Secretary of State for India as head of the Indian Delegation, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. Other Ministers and Members of the Imperial Conference attended particular meetings.

The text of the Report is as follows :—

#### I.—INTRODUCTION.

We were appointed at the meeting of the Imperial Conference on the 25th October, 1926, to investigate all the questions on the Agenda affecting Inter-Imperial Relations. Our discussions on these questions have been long and intricate. We found, on examination, that they involved consideration of fundamental principles affecting the relations of the various parts of the British Empire *inter se*, as well as the relations of each part to foreign countries. For such examination the time at our disposal has been all too short. Yet we hope that we may have laid a foundation on which subsequent Conferences may build.

#### II.—STATUS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS.

The Committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. I. and II. are printed by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office from Parliamentary Papers Cmd. 2768 and Cmd. 2679 respectively.

There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development—we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. *They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*

A foreigner endeavouring to understand the true character of the British Empire by the aid of this formula alone would be tempted to think that it was devised rather to make mutual interference impossible than to make mutual co-operation easy.

Such a criticism, however, completely ignores the historic situation. The rapid evolution of the Oversea Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency towards equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation. The only alternative was by the way of autonomy; and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. Aspects of all these great themes have been discussed at the present Conference; excellent results have been thereby obtained. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our Inter-Imperial Relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to *status*, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject also has occupied our attention. The rest of this report will show how we have endeavoured not only to state political theory, but to apply it to our common needs.

### III.—SPECIAL POSITION OF INDIA.

It will be noted that in the previous paragraphs we have made no mention of India. Our reason for limiting their scope to Great Britain



and the Dominions is that the position of India in the Empire is already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919. We would, nevertheless, recall that by Resolution IX. of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, due recognition was given to the important position held by India in the British Commonwealth. Where, in this Report, we have had occasion to consider the position of India, we have made particular reference to it.

#### IV.—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Existing administrative, legislative, and judicial forms are admittedly not wholly in accord with the position as described in Section II. of this Report. This is inevitable, since most of these forms date back to a time well antecedent to the present stage of constitutional development. Our first task, then, was to examine these forms with special reference to any cases where the want of adaptation of practice to principle caused, or might be thought to cause, inconvenience in the conduct of Inter-Imperial Relations.

(a) *The Title of His Majesty the King*.—The title of His Majesty the King is of special importance and concern to all parts of His Majesty's Dominions. Twice within the last fifty years has the Royal Title been altered to suit changed conditions and constitutional developments.

The present title, which is that proclaimed under the Royal Titles Act of 1901, is as follows :—

“George V., by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.”

Some time before the Conference met, it had been recognised that this form of title hardly accorded with the altered state of affairs arising from the establishment of the Irish Free State as a Dominion. It had further been ascertained that it would be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that any recommendation for change should be submitted to him as the result of discussion at the Conference.

We are unanimously of opinion that a slight change is desirable, and we recommend that, subject to His Majesty's approval, the necessary legislative action should be taken to secure that His Majesty's title should henceforward read :—

“George V., by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.”

(b) *Position of Governors-General*.—We proceeded to consider whether it was desirable formally to place on record a definition of the position held by the Governor-General<sup>1</sup> as His Majesty's representative in the Dominions. That position, though now generally well recognised, undoubtedly represents a development from an earlier stage when the

<sup>1</sup> The Governor of Newfoundland is in the same position as the Governor-General of a Dominion.

Governor-General was appointed solely on the advice of His Majesty's Ministers in London and acted also as their representative.

In our opinion it is an essential consequence of the equality of status existing among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and that he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or of any Department of that Government.

It seemed to us to follow that the practice whereby the Governor-General of a Dominion is the formal official channel of communication between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and His Governments in the Dominions might be regarded as no longer wholly in accordance with the constitutional position of the Governor-General. It was thought that the recognised official channel of communication should be, in future, between Government and Government direct. The representatives of Great Britain readily recognised that the existing procedure might be open to criticism and accepted the proposed change in principle in relation to any of the Dominions which desired it. Details were left for settlement as soon as possible after the Conference had completed its work, but it was recognised by the Committee, as an essential feature of any change or development in the channels of communication, that a Governor-General should be supplied with copies of all documents of importance and in general should be kept as fully informed as is His Majesty the King in Great Britain of Cabinet business and public affairs.

(c) *Operation of Dominion Legislation.*—Our attention was also called to various points in connexion with the operation of Dominion legislation, which, it was suggested, required clarification.

The particular points involved were :—

- (a) The present practice under which Acts of the Dominion Parliaments are sent each year to London, and it is intimated, through the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, that " His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his powers of disallowance " with regard to them.
- (b) The reservation of Dominion legislation, in certain circumstances, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure which is signified on advice tendered by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.
- (c) The difference between the legislative competence of the Parliament at Westminster and of the Dominion Parliaments in that Acts passed by the latter operate, as a general rule, only within the territorial area of the Dominion concerned.
- (d) The operation of legislation passed by the Parliament at Westminster in relation to the Dominions. In this connexion special attention was called to such Statutes as the Colonial Laws Validity Act. It was suggested that in future uniformity of legislation as between Great Britain and the Dominions could best be secured by the enactment of reciprocal Statutes based upon consultation and agreement.

We gave these matters the best consideration possible in the limited time at our disposal, but came to the conclusion that the issues involved were so complex that there would be grave danger in attempting any immediate pronouncement other than a statement of certain principles which, in our opinion, underlie the whole question of the operation of Dominion legislation. We felt that, for the rest, it would be necessary to obtain expert guidance as a preliminary to further consideration by His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Dominions.

On the questions raised with regard to disallowance and reservation of Dominion legislation, it was explained by the Irish Free State representatives that they desired to elucidate the constitutional practice in relation to Canada, since it is provided by Article 2 of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty of 1921 that "the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada."

On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly provided for reservation, it is recognised that it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently, it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion.

The appropriate procedure with regard to projected legislation in one of the self-governing parts of the Empire which may affect the interests of other self-governing parts is previous consultation between His Majesty's Ministers in the several parts concerned.

On the question raised with regard to the legislative competence of Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations other than Great Britain, and in particular to the desirability of those Members being enabled to legislate with extra-territorial effect, we think that it should similarly be placed on record that the constitutional practice is that legislation by the Parliament at Westminster applying to a Dominion would only be passed with the consent of the Dominion concerned.

As already indicated, however, we are of opinion that there are points arising out of these considerations, and in the application of these general principles, which will require detailed examination, and we accordingly recommend that steps should be taken by Great Britain and the Dominions to set up a Committee with terms of reference on the following lines:—

"To enquire into, report upon, and make recommendations concerning—

- (i) Existing statutory provisions requiring reservation of Dominion legislation for the assent of His Majesty or authorising the disallowance of such legislation.
- (ii) (a) The present position as to the competence of Dominion Parliaments to give their legislation extra-territorial operation.
- (b) The practicability and most convenient method of giving effect to the principle that each Dominion Parliament should have power to give extra-territorial operation to its legislation in

all cases where such operation is ancillary to provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Dominion.

- (iii) The principles embodied in or underlying the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, and the extent to which any provisions of that Act ought to be repealed, amended, or modified in the light of the existing relations between the various members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as described in this Report."

(d) *Merchant Shipping Legislation*.—Somewhat similar considerations to those set out above governed our attitude towards a similar, though a special, question raised in relation to Merchant Shipping Legislation. On this subject it was pointed out that, while uniformity of administrative practice was desirable, and indeed essential, as regards the Merchant Shipping Legislation of the various parts of the Empire, it was difficult to reconcile the application, in their present form, of certain provisions of the principal Statute relating to Merchant Shipping, *viz.*, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, more particularly clauses 735 and 736, with the constitutional status of the several members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In this case also we felt that although, in the evolution of the British Empire, certain inequalities had been allowed to remain as regards various questions of maritime affairs, it was essential in dealing with these inequalities to consider the practical aspects of the matter. The difficulties in the way of introducing any immediate alterations in the Merchant Shipping Code (which dealt, amongst other matters, with the registration of British ships all over the world), were fully appreciated, and it was felt to be necessary, in any review of the position, to take into account such matters of general concern as the qualifications for registry as a British ship, the status of British ships in war, the work done by His Majesty's Consuls in the interest of British shipping and seamen, and the question of Naval Courts at foreign ports to deal with crimes and offences on British ships abroad.

We came finally to the conclusion that, following a precedent which had been found useful on previous occasions, the general question of Merchant Shipping Legislation had best be remitted to a special Sub-Conference, which could meet most appropriately at the same time as the Expert Committee to which reference is made above. We thought that this special Sub-Conference should be invited to advise on the following general lines :—

"To consider and report on the principles which should govern, in the general interest, the practice and legislation relating to merchant shipping in the various parts of the Empire, having regard to the change in constitutional status and general relations which has occurred since existing laws were enacted."

We took note that the representatives of India particularly desired that India, in view of the importance of her shipping interests, should be given an opportunity of being represented at the proposed Sub-Conference. We felt that the full representation of India on an equal footing with Great Britain and the Dominions would not only be welcomed, but could

very properly be given, due regard being had to the special constitutional position of India as explained in Section III. of this Report.

(e) *Appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.*—Another matter which we discussed, in which a general constitutional principle was raised, concerned the conditions governing appeals from judgments in the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. From these discussions it became clear that it was no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that questions affecting judicial appeals should be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected. It was, however, generally recognised that where changes in the existing system were proposed which, while primarily affecting one part, raised issues in which other parts were also concerned, such changes ought only to be carried out after consultation and discussion.

So far as the work of the Committee was concerned, this general understanding expressed all that was required. The question of some immediate change in the present conditions governing appeals from the Irish Free State was not pressed in relation to the present Conference, though it was made clear that the right was reserved to bring up the matter again at the next Imperial Conference for discussion in relation to the facts of this particular case.

#### V.—RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

From questions specially concerning the relations of the various parts of the British Empire with one another, we naturally turned to those affecting their relations with foreign countries. In the latter sphere, a beginning had been made towards making clear those relations by the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 on the subject of the negotiation, signature, and ratification of treaties. But it seemed desirable to examine the working of that Resolution during the past three years and also to consider whether the principles laid down with regard to treaties could not be applied with advantage in a wider sphere.

(a) *Procedure in Relation to Treaties.*—We appointed a special Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice of Canada (The Honourable E. Lapointe, K.C.) to consider the question of treaty procedure.

The Sub-Committee, on whose report the following paragraphs are based, found that the Resolution of the Conference of 1923 embodied on most points useful rules for the guidance of the Governments. As they became more thoroughly understood and established, they would prove effective in practice.

Some phases of treaty procedure were examined, however, in greater detail in the light of experience in order to consider to what extent the Resolution of 1923 might with advantage be supplemented.

*Negotiation.*—It was agreed in 1923 that any of the Governments of the Empire contemplating the negotiation of a treaty should give due

consideration to its possible effect upon other Governments, and should take steps to inform Governments likely to be interested of its intention.

This rule should be understood as applying to any negotiations which any Government intends to conduct, so as to leave it to the other Governments to say whether they are likely to be interested.

When a Government has received information of the intention of any other Government to conduct negotiations, it is incumbent upon it to indicate its attitude with reasonable promptitude. So long as the initiating Government receives no adverse comments, and so long as its policy involves no active obligations on the part of the other Governments, it may proceed on the assumption that its policy is generally acceptable. It must, however, before taking any steps which might involve the other Governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent.

Where by the nature of the treaty it is desirable that it should be ratified on behalf of all the Governments of the Empire, the initiating Government may assume that a Government which has had full opportunity of indicating its attitude and has made no adverse comments will concur in the ratification of the treaty. In the case of a Government that prefers not to concur in the ratification of a treaty unless it has been signed by a plenipotentiary authorised to act on its behalf, it will advise the appointment of a plenipotentiary so to act.

*Form of Treaty.*—Some treaties begin with a list of the contracting countries, and not with a list of Heads of States. In the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, adherence to the wording of the Annex to the Covenant for the purpose of describing the contracting party has led to the use in the preamble of the term "British Empire" with an enumeration of the Dominions and India if parties to the Convention, but without any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Colonies and Protectorates. These are only included by virtue of their being covered by the term "British Empire." This practice, while suggesting that the Dominions and India are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question, tends to obscurity and misunderstanding and is generally unsatisfactory.

As a means of overcoming this difficulty it is recommended that all treaties (other than agreements between Governments) whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of any or all of the Governments of the Empire, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order: Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India. A specimen form of treaty, as recommended, is attached as an appendix to the Committee's report.

In the case of a treaty applying to only one part of the Empire, it should be stated to be made by the King on behalf of that part.

The making of the treaty in the name of the King as the symbol of the

special relationship between the different parts of the Empire will render superfluous the inclusion of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King. In this connexion it must be borne in mind that the question was discussed at the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, and that the Legal Committee of that Conference laid it down that the principle to which the foregoing sentence gives expression underlies all international conventions.

In the case of some international agreements the Governments of different parts of the Empire may be willing to apply between themselves some of the provisions as an administrative measure. In this case they should state the extent to which and the terms on which such provisions are to apply. Where international agreements are to be applied between different parts of the Empire, the form of a treaty between Heads of States should be avoided.

*Full Powers.*—The plenipotentiaries for the various British units should have full powers, issued in each case by the King on the advice of the Government concerned, indicating and corresponding to the part of the Empire for which they are to sign. It will frequently be found convenient, particularly where there are some parts of the Empire on which it is not contemplated that active obligations will be imposed, but where the position of the British subjects belonging to these parts will be affected, for such Government to advise the issue of full powers on their behalf to the plenipotentiary appointed to act on behalf of the Government or Governments mainly concerned. In other cases provision might be made for accession by other parts of the Empire at a later date.

*Signature.*—In the cases where the names of countries are appended to the signatures in a treaty, the different parts of the Empire should be designated in the same manner as is proposed in regard to the list of plenipotentiaries in the preamble to the treaty. The signatures of the plenipotentiaries of the various parts of the Empire should be grouped together in the same order as is proposed above.

The signature of a treaty on behalf of a part of the Empire should cover territories for which a mandate has been given to that part of the Empire, unless the contrary is stated at the time of the signature.

*Coming into Force of Multilateral Treaties.*—In general, treaties contain a ratification clause and a provision that the treaty will come into force on the deposit of a certain number of ratifications. The question has sometimes arisen in connexion with treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League whether, for the purpose of making up the number of ratifications necessary to bring the treaty into force, ratifications on behalf of different parts of the Empire which are separate Members of the League should be counted as separate ratifications. In order to avoid any difficulty in future, it is recommended that when it is thought necessary that a treaty should contain a clause of this character, it should take the form of a provision that the treaty should come into force when it has been ratified on behalf of so many separate Members of the League.

We think that some convenient opportunity should be taken of

explaining to the other Members of the League the changes which it is desired to make in the form of treaties and the reasons for which they are desired. We would also recommend that the various Governments of the Empire should make it an instruction to their representatives at International Conferences to be held in future that they should use their best endeavours to secure that effect is given to the recommendations contained in the foregoing paragraphs.

(b) *Representation at International Conferences.*—We also studied, in the light of the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 to which reference has already been made, the question of the representation of the different parts of the Empire at International Conferences. The conclusions which we reached may be summarised as follows :—

1. No difficulty arises as regards representation at Conferences convened by, or under the auspices of, the League of Nations. In the case of such Conferences all Members of the League are invited, and if they attend, are represented separately by separate delegations. Co-operation is ensured by the application of Paragraph I. 1 (c) of the Treaty Resolution of 1923.

2. As regards International Conferences summoned by foreign Governments, no rule of universal application can be laid down, since the nature of the representation must, in part, depend on the form of invitation issued by the convening Government.

(a) In Conferences of a technical character, it is usual and always desirable that the different parts of the Empire should (if they wish to participate) be represented separately by separate delegations, and where necessary efforts should be made to secure invitations which will render such representation possible.

(b) Conferences of a political character called by a foreign Government must be considered on the special circumstances of each individual case.

It is for each part of the Empire to decide whether its particular interests are so involved, especially having regard to the active obligations likely to be imposed by any resulting treaty, that it desires to be represented at the Conference, or whether it is content to leave the negotiation in the hands of the part or parts of the Empire more directly concerned and to accept the result.

If a Government desires to participate in the conclusion of a treaty, the method by which representation will be secured is a matter to be arranged with the other Governments of the Empire in the light of the invitation which has been received.

Where more than one part of the Empire desires to be represented, three methods of representation are possible :—

(i) By means of a common plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries, the issue of full powers to whom should be on the advice of all parts of the Empire participating.

(ii) By a single British Empire delegation composed of separate representatives of such parts of the Empire as are participating in the Conference. This was the form of representation



employed at the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921.

- (iii) By separate delegations representing each part of the Empire participating in the Conference. If, as a result of consultation, this third method is desired, an effort must be made to ensure that the form of invitation from the convening Government will make this method of representation possible.

Certain non-technical treaties should, from their nature, be concluded in a form which will render them binding upon all parts of the Empire, and for this purpose should be ratified with the concurrence of all the Governments. It is for each Government to decide to what extent its concurrence in the ratification will be facilitated by its participation in the conclusion of the treaty, as, for instance, by the appointment of a common plenipotentiary. Any question as to whether the nature of the treaty is such that its ratification should be concurred in by all parts of the Empire is a matter for discussion and agreement between the Governments.

(c) *General Conduct of Foreign Policy.*—We went on to examine the possibility of applying the principles underlying the Treaty Resolution of the 1923 Conference to matters arising in the conduct of foreign affairs generally. It was frankly recognised that in this sphere, as in the sphere of defence, the major share of responsibility rests now, and must for some time continue to rest, with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. Nevertheless, practically all the Dominions are engaged to some extent, and some to a considerable extent, in the conduct of foreign relations, particularly those with foreign countries on their borders. A particular instance of this is the growing work in connexion with the relations between Canada and the United States of America which has led to the necessity for the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the Canadian Government in Washington. We felt that the governing consideration underlying all discussions of this problem must be that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own Governments. In the light of this governing consideration, the Committee agreed that the general principle expressed in relation to treaty negotiations in Section V. (a) of this Report, which is indeed already to a large extent in force, might usefully be adopted as a guide by the Governments concerned in future in all negotiations affecting foreign relations falling within their respective spheres.

(d) *Issue of Exequaturs to Foreign Consuls in the Dominions.*—A question was raised with regard to the practice regarding the issue of exequaturs to Consuls in the Dominions. The general practice hitherto, in the case of all appointments of Consuls de Carrière in any part of the British Empire, has been that the foreign Government concerned notifies His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, through the diplomatic channel, of the proposed appointment, and that, provided that it is clear that the person concerned is, in fact, a Consul de Carrière, steps have been taken, without further formality, for the issue of His Majesty's exequatur. In the case of

Consuls other than those de Carrière, it has been customary for some time past to consult the Dominion Government concerned before the issue of the exequatur.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed us that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accepted the suggestion that in future any application by a foreign Government for the issue of an exequatur to any person who was to act as Consul in a Dominion should be referred to the Dominion Government concerned for consideration and that, if the Dominion Government agreed to the issue of the exequatur, it would be sent to them for counter-signature by a Dominion Minister. Instructions to this effect had indeed already been given.

(e) *Channel of Communication between Dominion Governments and Foreign Governments.*—We took note of a development of special interest which had occurred since the Imperial Conference last met, *viz.*, the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the interests of the Irish Free State in Washington, which was now about to be followed by the appointment of a diplomatic representative of Canada. We felt that most fruitful results could be anticipated from the co-operation of His Majesty's representatives in the United States of America, already initiated, and now further to be developed. In cases other than those where Dominion Ministers were accredited to the Heads of Foreign States, it was agreed to be very desirable that the existing diplomatic channels should continue to be used, as between the Dominion Governments and foreign Governments, in matters of general and political concern.

## VI.—SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION AND CONSULTATION.

Sessions of the Imperial Conference at which the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions are all able to be present cannot, from the nature of things, take place very frequently. The system of communication and consultation between Conferences becomes therefore of special importance. We reviewed the position now reached in this respect with special reference to the desirability of arranging that closer personal touch should be established between Great Britain and the Dominions and the Dominions *inter se*. Such contact alone can convey an impression of the atmosphere in which official correspondence is conducted. Development, in this respect, seems particularly necessary in relation to matters of major importance in foreign affairs where expedition is often essential, and urgent decision necessary. A special aspect of the question of consultation which we considered was that concerning the representation of Great Britain in the Dominions. By reason of his constitutional position, as explained in Section IV. (b) of this Report, the Governor-General is no longer the representative of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. There is no one therefore in the Dominion capitals in a position to represent with authority the views of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

We summed up our conclusions in the following Resolution, which is submitted for the consideration of the Conference :—

“The Governments represented at the Imperial Conference are impressed with the desirability of developing a system of personal contact, both in London and in the Dominion capitals, to supplement the present system of inter-communication and the reciprocal supply of information on affairs requiring joint consideration. The manner in which any new system is to be worked out is a matter for consideration and settlement between His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Dominions, with due regard to the circumstances of each particular part of the Empire, it being understood that any new arrangements should be supplementary to, and not in replacement of, the system of direct communication from Government to Government, and the special arrangements which have been in force since 1918 for communications between Prime Ministers.”

#### VII.—PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF FOREIGN RELATIONS DISCUSSED BY COMMITTEE.

It was found convenient that certain aspects of foreign relations on matters outstanding at the time of the Conference should be referred to us, since they could be considered in greater detail, and more informally, than at meetings of the full Conference.

(a) *Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes.*—One question which we studied was that of arbitration in international disputes, with special reference to the question of acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of cases to the Court. On this matter we decided to submit no Resolution to the Conference, but, whilst the members of the Committee were unanimous in favouring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under the Article in question. A general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, without bringing up the matter for further discussion.

(b) *Adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.*—Connected with the question last mentioned was that of adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The special conditions upon which the United States desired to become a party to the Protocol had been discussed at a special Conference held in Geneva in September, 1926, to which all the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference had sent representatives. We ascertained that each of these Governments was in accord with the conclusions reached by the special Conference and with the action which that Conference recommended.

(c) *The Policy of Locarno.*—The Imperial Conference was fortunate in meeting at a time just after the ratifications of the Locarno Treaty of



who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :

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In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty :

*AB.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*CD.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*EF.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*GH.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*IJ.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*KL.* \_\_\_\_\_  
*MN.* \_\_\_\_\_

(or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified :

(for Great Britain, etc.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>AB.</i>
(for Canada)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>CD.</i>
(for Australia)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>EF.</i>
(for New Zealand)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>GH.</i>
(for South Africa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>IJ.</i>
(for the Irish Free State)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>KL.</i>
(for India)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>MN.</i>

## II.

### TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRAQ AND TURKEY.

(June 5, 1926.)

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *Frontier between Turkey and Iraq.*

Article 1. The frontier line between Turkey and Iraq is definitively laid down following the line adopted by the Council of the League of Nations at its session on the 29th October, 1924.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless the above-mentioned line is modified to the south of Alamun and Ashuta so as to include in Turkish territory that part of the road which connects these two places and which crosses Iraq territory.

Article 2. Subject to the last paragraph of Article 1, the frontier line described in the above-mentioned article constitutes the frontier between Turkey and Iraq.<sup>2</sup>

Article 3. A boundary commission shall be appointed to trace on the

<sup>1</sup> The description of the Brussels line was set forth in an Annex to the Treaty.

<sup>2</sup> A map accompanied the Treaty, and was reproduced in Cmd. 2879.

ground the frontier defined in Article 1. This commission shall be composed of two representatives appointed by the Turkish Government, two representatives appointed jointly by His Majesty's Government and the Government of Iraq, and a president, who shall be a Swiss national, to be nominated by the President of the Swiss Confederation, if he is willing to do so.

The commission shall meet as soon as possible, and in any case within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

The decisions of the commission shall be taken by a majority and shall be binding on all the High Contracting Parties.

The boundary commission shall endeavour in all cases to follow as nearly as may be possible the definitions given in the present Treaty.

The expenses of the commission shall be divided equally between Turkey and Iraq.

The States concerned undertake to give assistance to the boundary commission, either directly or through local authorities, in everything that concerns the accommodation, labour, materials (sign posts, boundary marks) necessary for the accomplishment of its task.

They undertake further to safeguard the trigonometrical points, signs, posts or frontier marks erected by the commission.

The boundary marks shall be placed so as to be visible from each other. They shall be numbered, and their position and their number shall be noted on a cartographic document.

The definitive record of the boundary laid down, and the maps and documents attached thereto shall be made out in triplicate, of which two copies shall be forwarded to the Governments of the two interested States, and the third to the Government of the French Republic, in order that authentic copies may be delivered to the Powers signatory of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Article 4. The nationality of the inhabitants of the territories ceded to Iraq in virtue of the provisions of Article 1 is regulated by Articles 30-36 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The High Contracting Parties agree that the right of option provided for in Articles 31, 32, and 34 of the said Treaty may be exercised during a period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Turkey reserves, nevertheless, her liberty of action in so far as concerns the recognition of the option of such of the above-mentioned inhabitants as may opt for Turkish nationality.

Article 5. Each of the High Contracting Parties accepts as definitive and inviolable the frontier line fixed by Article 1 and undertakes to make no attempt to alter it.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Neighbourly Relations.*

Article 6. The High Contracting Parties undertake reciprocally to oppose by all means in their power any preparations made by one or more

armed individuals with the object of committing acts of pillage or brigandage in the neighbouring frontier zone and to prevent them from crossing the frontier.

Article 7. Whenever the competent authorities designated in Article 11 learn that preparations are being made by one or more armed individuals with the object of committing acts of pillage or brigandage in the neighbouring frontier zone they shall reciprocally inform each other without delay.

Article 8. The competent authorities designated in Article 11 shall reciprocally inform each other as quickly as possible of any act of pillage or brigandage which may have been perpetrated on their territory. The authorities of the party receiving the notice shall make every effort in their power to prevent the authors of such acts from crossing the frontier.

Article 9. In the event of one or more armed individuals, guilty of a crime or misdemeanour in the neighbouring frontier zone, succeeding in taking refuge in the other frontier zone, the authorities of the latter zone are bound to arrest such individuals in order to deliver them, in conformity with the law, to the authorities of the other party whose nationals they are, together with their booty and their arms.

Article 10. The frontier zone to which this chapter of the present Treaty shall apply is the whole of the frontier which separates Turkey from Iraq and a zone 75 kilometres in width on each side of that frontier.

Article 11. The competent authorities to whom the execution of this chapter of the Treaty is entrusted are the following :—

For the organisation of general co-operation and responsibility for the measures to be taken :—

On the Turkish side : the military commandant of the frontier ;

On the Iraq side : the mutessarifs of Mosul and of Arbil.

For the exchange of local information and urgent communications :—

On the Turkish side : the authorities appointed with the consent of the Valis ;

On the Iraq side : the kaimakams of Zakho, Amadia, Zibar, and Rowanduz.

The Turkish and Iraq Governments may, for administrative reasons, modify the list of their competent authorities, giving notice of such modification either through the permanent frontier commission provided for in Article 13 or through the diplomatic channel.

Article 12. The Turkish and Iraq authorities shall refrain from all correspondence of an official or political nature with the chiefs, sheikhs, or other members of tribes which are nationals of the other State and which are actually in the territory of that State.

They shall not permit in the frontier zone any organisation for propaganda or meeting directed against either State.

Article 13. In order to facilitate the execution of the provisions of the present chapter of this Treaty, and, in general, the maintenance of good neighbourly relations on the frontier, there shall be set up a permanent Frontier Commission composed of an equal number of officials appointed from time to time for this purpose by the Turkish and Iraq Governments

respectively. This commission shall meet at least once every six months, or oftener if circumstances require it.

It shall be the duty of this commission, which shall meet alternately in Turkey and in Iraq, to endeavour to settle amicably all questions concerning the execution of the provisions of this chapter of the Treaty, and any other frontier question on which an agreement shall not have been reached between the local frontier officials concerned.

The commission shall meet for the first time at Zakho within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *General Provisions.*

Article 14. With the object of enlarging the field of common interests between the two countries, the Iraq Government shall pay to the Turkish Government for a period of twenty-five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty 10 per cent. on all royalties which it shall receive :—

(a) from the Turkish Petroleum Company under Article 10 of its concession of the 14th March, 1925 ;

(b) from such companies or persons as may exploit oil under the provisions of Article 6 of the above-mentioned concession ;

(c) from such subsidiary companies as may be constituted under the provisions of Article 33 of the above-mentioned concession.

Article 15. The Turkish and Iraq Governments agree to enter into negotiations as soon as possible for the purpose of concluding an extradition treaty in accordance with the usages prevailing among friendly States.

Article 16. The Iraq Government undertakes not to disturb or molest any persons established on its territory on account of their political opinions or conduct in favour of Turkey up to the time of the signature of the present Treaty, and to grant them full and complete amnesty.

All sentences pronounced under the above heading shall be annulled, and all proceedings already instituted shall be stayed.

Article 17. The present Treaty shall come into force on the date of exchange of ratifications.

Chapter II. of the present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

After the termination of a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty each of the Contracting Parties shall have the right to denounce this chapter in so far as its provisions concern that party, the denunciation taking effect one year after the date on which notice thereof shall have been given.

Article 18. The present Treaty shall be ratified by each of the High Contracting Parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Angora as soon as possible. Certified copies of the Treaty shall be communicated to each of the States signatory of the Treaties of Lausanne.



In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Angora, the 5th day of June, 1926, in triplicate.

(Signed) R. C. LINDSAY.  
DR. T. ROUCHDI.  
NOURI SAID.

*Sir R. Lindsay and Nouri Said to Tewfik Rushdi Bey.*

ANGORA, June 5, 1926.

Your Excellency,—With reference to Article 14 of the Treaty signed by us to-day, we have the honour to declare that if, within twelve months from the coming into force of this Treaty, the Turkish Government desires to capitalise its share of the royalties mentioned in the said Article, it shall notify the Iraq Government of its desire, and the latter, within thirty days after the receipt of this notice, shall pay to the Turkish Government in full satisfaction on account of this article the sum of 500,000*l.* sterling.

On the other hand, it is understood that the Turkish Government undertakes not to divest itself of its interests in the said royalties without previously giving the Iraq Government the opportunity of acquiring those interests at a price not higher than that which any third party may be ready to pay.

It is agreed that the present exchange of notes constitutes an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day. We avail, etc.

(Signed) R. C. LINDSAY.  
NOURI SAID.

*Tewfik Rushdi Bey to Sir R. Lindsay and Colonel Nouri Said.*

ANGORA, June 5, 1926.

Your Excellency,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of to-day's date of which I take note, and by which your Excellency, referring to Article 14 of the Treaty signed between us to-day, has been so good as to declare that—

“If, within twelve months from the coming into force of this Treaty, the Turkish Government desires to capitalise its share of the royalties mentioned in the said article, it shall notify the Iraq Government of its desire, and the latter, within thirty days after the receipt of this notice, shall pay to the Turkish Government in full satisfaction on account of this article the sum of 500,000*l.* sterling.

“On the other hand, it is understood that the Turkish Government undertakes not to divest itself of its interests in the said royalties without previously giving the Iraq Government the opportunity of acquiring those interests at a price not higher than that which any third party may be ready to pay.

"It is agreed that the present exchange of notes constitutes an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day." I avail, etc.

(Signed) T. RUSHDI.

### III.

#### THE RUSSO-GERMAN TREATY.

(April 24, 1926.)

The German Government and the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, inspired by the desire to do everything that can contribute to the maintenance of general peace and in the conviction that the interest of the German people and of the people of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics demands that co-operation between them shall be continuous and mutually trusting, have agreed to strengthen the friendly relations existing between them by a special Treaty, and for this purpose have nominated as plenipotentiaries, for the German Government, the Reich Foreign Minister, Herr Gustav Stresemann; and for the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, M. Nikolai Nikolaievitch Krestinsky; who, after the exchange of their credentials in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following terms:—

Article 1. The basis of the relations between Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics remains the Treaty of Rapallo.

The German Government and the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will remain in friendly touch with one another in order to promote an understanding with regard to all questions of a political and economic character mutually affecting their two countries.

Article 2. Should one of the contracting parties, in despite of its peaceful attitude, be attacked by a third party or by several third parties, the other contracting party will observe neutrality during the entire duration of the conflict.

Article 3. Should, as the result of a conflict of the kind mentioned in Article 2, or even at a time in which neither of the contracting parties is involved in warlike affairs, a coalition be formed between third parties for the purpose of imposing upon one of the contracting parties an economic or financial boycott, the other contracting party undertakes not to adhere to such coalition.

Article 4. This Treaty is to be ratified and the deeds of ratification are to be exchanged in Berlin.

The Treaty comes into force with the exchange of the deeds of ratification and is valid for the period of five years. The two contracting parties will come to an understanding in good time before the expiry of this period as to the form their political relations may take in the future.

The plenipotentiaries have signed this agreement, done in duplicate, in Berlin on April 24, 1926.

(Signed) STRESEMANN.  
KRESTINSKY.

## THE GERMAN NOTE.

FOREIGN OFFICE,  
BERLIN, *April 24, 1926.*

To the Ambassador of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in Germany, M. Krestinsky, Berlin.

With reference to the negotiations upon the Treaty signed to-day between the German Government and the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, I have the honour to make the following observations in the name of the German Government:—

1. In the negotiation and signature of the Treaty, both Governments have concurred in the assumption that the principle laid down by them in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Treaty, of reaching an understanding on all questions of a political and economic character jointly affecting the two countries, will contribute considerably to the maintenance of general peace. In any case, the two Governments will bear in mind in their deliberations the need for the maintenance of the general peace.

2. In this spirit also the two Governments have approached the fundamental questions which are bound up with the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. The German Government is convinced that Germany's membership of the League cannot constitute an obstacle to the friendly development of the relations between Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The League of Nations is designed, according to the basic idea of its foundation, for the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes. The German Government is determined to collaborate in the realisation of this idea to the best of its ability. If, however—though the German Government does not anticipate this—there should at any time take shape within the framework of the League, contrary to that fundamental idea of peace, any efforts directed exclusively against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Germany would most energetically oppose such efforts.

3. The German Government proceeds upon the assumption that this fundamental attitude of German policy towards the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics cannot be adversely influenced by the loyal observation of the obligations (arising out of Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant of the League and relating to the application of sanctions) which would come into existence for Germany as the consequence of her entry into the League of Nations. By the terms of these articles, the application of sanctions against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics would come into consideration (in the absence of other causes) only if the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics entered upon a war of aggression against a third State.

In connexion herewith it is to be borne in mind that the question whether the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the aggressor in the event of a conflict with a third State could only be determined with binding force for Germany with that State's own consent; and that, therefore, an accusation in this sense settled by another Power against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and regarded by Germany as unjustified, would not oblige Germany to take part in measures of any kind instituted

on the authority of Article 16. With regard to the question whether, in a concrete case, Germany would be in a position to take part in the application of sanctions at all, and to what extent, the German Government relies upon the Note of December 1, 1925, on the interpretation of Article 16, addressed to the German Government on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty complex of Locarno.

4. In order to create a secure basis for disposing without friction of all questions arising between them, the two Governments regard it as desirable that they should immediately embark upon discussion for the conclusion of a general Treaty for the peaceful solution of any conflicts that may happen to arise between the two parties, when special attention shall be given to the possibilities of the process of agreement and arbitration.

(Signed) STRESEMAN.

#### THE SOVIET NOTE.

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS,  
BERLIN, *April 24, 1926.*

Your Excellency,—In acknowledging receipt of the Note which you have addressed to me with regard to the negotiations on the Treaty signed to-day between the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the German Government, I have the honour to make the following reply in the name of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics :—

1. Both Governments during the negotiations and the signing of the Treaty have proceeded on the assumption that the principle of an understanding laid down by them in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Treaty, with regard to mutual political and economic questions in both countries, shall in the main contribute to the preservation of the general peace. In any event, both Governments will be guided in their discussions by the essential need for preserving the general peace.

2. The Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics takes note of the explanation contained in Numbers 2 and 3 of your Note concerning the principal questions which are connected with Germany's entry into the League of Nations.

3. In order to create a secure basis for disposing without friction of all questions arising between them, the two Governments regard it as desirable that they should immediately embark upon discussions for the conclusion of a general Treaty for the peaceful solution of any conflicts that may happen to arise between the two parties, when special attention shall be given to the possibilities of the process of agreement and arbitration.

(Signed) KRESTINSKY.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1926.

## JANUARY.

1. **Sir John Le Sage**, distinguished as a journalist, was born at Clifton in 1837, the son of John Le Sage. In 1863, after some newspaper experience in the country, he came to London, and was engaged as a shorthand reporter by Mr. Levy, the founder of the *Daily Telegraph*. As his marked ability soon became apparent, he was selected to be Mr. Levy's secretary. Some of the paper's greatest "scoops" were Le Sage's work. Thus, he was first with the description of the entry of the Germans into Paris in 1871, and with the news, in 1878, that the British Fleet had orders to force the Dardanelles. It was a conversation between Le Sage and Stanley that led to the famous expedition across Africa. Le Sage was in Paris during the whole period of the Commune, and in 1882 he was with Sir Garnet Wolseley's first expedition in Egypt as war correspondent. He also served his paper as correspondent in Italy, Russia, America, and Canada. But his gift for organisation found its proper scope in directing from the office the administration of the *Daily Telegraph*. In June, 1923, he retired from the Managing-Editorship, after sixty years' service. Sir John Le Sage, who was knighted in 1918, married, in 1874, the daughter of Mr. John Burton Martin. Lady Le Sage and his younger son Stanley survived him.

2. **George Herbert Mair**, aged 39, journalist, was the son of Fleet-Surgeon G. Mair, R.N., and was educated at Aberdeen University, Christ Church, Oxford, and the Sorbonne. In 1909 he was engaged as a leader-writer by the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, and he became the political correspondent of this paper in London. He next became assistant editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. He resigned this position after the outbreak of war when, being unfit for active service, he worked for the Home Office and the Foreign Office in a confidential capacity. He became head of the Department of Information, and subsequently Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Information. After the Armistice he went to Paris under Lord Riddell as Director of the Press Section of the British Peace Delegation. Later he went to Geneva as Assistant Director of the League of Nations Secretariat, and returned to London as head of the League of Nations Office. Mr. Mair married, in 1911, Miss Maire O'Neill, the Irish actress, who, with a son and a daughter, survived him.

— **Professor John Gray McKendrick, F.R.S.**, was the last of the distinguished band of medical men who found physiology a branch of the Institutes of Medicine and left it a science. Born in 1841, the son of a merchant of Aberdeen, at the age of 16 he was lecturing on "The Brain." He graduated M.D., C.M. with distinction at Aberdeen University in 1864. In 1870 he became assistant to the Professor of Physiology in Edinburgh University, and in 1872 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. At this time

he spent a period in Germany, making the acquaintance of Professor Helmholtz, whom he greatly admired and whose life he afterwards wrote. In 1876 he was appointed Professor of Physiology in Glasgow University, and he held this Chair till 1906, when he retired. In 1882 the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the hon. degree of LL.D., and in 1884 he was elected a F.R.S. He was President of the Physiological Section of the British Association. His best-known work is a "Text-book of Physiology," published in 1888. He married, in 1867, a daughter of W. Souttar, of Aberdeen. She died in 1898, leaving two sons and two daughters.

4. **Queen Margherita of Italy** was born at Turin in 1851, the daughter of Prince Ferdinand of Savoy, Duke of Genoa, and of a Saxon princess. Her marriage to her cousin, Humbert, Prince of Piedmont, was celebrated in 1868, and her son, afterwards Victor Emmanuel III., was born at Naples in 1869. Her husband succeeded his father, Victor Emmanuel II., in 1878 as Humbert I. of Italy, and the beautiful Margherita shared his great popularity. Three attempts were made on the life of Humbert I., the first two by deranged persons, and the last in 1900, when he was murdered by Bresci. From this blow Queen Margherita never recovered. Through her long widowhood she continued her social and philanthropic activities.

5. **Henry Vassall**, the Oxford and international football player, was born at Barwick in 1860, and educated by scholarships at Marlborough and at Hertford College, Oxford, where he obtained his Blue, playing forward in the Oxford team. Vassall's football period was a continued triumph, and "Vassall's team" will always rank as one of the greatest examples of intelligent direction and leadership in the Rugby game. Vassall was for a time a master at the preparatory school of Temple Grove. In 1885 he went to Repton School as Assistant Master and House Master under the Rev. W. M. Furneaux, afterwards Dean of Winchester; and he continued in this post till 1919, when he retired. Mr. Vassall was a sound antiquary and an F.S.A.

— **Professor Edward Granville Browne**, the Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, was the son of Sir Benjamin C. Browne, the engineer and shipbuilder. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1862, and was educated at Glenalmond, Eton, and Pembroke College, Cambridge. At Cambridge he was first a student of medicine and then of Oriental languages, and was placed in the first class in the Indian Languages Tripos, which included Persian. He proceeded to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and qualified as M.B., M.R.C.S.; but in 1887 he was elected a Fellow of Pembroke, and was enabled to spend a year in Persia. In 1888 he was made Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge, and held that post till 1902, when he became Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic. In 1906 he married Miss Daniell, who died in 1925, leaving two sons. Professor Browne's book on Persian literature, in 4 vols., completed in 1924, is a monument of erudition and contains renderings of Oriental poetry into English verse. His translation of "Chahár Maqála" contains the only contemporary account of Omar Khayyam. The subject which he made his own was the history and literature of the religion called "Bábi-ism."

— **Edmund Candler**, correspondent of *The Times* in the East, was an accomplished writer on present-day eastern life. The son of a doctor at Harleston, Norfolk, he was educated at Repton and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1895. He went out to carry on educational work in India, and in time became Principal of the Mohimara College, Patiala State. But he was a traveller by nature, and in 1904 accepted the post of special correspondent with Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa for the *Daily Mail*. He lost an arm in the engagement at Tuna. In 1899 he had published "A Vagabond in Asia," and in 1905 he wrote "The Unveiling of Lhasa." Candler had left India before

the War, and in its early stages he was war correspondent on the Western Front to *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*. In 1905 he went to Mesopotamia, and he expressed his views of the operations there in "The Long Road to Baghdad" (1919). After this he travelled for *The Times* in the Near and Middle East. In 1920 he was made Director of Publicity to the Punjab Government, but he came into collision with Gandhi, and in two years was home again. "Siri Ram, Revolutionist" (1920), was a study of Indian revolutionary psychology and the effects of an English education on many young Indians. "Abdication" (1922) was a novel on the state of India. His last book, "The Dinosaur's Egg," was written in 1925. Candler was awarded the C.B.E. in 1920. He married, in 1902, Olive Mary Tooth, and had a son and a daughter.

7. **Paul Cassirer**, the Berlin publisher, art dealer, and art critic, with international art liaisons, was known for his fondness of impressionism in art, and was the champion of French impressionism in Germany. With Max Liebermann he organised the Berlin secession exhibition of 1899 and made known such artists as Slevogt, Corinth, Kokoschka, and others. At the time of the German revolution he threw himself into political publishing, and he and his wife opened the well-known political Red Salon. In the Kunst-Salon in Berlin in 1925 he brought together a collection showing his individual *flair* in art, where French impressionism was strongly represented. Always highly strung, he committed suicide because of domestic and business troubles, before attaining the age of 50.

11. **Sir Richard Melvill Beachcroft**, a former Chairman of the London County Council, was born in 1846, the eldest son of Richard Beachcroft, of Harrow. He was educated at Harrow School and became a solicitor. In 1888, when the London County Council was established, Beachcroft was an original member, representing North Paddington as a Moderate. He rendered conspicuous service on the Metropolitan Water Board, being elected its Chairman in 1903 and knighted in 1904. He held office till 1908, and remained a member of the Board till 1925, when he retired. He had a deep love for London, his ancestor, Sir Robert Beachcroft, having been Lord Mayor of London in 1711, and Master of the Cloth Workers' Company. He married, in 1877, Charlotte Bonnor-Maurice, of Bodynfoel Hall, Montgomeryshire.

14. **J. F. P. Rawlinson, K.C.**, aged 65, the Senior Member for Cambridge University, was the youngest son of the late Sir Christopher Rawlinson, formerly Chief Justice of Madras. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, distinguishing himself at football both at school and college, and taking a first class in the Law Tripos of 1882. He entered the Inner Temple in 1881, and was called to the Bar in 1884. Some years after he wrote "Municipal Corporations Acts," which went through many editions. In 1896 he represented the Treasury in the inquiry in South Africa into the Jameson Raid; in the following year he took silk; and in 1898 he was appointed Recorder of Cambridge. In 1906 he entered Parliament for Cambridge University, holding the seat till his death. From 1916 Rawlinson acted as one of the temporary chairmen of committee of the whole House of Commons, and he was sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1923. His interest in education was many-sided. In addition to his continuous work for the University of Cambridge and his membership of the governing bodies of Eton, Malvern College, and Brighton College, he was President of the Private Schools Association. Rawlinson was unmarried.

15. **Lord Chilston** (Aretas Akers Douglas), aged 74, was well known in politics early in the century as a member of successive Conservative administrations. He was the only son of the Rev. Aretas Akers, of Malling Abbey, Kent, and was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford. He held a commission in the East Kent Yeomanry, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1875, assuming at the same time the surname and arms of Douglas on succeeding

to the estate of Baads, Midlothian, on the death of a cousin. In 1880 he became Conservative member for East Kent, and when the constituency was divided, he sat for the St. Augustine's Division from 1885 till he was raised to the peerage in 1911. In 1885-86 he was made Chief Government Whip. Ten years later he was First Commissioner of Works, with a seat in the Cabinet. From 1902 till 1905 he was Home Secretary. In 1911 he was created Viscount Chilston of Boughton, Malherbe, Kent, and Baron Douglas of Baads, Midlothian. He held a number of public offices in Kent and Scotland, and was a G.B.E., a Knight of Grace, and a member of the Council of the Order of St. John. He married, in 1875, Adeline Mary Austen-Smith, of Hayes, Kent, and had two sons and five daughters. His elder son, the Hon. Aretas Akers Douglas, C.M.G., born in 1876, succeeded him.

**16. Lord Carmichael** (Thomas David Gibson-Carmichael) was Governor successively of Victoria, Madras, and Bengal. He was born in Edinburgh in 1859, the eldest son of the Rev. Sir H. W. Gibson-Carmichael, thirteenth baronet; graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and became secretary to Sir George Trevelyan and to Lord Dalhousie when they held the office of Secretary for Scotland. In 1895 he followed Mr. Gladstone as Liberal member for Midlothian, retiring from Parliament in 1900. He had succeeded to the baronetcy in 1891, and in 1908 he was made Governor of Victoria. His term there was cut short by his appointment to the Governorship of Madras in 1911, and he was, on his arrival at Madras, almost at once made Governor of Bengal on its elevation at the Delhi Durbar to a Province. Calcutta was at this time full of unrest, and the life of the Lieutenant-Governor had been attempted more than once. Lord Carmichael, through his tact and kindness, did much to pacify the Indians. He married Miss Nugent, sister of the fourth Baron Nugent, who promoted with eagerness his philanthropic and educational work. His cousin, Sir Henry Gibson-Craig, succeeded to the baronetcy.

**20. Charles Montagu Doughty**, explorer and poet, was born in 1843, the younger son of the clerical squire of Theberton in Suffolk. He was educated at Portsmouth (where, owing to an impediment in his speech, he failed to enter the Royal Navy), at King's College, London, and at Caius College, Cambridge, where he specialised in geology. Adopting no profession, for some years he travelled, first to observe glaciers in Norway, then in Holland and France, and afterwards in Italy, Spain, and Greece, where he spent a year before proceeding to the Bible lands. But it was Arabia that attracted him. In 1876 he set out from Damascus with a Pilgrim Caravan, and was nearly murdered when travelling to Mecca. He spent two years amongst free Arabs, and the result was a great book, "Travels in Arabia Deserta," which was published in 1888, and hailed as a masterpiece. Later, accompanied by his wife, he spent a year at Laurence Oliphant's settlement at Haifa. On his return he set to work on a national epic, and after many years there appeared "The Dawn of Britain" in 1907, "Adam Cast Forth" in 1908, "The Cliffs" in 1909, "The Clouds" in 1912, "The Titans" in 1916, and "Mansoul" in 1920. Recognition came to Doughty late in life; he received honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the Founders' Medal from the Royal Geographical Society. In 1922 he was elected an Hon. Fellow of the British Academy. He married a daughter of General Sir Montague McMurdo, and had two daughters.

**23. Cardinal Désiré Mercier**, one of the foremost figures in Belgium during the War, a pillar of his Church and a great public leader in the national crisis, was born in 1851 at Braine-Allend. His grandfather had been Mayor of the Commune, and his father was a man of studious habits. Désiré showed so much talent that at 19 he was sent to the Seminary at Malines. In four years he was ordained priest, and transferred to the University of Louvain, where he became known as a brilliant thinker, and after some years Leo XIII. made him



head of an institute of Thomistic philosophy. In this capacity he founded the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*. In 1906 Mercier was made Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, and a year later he received the Cardinal's hat. During the War he issued a series of pastorals to his people which have become classics. In 1919 the Cardinal made an extensive tour in the United States and Canada. In 1924 he celebrated the jubilee of his ordination.

24. **Edward William Royce**, aged 84, was the last of the old Gaiety quartette of comedians, known in the 'eighties as "the merry family." He began his stage career in 1860 as a harlequin, but by diligent study he became an actor, playing a variety of comic parts in anything from Shakespeare down to modern burlesques. His great success came in 1880-81, in "The Forty Thieves," which ran for 232 nights owing to the efforts of the famous four—Edward Terry, Nellie Farren, Kate Vaughan, and "Teddy" Royce.

27. **Professor Edward Harper Parker**, Professor of Chinese in Manchester University (since 1901), and Reader in Chinese in Liverpool University (since 1896), was a son of Edward Parker, surgeon, of Kirkdale, Liverpool, and was born in 1849. On leaving school he went into business, but soon decided to enter the Consular Service. He studied Chinese so assiduously that he was appointed a student interpreter in China in 1869. He gained a scholarship at the Middle Temple, where he remained from 1875 to 1877. He was called to the Bar in 1882, and was Acting Vice-Consul and Acting Consul-General in Korea in 1886 and 1887. From 1892 to 1893 he was in Burma as Advisor to the Government on Chinese affairs, and he retired in 1895. He wrote a number of important works on Chinese life and religion.

28. **Sir George Forrest**, the historian of the Mutiny, was born in India in 1845, the son of Captain George Forrest, V.C., who defended the magazine at Delhi in the Mutiny. After leaving St. John's College, Cambridge, he joined the Inner Temple and read for the Bar, but was much attracted by journalism. In 1872 he entered the Bombay Educational Service, being in turn Head of the High School at Surat, Professor of Mathematics at Poona, and Professor of English History in Elphinstone College, Bombay. In 1888 he was made Director of Records for Bombay, and as a result of this in 1890 there appeared three volumes of "Selections from the State Papers in the Foreign Department of the Government of India." In 1891 Forrest became first officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India Office, and turned his attention to the records of the Indian Mutiny. Of these four volumes appeared, the last in 1912. He was a close friend of Lord Roberts, whose life he wrote in 1914. Forrest was made a C.I.E. in 1899 and was knighted in 1913. He married Miss Emma Viner, of Broadfield, Crawley, Sussex, and left one son and one daughter.

— **Viscount Kato**, the Japanese Prime Minister, was born in 1860 of *samurai* family, and had a brilliant career at the Imperial University. He entered business, rose rapidly, and married his employer's daughter. He then embarked on a public career, and at the age of 35 was Japanese Minister to the Court of St. James's. After four years he returned to Japan, and was appointed Foreign Minister, but he soon resigned and spent a second term in London. After this he again became Foreign Minister, and he was holding this office for the fourth time in 1914 when war broke out. Eventually he became Prime Minister, and was responsible for introducing an extended franchise into Japan. He was made a baron of England in 1911, and was promoted to viscount in 1916. He was decorated G.C.M.G. by King Edward VII.

30. **Walter Lionel George**, the novelist, was of Jewish origin though of British parentage, and was born in 1882, educated in France, where he performed his military service. He remained French in his point of view. He published

"A Bed of Roses" in 1911, which was banned by the circulating libraries, and afterwards in rapid succession, "The City of Light," "Israel Kalisch," "The Making of an Englishman," and in 1914 "The Second Blooming," his best book. He wrote also several volumes on Woman. He was married three times, and left a widow and two children.

## FEBRUARY.

1. **Allan James Lawrie, K.C.**, Deputy Chairman of the County of London Quarter Sessions since 1911, was born in 1873, the son of the late Mr. J. D. Lawrie, of Monkkrigg, East Lothian. He was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1899, taking silk in 1924. He unsuccessfully contested the Holderness Division of Yorkshire in 1900. In 1911 he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the London Sessions, and he filled this position so efficiently that his death was a severe loss to the administration of justice in London. He married Ethel, youngest daughter of the late Judge Adams, and had three sons.

2. **General Sukhomlinoff**, aged 78, was Minister of War in Russia from 1909 to 1915. As a young cavalry officer he served with distinction in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, and later he was appointed instructor in strategy to the Tsarevitch, afterwards Nicholas II. He became a favourite of his Imperial pupil, and was appointed to command a hussar regiment; from this period his advancement was rapid till, in 1909, he became Minister of War. But he was a courtier rather than a capable soldier, and though he showed initiative in re-organising the army after the Russo-Japanese War, in dealing with those in high places he soon came to follow the line of least resistance, and when the War came the Russian armies were unequipped. In 1915 General Sukhomlinoff was dismissed. His trial began in 1916, and ended after the fall of the Empire. He was sentenced to imprisonment for dereliction of duty, to be followed by exile; and his wife was also condemned. When the Bolshevik Government released him he retired, first to Finland and afterwards to Brandenburg, and wrote his memoirs, which throw light on the last twenty years of the Imperial régime in Russia.

4. **Adolphe Léon Willette**, the French illustrator, was born in 1857 at Châlons-sur-Marne, the son of Colonel Willette. He studied under Cabanel and at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. His "Temptation of St. Anthony" appeared in the Salon in 1881, and he exhibited there till 1887, when he turned to pastel and lithography. He was associated in turn with most of the Parisian comic journals, and was a pioneer in the revival of the poster in France. His drawings were of two kinds, the violently political, and the idyllic after the manner of Watteau.

7. **Dr. William Evans Hoyle**, aged 70, the first Director of the Welsh National Museum at Cardiff, was born in Manchester, the son of W. J. Hoyle, an engineer. He studied at Owens College, whence he proceeded with an exhibition in natural science to Exeter College, Oxford, and later he was elected a junior Student of Christ Church. He intended to practise medicine, but turned to scientific work. He was appointed naturalist to the *Challenger* Expedition, working chiefly on marine organisms. In 1889 he was made Director of the Manchester Museum; and in 1909 he was made Director of the Welsh National Museum before the plans were complete, which gave scope for his talent, assiduity, skill, and patience, and for the use of his immense information regarding the world's museums. He was twice married, and had two daughters.

8. **Dr. William Bateson**, the biologist and pioneer in research in heredity, was the son of the Rev. W. H. Bateson, D.D., Master of St. John's College,

Cambridge, from 1857 to 1881, and was born at Whitby in 1861. He was educated at Rugby and St. John's College, Cambridge, and quite early in his career was attracted to the study of embryology, particularly to that of evolution and its methods. He travelled first to America to investigate the worm-like *Balanoglossus*, and then widely in Europe and Asia for other investigations. In 1894 he published "Materials for the Study of Variations," which became a landmark in biological thought. Bateson discovered discontinuity in variation, that Nature proceeds by jumps, and to the biometricians this view was abhorrent. Mendel, however, was slightly in front of Bateson with this contention. In 1904 at the British Association meetings, Bateson upheld Mendel's theory, and in 1908 his classic book on Mendel's "Principles of Heredity" appeared, and Bateson was elected to the Chair of Biology at Cambridge which had been established for him in recognition of his services to science. But in 1910 he went as Director to the John Innes Horticultural Institution at Merton, in Surrey. The Royal Society awarded him the Darwin medal in 1904, and in 1920 he received a Royal medal. In the course of his life he was honoured by many universities. He married, in 1896, Miss Beatrice Durham, who survived him with one son.

**12. The Right Rev. Thomas Wortley Drury, D.D.**, Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and formerly Bishop successively of Sodor and Man and of Ripon, was born in 1847, the son of a Manx clergyman. He was educated at King William's College, Isle of Man, and Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1870 was 25th wrangler and gained a first class in the Theological Tripos. In 1871 he was ordained, and in 1876 he accepted the benefice of Holy Trinity, Chesterfield, and became known as a preacher. Six years later he was chosen Principal of the Church Missionary College in Islington, and later he became Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. In 1904 he was made a Royal Commissioner on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Three years later he became Bishop of Sodor and Man, a position he held until 1911, when he was transferred to the See of Ripon. In 1920, owing to ill-health, he resigned his bishopric on the offer of the Mastership of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and he became latterly one of the best-loved figures in the University. He married Miss Catherine Dumergue, who predeceased him, and left two daughters and a son.

— **Graf Wolf von Baudissen**, a well-known German theologian, aged 79, was successively Professor of Theology in the Universities of Strasburg (1873), Giessen, and Berlin (1884). He belonged to the old school of theologians who took all Oriental learning for their province. He was famous for his works on Semitic religions and for his Old Testament Bible commentaries. His Introduction to the Old Testament is remarkable for his well-balanced critical attitude.

**13. Professor Francis Ysidro Edgeworth**, Fellow of All Souls College and Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, and last surviving nephew of Maria Edgeworth, was born at Castle Edgeworth in 1845, and eventually in 1911 succeeded to Edgeworthstown. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and Balliol College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1877, and shortly after became Lecturer in Logic and Tooke Professor of Political Economy at King's College, London. In 1890 the Royal Economic Society was founded, and Edgeworth was appointed secretary of the Society and joint editor of the *Economic Journal*. In this quarterly he brought out his articles on the "Pure Theory of Taxation," and he wrote an article on "Probabilities" for the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In 1891 he became Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls, a position he held until 1922, when he was made Emeritus Professor. For thirty-five years All Souls College was his much loved home. Professor Edgeworth had Irish humour and Spanish courtliness, derived from his Spanish mother. His reading was extensive and his style attractive; he devoted himself specially to the mathematical side of economics. He was unmarried.

17. **William Wheatley**, aged 87, originated social work for the reclamation of prisoners, both juvenile and adult. Born in London in 1838, as a young boy he began business as a gold-beater. Quite early in life he left his business in the hands of his eldest son to devote himself to the St. Giles' Christian Mission, which he had started near Drury Lane. He gave work to boys after imprisonment for first offences, thus paving the way for the First Offenders Act in 1887, and for the Probation of Offenders Act in 1907. He founded his first home for juvenile offenders in 1887. About 10,000 juvenile offenders passed through Mr. Wheatley's hands, and the majority of them did well in after life. He founded an orphanage at Maldon, in Essex. He was a freeman of the City of London, and a Borough Councillor for Holborn for fifteen years.

19. **Francis Derwent Wood, R.A.**, the distinguished sculptor, was born at Keswick in 1871, the son of an American father and an English mother. He was educated at Lausanne and at Karlsruhe, where he studied art, and at the National Art Training Schools at S. Kensington, where he studied sculpture under Professor Lanteri. He gained a national scholarship which he resigned after a year to become assistant to Legros in the Slade School. In 1894 Wood was admitted to the R.A. schools and won the Armitage prize for figure composition and various other prizes and medals. The same year he sent a relief of "Circe" to the Royal Academy, and after this he set up for a short time a studio in Paris. He next became modelling master at the Glasgow School of Art. Here he won the competition for sculpture for the Kelvingrove Galleries. His "Dante at Ravenna" was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1899, and in 1901 he settled in Glebe Place, Chelsea, where, from then onwards, he produced much work. He was elected an A.R.A. in 1910, and a full member in 1920. Amongst his works are "Atalanta," "Truth," "Psyche," "William Pitt," and many fine statues and portrait busts. He worked easily in any material from bronze to water colours, and excelled in the decorative arts. He married Florence Schmidt, the Australian singer, and had one son.

20. **Georg Friedrich Knapp**, a German economist of distinction, was born in Giessen on March 7, 1842. Educated at the Universities of Munich, Berlin, and Göttingen, he specialised on statistics, and in due course became head of the Leipzig Municipal Statistical Bureau. In 1869 he was made Professor at the University of Leipzig, going thence five years later to Strasburg, where he spent the rest of his career. Knapp had the rare distinction of combining a knowledge of mathematics with that of economic history. His principal work, published in two volumes in 1887, dealt with the emancipation of peasants and the origin of the rural worker in Prussia; in 1905 his second masterpiece appeared: "Staatliche Theorie des Geldes," which was translated into English under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society, and which raised its author to international fame.

20. **Professor James Israel**, aged 78, physician and surgeon, was assistant to Langenbeck, the Professor of Surgery in Berlin, and a pioneer in modern surgery. Israel was made surgeon to the Jewish hospital in Berlin, which, through him, became world-famous. His skill in diagnosis and knowledge of medicine were equal to his surgical abilities. He was a specialist on the surgery of the kidneys, and in this capacity attended the son of the Tsar. Israel was the head of numerous medical and surgical societies, and published a large number of works on medicine and surgery.

— **Lord Channing of Wellingborough** was, as Mr. Francis Allston Channing from 1885 to 1910, Liberal M.P. for East Northamptonshire. He was an authority on agriculture and an advocate of tenant rights for farmers and allotments for labourers. Born in Boston, U.S.A., in 1841, he was the son of a Unitarian divine who came to reside in London during his son's boyhood. Young

Channing was a scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, and was subsequently elected to a Fellowship at University College, where he lectured on philosophy. In 1869 he married Miss Bryant of Boston and settled as a country squire in Northamptonshire. Entering Parliament, he was at first a follower of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, but afterwards opposed to him. He was a pro-Boer during the South African War, but in 1914 his views underwent a complete change, and he became a strong Imperialist. He was made a baronet in 1906 and a peer in 1910. He wrote "Instinct," "The Greek Orators as Historical Authorities," and "Memories of Midland Politics, 1885-1910." He left two daughters, and the title became extinct.

21. **Walter Herries Pollock**, writer and fencer, was born in 1850, the second son of the late Sir Frederick Pollock, and grandson of the Lord Chief Baron Pollock. He won an Eton scholarship and went on to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a classical degree. In due course he was called to the Bar, and in 1883 he became editor of the *Saturday Review*, a post he held until 1894, when he went to live at Chawton in Hampshire, and devoted himself to literature. Pollock wrote novels on German student life, at least one book in French, various plays, and also made several excursions into *belles lettres*. Of his lyrics "The Devout Lover" is best known. He revived with a coterie of friends the art of fencing as a gentleman's accomplishment, and his outlook on life corresponded with this passion and harmonised with the atmosphere of his friend, Mr. Egerton Castle's novels. He loved brilliance and romance. He married Emma Jane, daughter of Colonel Pipon, of Jersey; this gay lady, who died in 1922, was the inspiration of his poetry. Pollock left one son, Mr. Guy Cameron Pollock, a journalist.

— **Professor Helke Kamerlingh Omnes** was famous for having liquefied helium, and for having established the possibility of perpetual electric current through metals at very low temperatures. Born at Groningen in 1853, he took his Ph.D. at the University there, and was for a number of years Professor and Director of the Physical Laboratory at the University of Leyden. In 1913 Omnes received the Nobel prize for physics. He was elected, in 1916, a foreign member of the Royal Society, and he was also a foreign member of the Royal Societies of Dublin and Edinburgh.

25. **Professor Arthur Robertson Cushny**, aged 60, Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacology in Edinburgh University, was one of the small band of pioneers who created the science of pharmacology. The son of the late Rev. John Cushny, Speymouth, Morayshire, he was educated at Aberdeen University, where, in 1889, he became Thompson Fellow. After a period as assistant to the Professor of Pharmacology in Strasburg, he was elected to the Chair of Pharmacology in the University of Michigan (1893), and later to the same Chair in London University, a post he held for thirteen years. In 1918 he was appointed to Edinburgh University. Professor Cushny's "Text-book of Pharmacology and Therapeutics" reached its eighth edition in 1924. In that year his work on "The Action and Uses in Medicine of Digitalis and its Allies" appeared. He had published also, in 1917, "The Secretion of Urine." He left a widow and one daughter.

26. **Lieut.-General Sir Francis Lloyd**, who commanded the London district throughout the Great War, was born in 1853, the eldest son of Colonel Richard Lloyd, Grenadier Guards, of Aston Hall, Oswestry, and of Lady Frances Hay. He was educated at Harrow and went early into the army. He was associated with the Grenadier Guards for forty-five years, becoming Captain in 1885. In 1898, after the fall of Khartum, he was awarded the D.S.O. He served in South Africa, where he was seriously wounded, and was promoted Colonel and made C.B. He next became Brigadier-General, and from 1904 to 1908 commanded

the 1st Guards Brigade. In 1909 he became Major-General, was made C.V.O. by King Edward VII., and K.C.B. on King George's coronation. During the period of his London command, his work in food control was most able, and was recognised by his appointment as Food Commissioner for London and the Home Counties. He married Mary Gunnis, of Leckie, Stirlingshire, who survived him. Their marriage was childless.

## MARCH.

3. **Sir Sidney Lee**, Shakespearean scholar and biographer, was of Jewish descent, his original name having been Solomon Levy. Born in 1859, he was educated at the City of London School under the famous Dr. Abbott, through whose influence Shakespeare became the passion of his life. In 1878 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, and his literary bent already manifested itself in his undergraduate days. He became known in early life as a Shakespearean critic, and Leslie Stephen made him assistant editor of the "Dictionary of National Biography." In 1890 he became joint editor of the D.N.B., and remained so till the Dictionary passed into the hands of the University of Oxford. The most notable of Lee's biographies were his lives of Shakespeare, Queen Victoria, and King Edward VII.; in all of them he showed himself a scrupulous and austere historian. From 1913 to 1924 he was Professor of English Literature in the East London College (University of London). As President of the Elizabethan Literary Society he did much to establish the Marlowe Memorial at Canterbury. He received many academic honours and was knighted in 1911. Lee was unmarried, and he left the greater part of his property to the East London College, as well as various gifts of interest to Oxford University, the British Museum, and other public institutions. By his own desire he was buried at Stratford-on-Avon.

10. **Sir Charles Alfred Payton**, aged 82, was known for fifty years as "Sarcelle" to angling readers all over the world. The son of a pastor at York, he was educated at New College, London, and at Bonn. After many vicissitudes and changes of occupation he became a merchant-adventurer at Mogador, and in 1880 was appointed British Consul there. He spent thirteen years in that capacity and was then promoted to Genoa. In 1897 he exchanged with the Consul at Calais, where, in 1911, he became Consul-General. He retired in 1913, and was knighted in 1914. He began to contribute to the *Field* in 1867, and continued till 1914. Amongst his works are "The Rod and the Riviera," "Days of a Knight," "The Rolling Stone," "Consular Career and Sport," "The Diamond Diggings of South Africa" (1872). Sir Charles married, first, in 1880, Miss E. M. Olive, who died in 1901, leaving eight daughters, one of whom was killed in the war; and again in 1913, Miss Elliott of Monken Hadley, Barnet.

15. **Sir Philip Watts**, the great naval architect, came of a family skilled for generations in naval construction. The son of John Watts, J.P. for Southsea, of this profession, he was born in 1846, went through a course of training at Portsmouth, passed the Royal School of Naval Architecture in 1870, and entered the service of the Admiralty as a draughtsman. In 1883 he was promoted to the grade of constructor and appointed to the staff at Chatham Dockyard, but in 1885 he left the Admiralty service to join the warship building department of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. at Elswick-on-Tyne. Gradually his work became known all over the world, many foreign Powers using his designs. He designed warships for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Turkey, and Japan. In 1902 he succeeded Sir William White as Director of Naval Construction. In 1904 he was on the naval committee that evolved the Dreadnought type of ship—a supreme achievement. Philip Watts was created a K.C.B. in 1905, and continued Director of Naval Construction till 1912. Of the battleships engaged at the Battle of Jutland, twenty-nine were designed by him, and a great tribute was paid to him by Lord Fisher in his "Memories." In 1910 Sir Philip

wished to retire, but he was retained by the Navy till 1916 when he returned to his old firm. He was a member of the Society for Nautical Research; and since 1900 a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1875 he married Elise Isabelle, daughter of the Chevalier Gustave Simoneau, of Brussels, and had two daughters.

**17. General Brusiloff**, the Russian Commander in the Great War, was born in 1856 of a noble family, and distinguished himself in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. He was made Director of the Officers' Cavalry School in St. Petersburg in 1900, and by gradual promotions he became assistant to the Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Military District. He spent the years following the Russo-Japanese War on the borders of Galicia, and when the Great War broke out he was chosen to lead the army which invaded Galicia.

**20. Louise Josephine Eugénie, the Dowager Queen of Denmark**, was born in 1851, the only child of King Charles XV. of Sweden and Norway. In 1869 she was married to the Crown Prince of Denmark, but it was not until 1906 that he succeeded to the Danish throne, as King Frederik VIII., and reigned but six years. From the time of his death (1912) the Dowager Queen lived a life of great seclusion, devoting herself to charitable work. Her eldest son became King Christian X. of Denmark, her second son having become, in 1905, King Haakon VII. of Norway.

**21. Sir Bradford Leslie**, aged 94, engineer and shipbuilder, was born in London, the son of Charles Robert Leslie, R.A., who was American by extraction. He was educated at the Mercers' School and apprenticed at 16 to Brunel, who was then completing the Great Western Railway. He became a specialist in bridge-building, and was associated with Brunel till the latter's death in 1859. In 1851 he was assistant engineer at the building of Chepstow Bridge, and afterwards at the building of Saltash Bridge. In 1858 he went to India as engineer of bridges and viaducts on the Eastern Bengal Railway. In 1861 he returned to England and designed bridges in South Wales, but in 1865 he returned to India as chief engineer of the Eastern Bengal Railway, and remained there till 1887. In India the Gorai Bridge was his greatest achievement. He completed the floating bridge over the Hooghly, begun by William Clarke, and became municipal engineer to Calcutta. In 1887 he was created K.C.I.E. He was associated also with the Dufferin Bridge over the Ganges at Benares. Leslie was invalided home in 1887, having lost his wife (a daughter of W. Honey, M.Inst.C.E.), three daughters, and a son-in-law in India. On the voyage he was wrecked off Corsica, and hurt his knee which caused him to limp for the rest of his life. In 1895 he became Chairman of the South Punjab Railway Co. in London. In 1899 he paid another short visit to India. In 1918, at 87, he was invited to submit a new design to replace his floating bridge across the Hooghly, which had long been unequal to the vastly increased traffic.

— **Sir Evan MacGregor**, for forty-seven years an official of the Admiralty, and Permanent Secretary for twenty-three years, was the third son of Sir John Atholl Bannatyne Murray MacGregor, third baronet and Chief of the Clan Gregor, and of the youngest daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir T. M. Hardy, Nelson's great friend. He was born in 1842, educated at Charterhouse, and entered the service of the Admiralty in 1860 as a temporary clerk. His promotion was rapid, and he served as private secretary to four First Sea Lords in succession. He became a Principal Clerk in 1880, and in 1884 a Permanent Secretary in place of Sir George Tryon. For keeping the machinery of the Admiralty efficient and in constant working order, Lord Fisher referred to Sir Evan MacGregor as "the ablest Secretary of the Admiralty since Samuel Pepys." He saw many changes in the Navy, and his retirement in 1907, at the age of 65, coincided with the entry into service of the Dreadnought. He was created C.B. in 1882, K.C.B. in 1892, and G.C.B. in 1906, and received the Imperial Service Order in 1903.

He married Annie Louise, daughter of Colonel W. A. Middleton, C.B., and had one daughter.

**25. Sir Hedley le Bas**, the governing director of the Caxton Publishing Co., Ltd., was born in Jersey in 1868, the son of the late Captain T. A. le Bas, and at eighteen enlisted in the 15th Hussars, where he served seven years in the ranks. He then spent several years with Messrs. Blackie, becoming their manager in Manchester, and in 1899 he founded the Caxton Publishing Co., in connexion with which he adopted modern methods of advertisement in the selling of books. When the War broke out he acted as publicity adviser to the War Office and Treasury, and he also acted as joint honorary secretary to the Prince of Wales National Relief Fund. He was knighted in 1916, and at the same time was made a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He was organiser of the Lord Kitchener National Memorial Fund and editor of the Lord Kitchener Memorial Book. Sir Hedley held the Royal Humane Society's award for life saving. He married, in 1900, Miss Mary Barnes, of Dorchester, and had a son and a daughter.

**26. Agnes Smith Lewis**, aged 83, with her twin sister, Mrs. Gibson, discovered, in February, 1892, the Syro-Antiochine or Sinaitic palimpsest, the most ancient known manuscript of the Four Gospels in Syriac. For this and other contributions to Oriental Research they were awarded jointly the triennial gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1915. Mrs. Lewis was the elder twin daughter of Mr. John Smith, solicitor, Irvine, and was educated at the Irvine Academy and by private tuition. After their father's death the sisters, in 1868-69, made an extensive tour in the East, and on her return Mrs. Lewis wrote "Eastern Progress" (1870). Later she travelled in Greece and Cyprus, and wrote "Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery" and "A Journey through Cyprus in 1886." In 1887 she was married to the Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and with him she made many more journeys to the East. After his death in 1891 Mrs. Lewis began to learn Syriac, and in 1892 the sisters arrived at the Convent at Sinai, after nine days' travel across the desert. Mrs. Lewis examined the store of ancient MSS. in the library, and there made her famous discovery. Over the original writing on the manuscript had been superimposed biographies of women saints. In 1898 she published "In the Shadow of Sinai." With her sister Mrs. Lewis prepared a complete edition of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospel (1899): "Studia Sinaitica" and "Horse Semiticae." Mrs. Gibson's later discovery of "Leaves from Three Ancient Qurans" (1914) was of importance for the history of Islam. Mrs. Lewis received honorary degrees from Halle, St. Andrews, Heidelberg, and Dublin Universities. She and her sister were benefactors to the foundation of the Westminster Presbyterian Training College at Cambridge.

— **Constantin Fehrenbach** was member of the Reichstag, leader of the Centre, and a former Chancellor of the German Republic. He was born in 1852, the son of an elementary schoolmaster in the Black Forest. Designed for the priesthood, he was educated at Freiburg, but he changed his views and at 30 became an advocate. In 1903 he was elected to the Reichstag, joining the Democratic wing of the Centre Party. He was prominent for a pronounced antipathy to the ruthless methods of Prussian militarism. In 1917 he presided over the Budget Committee and in 1918 he was elected President of the Reichstag. After the Revolution he was returned to the National Assembly at Weimar, but Dr. David, the Socialist, was acclaimed its President. Within a few days, however, Fehrenbach took his place. Fehrenbach's last task in this capacity was to administer the oath to Herr Ebert as President of the German Republic. Ebert invited Fehrenbach to form a Cabinet of Centre, Democrats, and People's Party, and this Cabinet took office in June, 1920. The Spa Conference took place on July 5, and it was followed by the Brussels financial Conference and the



London Conference, when Dr. Simons appealed to America against the Allies, and was rebuffed. There occurred also during Fehrenbach's office the plebiscite of Upper Silesia, the internal disarmament of Germany, the rise of illegal corps in Bavaria, the rioting in Central Germany, and throughout all he maintained an attitude of restraint and moderation. In May, 1921, he resigned, but remained at the head of the Centre Party.

**28. Philip, fourteenth Duke of Orleans**, and hereditary Canon of St. Martin's at Tours, was born at Twickenham in 1869, the eldest son of the Comte de Paris (grandson of Louis Philippe). During the Franco-Prussian War he was taken back to France and was educated at Eu in Normandy, the Stanislaus College in Paris, and at St. Cyr. He became an officer in the French army, but the Republican Government, alarmed by the popular demonstrations at his sister's wedding with the Crown Prince of Portugal, exiled his father and himself once more in 1886. They returned to England, and Philip entered Sandhurst and was attached to the King's Royal Rifles. He had received the title of Duke of Orleans in 1880, and was hailed as Dauphin by those Legitimists in France who rallied to the House of Orleans. In 1890 he infringed the Law of Exile of 1886, and was sentenced to imprisonment but pardoned. In 1894 his father died and he became "Chef de la Maison de France." Since then, in his enforced position as Pretender, he strove to prepare himself for possible kingship, travelling much, directing the affairs of the Royalist Party, conferring honours, etc. In 1896 he married, at Vienna, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, daughter of the Archduke Joseph, but the marriage was childless.

**30. Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.**, was the first Hindu to be associated with the Secretary of State in the control of Indian policy. For seven years, 1907-14 (the full term of office), he retained his seat on the Council of India. Born in 1851 in Eastern Bengal, he was educated at Calcutta University. He came to England, and in 1871 passed for the Indian Civil Service, and two years later was called to the Bar. Returning to India, by 1889 he had reached the grade of magistrate and collector. In 1905 he became member of the Provincial Board of Revenue (the highest post to which an Indian had then risen), and in the following year he was required to report on the fisheries of Bengal and in this connexion visited England and the U.S.A. In 1907, on to Lord Morley's recommendation, the King appointed him as one of the two Indians on the India Council. Thenceforward he was eager for constitutional reform, but he was esteemed for his good sense, and sincerity of purpose. He belonged to the deistic Brahmo Samaj, which renounced caste. He married a Bengali lady who predeceased him, leaving three sons and five daughters. In 1911 he was made a K.C.S.I. On retiring in 1915 he spent much time in England principally in promoting the education of Indian young women.

**31. Allan Ramsay Smith**, Head Master of Loretto School from 1908, was the son of James Smith, cotton-broker, of Bidston, Birkenhead, and of Craigie-lands, Beattock. Born in 1875, he was educated at Loretto under H. H. Almond, achieving much athletic distinction. In 1894 he went up to Trinity College, Oxford; at once he obtained his Rugby Blue, and became captain in 1897-98. He also obtained his International cap for Scotland, playing in 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1900, and being captain in 1897. In the schools he took a third in Classical Moderations and a second in the Final Classical Schools. A. R. Smith was an example of Almond's ideal of character-building through games. On leaving Oxford Smith travelled round the world, and two years later he was appointed one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. In 1908 he was elected to succeed Mr. Tristram as Head Master of Loretto. He married Miss Violet Russell and had a son and a daughter.

## APRIL.

1. **Professor James Smith Reid**, aged 79, who retired in 1925 from the Chair of Ancient History at Cambridge, was an authority on the legal and constitutional aspects of Roman history, and published, in 1913, "The Municipalities of the Roman Empire." The son of a schoolmaster in Sorn, Ayrshire, he was educated at the Grammar School of Arbroath, at the City of London School, at London University, and at Christ's College, Cambridge. There, in 1869, he graduated as Senior Classic, and was eventually elected a Fellow of his college, a position he held until 1872, on his marriage to Miss Ruth Gardner. He engaged in teaching at Cambridge, and in 1885 became a Doctor of Letters in recognition of his works on Cicero ("Academics," 1874; "De Amicitia," "De Senectute," and four speeches of Cicero). In 1900 he was elected to the newly-established Chair of Ancient History. Professor Reid was an honorary graduate of Dublin, an honorary Fellow of Christ's, and a Fellow of the British Academy. His wife survived him with two sons and a daughter.

5. **August Thyssen**, aged 85, was a great German industrialist and head of the firm of Thyssen & Co., of the Ruhr. In 1867 he and his brother Josef founded the small firm of Thyssen, Fossoul & Co. in Duisburg for the making of hoop iron. In the Franco-Prussian War this firm shared in the general prosperity, and established the factory at Mülheim which for thirty years expanded steadily under Thyssen's system of grouping industries which are interdependent on each other, and of acquiring the sources of raw material. In 1903 Herr Thyssen began trust-forming operations, and from German Lorraine the business extended into the iron basin of French Lorraine, to Caen, where the firm had their harbour, into cement, potash, and other trusts, into electrical power in Rhenish Westphalia into shipping at Bremen. In the Great War the firm of Thyssen & Co. prospered hugely, and in the struggle which followed the French occupation the Thyssens figured prominently. Till 1922 Herr August Thyssen guided the affairs of his firm himself and wrote his business letters with his own hand.

6. **Sir John MacLeavy Brown**, aged 90, probably the last survivor of the Burlingame Mission, played an important part in Far Eastern affairs, first in the British service, then in the Chinese customs, and finally as Finance Minister in Korea. He was the only son of Mr. John Brown of Magheragall, Co. Antrim, and was educated at Belfast Academy and Trinity College, Dublin. In 1861 he was appointed a student interpreter in China, and after quick promotion was, in 1864, appointed to the Legation in Peking as Assistant Chinese Secretary. In 1868, when the American politician Burlingame became, through Prince Kung's influence, Chinese Ambassador Extraordinary, Brown was permitted to join his staff and travelled with the Mission (which explained Chinese difficulties) to America, England, France, etc. They reached St. Petersburg in 1870, when Mr. Burlingame died and the Mission broke up. After this Brown entered, in 1872, the Chinese Customs Service, and in 1898 was appointed head of the Customs and Controller of Finance in Korea. Here he performed wonders in the maintenance of order, attracting foreign trade, building lighthouses, putting down smuggling, and introducing sanitary measures. Russia contrived Brown's dismissal in 1903, but he ignored this and continued his work till 1906, when he resigned and became Counsellor of the Chinese Legation in London. He was created C.M.G. in 1898, and knighted in 1906. In 1882 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. He married, in 1871, Marie Flügel of Lippe-Detmold, who died in 1911.

7. **Sir Walter Durnford**, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of Eton College, was born in 1847, the second son of Richard Durnford, Archdeacon of Manchester and afterwards Bishop of Chichester, who lived to the age of 92 in full harness. Walter was educated at Eton and King's College,

Cambridge, where he was fourth in the Classical Tripos. He became a Fellow of King's and returned to Eton as a master in 1870. As a School Master and House Master he was most popular and effective, becoming head of the Army Class, and of the Volunteer Corps, and taking an active part in athletics. In 1899 he retired from Eton and went to reside at Cambridge, placing his services at the disposal of the University and the town. He did endless work for both, was Mayor of Cambridge in 1905, and Principal of the Training College for School Masters. He was elected Vice-Provost of King's in 1909 and Provost in 1918. In the war he selected candidates for commissions, and in 1919 was made G.B.E. His geniality was noted and his friends innumerable. He was unmarried.

7. **Percy Bigland**, aged 68, an original member of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, was the son of Edwin Bigland, and was born at Birkenhead. After being educated at the Friends' School at Sidcot, he spent seven years at Munich as an art student. In 1880 he gained the first medal of the Munich Royal Academy. His portraits were exhibited regularly for many years at the Royal Academy in London, and in 1896 his "Quaker Wedding" (period 1820) attracted much attention, as it included portraits of several well-known Quaker worthies. During the Great War he visited prisons as a Quaker chaplain to those who had felt conscientiously bound to refuse military service. His allegorical painting called "The Call to Humanity" was exhibited in the Mansion House in 1916. Latterly, when failing sight interfered with his work, he and his wife travelled in India as a delegation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. He married Edith Mary Hanbury Aggs, and left a son and a daughter.

11. **James McMullen Rigg**, the scholar, who contributed some 600 biographies to "The Dictionary of National Biography," was the son of the Rev. J. H. Rigg, D.D., a prominent Wesleyan minister, and was born in 1855. He was educated at the City of London School under Dr. E. A. Abbott, and went as a scholar to St. John's College, Oxford, where he took honours in the classical school. He entered Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar, but soon turned to historical research. He edited three volumes of documents for the Jewish Historical Society. After this he became attached to the Record Office, and for years worked for it in the Vatican Library. Amongst his works are a "Life of Anselm," especially valuable for its philosophy, and a translation of Boccaccio's "Decameron," which is likely to remain the standard translation.

15. **Edward Harold Spender**, aged 61, author and journalist, was the second son of Dr. J. K. Spender, a noted physician of Bath, and of Mrs. Spender, the author of many novels. He was educated at Bath College and at University College, Oxford, where he took firsts in the two classical schools in 1884 and 1887. He entered journalism and wrote in turn for the *Echo*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the *Manchester Guardian*. He was on the *Daily News* from 1900 to 1914. During the war he devoted himself to volunteering, propaganda for War Savings, and other activities. He was a disciple of Mr. Lloyd George, and in 1922 contested Bath in the Liberal interest. He wrote biographies of Mr. Asquith, General Botha, and Mr. Lloyd George; several novels, including "The Man Who Went" (1919); and many books of travel, the last on the Balkans, entitled "The Cauldron of Europe." He married, in 1904, Violet Hilda, daughter of the late Ernest Schuster, K.C., who died in 1921, leaving three sons and a daughter.

16. **Professor William James Lewis, F.R.S.**, Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, was born at Llanwyddelan in 1847, the second son of the Rev. John Lewis, and was educated at Llanrwst School and Jesus College, Oxford, whither he went with a scholarship. He took first classes in Mathematical Moderations in 1867, in Mathematical Finals in 1868, and in Natural Science in 1869; won the Senior Mathematical Scholarship in 1871, and was elected a Fellow of Oriel.

In 1870 and 1871 he was a master at Cheltenham College, and also found time to accompany two eclipse expeditions. In 1873 he moved to the Mineral Department of the British Museum, and in 1874 went to Cambridge to study mineralogy under Professor Miller, incorporating, in 1879, as a member of Trinity College. In February, 1881, he was appointed to the Chair of Mineralogy in the University, a post he held till his death. He early published observations on the polarisation of the corona, and in 1899 a treatise on crystallography. He was elected a F.R.S. in 1909. Professor Lewis was for thirty years honorary secretary to the Cambridge University Scholastic Agency. He was unmarried.

19. **Sir Squire Bancroft**, aged 84, the famous actor-manager, first appeared on the stage in 1861 and was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1897. He was born in London of parents in good circumstances and became an actor at 19, and spent four years in touring the provinces, becoming during this period a first-rate all-round player. In 1867 he married Miss Marie Wilton and became manager of the Prince of Wales Theatre, and had great success in a series of Robertson comedies. He was specially famous in parts such as Captain Hawtree in "Caste." In 1880 he moved to the Haymarket, and his great success continued until 1884, when he retired. He and his wife devoted their long leisure to their profession. Sir Squire succeeded Irving as President of the Actors' Association. Always an enthusiastic admirer of Dickens, he raised, by a series of readings in England and Canada of "A Christmas Carol," a sum of 20,000*l.* for hospitals. He was on the board of the Middlesex Hospital, and chairman of the Foundling Hospital. His works are: "Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, On and Off the Stage, Written by Themselves" (1888), "The Bancrofts" (1909), and "Empty Chairs" (1925). Lady Bancroft, who was, like her husband, an ornament to her profession, died in 1921, leaving a son, who married Effie Lucy, daughter of Sir John Hare.

20. **Lovat Fraser**, a journalist of note, was born in 1871, the son of Mr. Donald Fraser of Beaulieu, Inverness-shire. After a journalistic novitiate on the *Gloucestershire Echo*, the *Somerset County Herald*, and the *Western Daily Press* at Bristol, he was chosen, in 1896, as assistant editor of the *Times of India*, of which, two years later, he became editor. He was a great traveller, and was perhaps the last English journalist to travel over the whole length of the Siberian railway from Port Arthur to Moscow while the line remained under Russian control. In 1905 he relinquished his Indian editorship and joined the staff of *The Times*, serving in India, China, and Australia. During the war he became associated with Lord Northcliffe's group of papers, and in 1922 he closed his connexion with *The Times* and went over to the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Sunday Pictorial*. He wrote a biography of Jamsetjee N. Tata, the Indian industrial pioneer, and "India under Curzon and After."

21. **Sir Henry Mance, C.I.E., LL.D.**, inventor of the heliograph, was born in 1840, a son of Henry Mance of Brockley, and went to the East in the service of the Indo-European Telegraph Department in 1863. Within three years of joining he was appointed superintendent of the Persian Gulf section of telegraphs running from Karachi to the Gulf. In 1879 he was appointed engineer and electrician of the line and held the position till his retirement in 1885. Sir Henry was a pioneer in ocean telegraphy in virtue of his discovery of "Mance's Method" of locating faults in ocean cables, and of a method of testing the internal resistance of electrical batteries. But his great achievement was his invention of the heliograph. The value of this instrument was recognised but slowly; but when Lord Roberts was conducting the second Afghan War he found how great was its value for secret and quick communications. Mance was awarded the C.I.E. in 1883 and was knighted in 1885. He married, in 1874, Annie, daughter of Mr. John Sayer, of Yatton, and had three sons and two daughters.

**23. Joseph Pennell**, the well-known artist, etcher, and author, was born of Quaker stock in Philadelphia on July 4, 1860. He was put into business, but studied at the School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, and at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. After drawing for *Harper's* and other magazines, Pennell was commissioned to illustrate "The Creoles of Louisiana," by George W. Cable. Then came a commission from the *Century* to go to Europe to make twelve etchings for a series of articles on Tuscany by W. H. Howells, and thereafter his connexion with Europe was continuous. In 1884 he married Miss Elizabeth Robins. For a time he was art critic for the *Star* and the *Daily Chronicle*. Beginning in 1885 with "A Canterbury Pilgrimage," ending in 1925 with "The Adventures of an Illustrator," and including a Life of Whistler (1907), Pennell had a long list of publications to his credit. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Letters; a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and of the National Academy of Design, New York; Hon. Associate of the Royal Belgian Academy, and Hon. Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects and of the American Institute of Architects.

**24. Lord Stuart of Wortley**, aged 74, was the son of the Right. Hon. J. A. Stuart-Wortley, Q.C., M.P., Recorder of London, and afterwards Solicitor-General. He was educated at Eton and Rugby and at Balliol College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1876, taking silk in 1892. He was elected M.P. for Sheffield in 1880, and in 1885 was returned for the Hallam division, which was faithful to him till 1916 when he was raised to the peerage. Stuart-Wortley was Under-Secretary at the Home Office in 1885, and from 1886 to 1892. He served as a British delegate at the Conference at Madrid on industrial questions in 1890, and at similar Conferences at Brussels in 1897 and 1900. In the House his sense and capacity were recognised, and after serving on many committees he was nominated a Deputy-Chairman of Committee of the whole House. In 1896 he was sworn of the Privy Council. He was a staunch Churchman, and in 1895 was appointed an ecclesiastical commissioner by Archbishop Benson. He took a keen interest in King Edward's Hospital Fund and was chairman of the management committee. In 1880 he married Beatrice, daughter of T. A. Trollope, the historian of Florence, and niece of the novelist. She died in 1881, and in 1886 he married Alice, third daughter of Sir John Everett Millais, P.R.A. He left a daughter by his first marriage.

**25. Mrs. Lilian Knowles, Litt.D., M.A., LL.M.**, Professor of Economic History in the University of London, was the daughter of the late Philip Tomn, of Killagorden, Truro. She went up to Girton College in 1890, and took first classes in the Historical Tripos in 1893 and in Part I. of the Law Tripos in 1894. From 1896 to 1899 she held a research studentship at the London School of Economics, and she was subsequently appointed to the staff of the School, where her lectures attracted crowded audiences. She was Dean of the Faculty of Economics in the University of London from 1920 to 1924, a member of the Departmental Committee on the Rise of the Cost of Living to the Working Classes in 1918, and of the Royal Commission on Income Tax in 1919-20. Professor Knowles devoted herself especially to the study of the economic history of Great Britain and the Empire. She wrote "The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain" and "The Economic Development of the Overseas Empire, 1763-1914." She united the qualifications of historian, geographer, and economist with a knowledge of technical processes and materials that other economists might have envied. In 1904 she married Mr. C. M. Knowles, barrister-at-law, of the Home Office, and the one son of the marriage survived her.

— **Ellen Key**, aged 76, the celebrated Swedish authoress, came of good Swedish family with a strain of Scottish blood. She became a qualified teacher, and from the first, influenced by Ibsen, she was greatly interested in social reform. Before long she began to write on social questions—on marriage, the child, and

the raising of the standard of living. Some of her books enjoyed a European reputation, notably that in which she pleaded for the welfare of children, "Das Jahrhundert des Kindes," which was translated into several European languages.

30. **Sir Timothy Coghlan**, Agent-General for New South Wales, was born in Sydney in 1856 of Irish Roman Catholic stock. He was sent to Sydney Grammar School in 1873, entered the Public Works Department, and in 1884 was promoted to be assistant engineer of harbours and rivers. In 1885 he was appointed head of the Department of Statistics, and was for nineteen years Government statistician. He prepared a statistical register of New South Wales, a concise history of Australia, and a manual of the seven colonies of Australasia. He wrote also "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales" and a "History of Labour and Industry in Australia," in four volumes. Coghlan was first appointed Agent-General in 1905, and held the post for ten years; he was again appointed from 1916 to 1917, and in 1920 he was appointed for the third time, serving till 1925. In 1926 he was once again re-appointed to this office. He was created I.S.O. in 1903, was knighted in 1914, and made K.C.M.G. in 1918. He married, in 1897, Helen, daughter of D. C. Donelly, M.L.A., and had a son and a daughter.

## MAY.

1. **Canon Michael George Glazebrook**, formerly High Master of Manchester Grammar School and Head Master of Clifton College, was born in 1853. the son of Mr. Michael Glazebrook. and was educated at Brentford Grammar School, Dulwich College, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he took a double first and greatly distinguished himself at athletics. After a year's travel he accepted a mastership at Harrow, and later, in 1888, went as High Master to Manchester Grammar School. He was ordained in 1890. In 1891 he went as Head Master to Clifton College, and in 1890 was made an honorary canon of Bristol. In 1905 he retired from Clifton and was made a canon of Ely. During his time at Ely he delivered the Warburton lectures at Lincoln's Inn (1907-11), and wrote "Studies in the Book of Isaiah," "The Faith of a Modern Churchman," "The Letter and the Spirit," and "The Apocalypse of St. John." In 1914 he became Chairman of the Committee of the Churchmen's Union. He married, in 1880, Ethel, daughter of the late Sir Benjamin Brodie, but left no issue.

3. **William Canton**, the poet of childhood, was born in China in 1845, and educated at the English College of Douai in France. After a period of teaching in England he went to Glasgow as a journalist. In 1887 he published "A Lost Epic and Other Poems," which was praised by Max Müller, and in 1891 Canton left Glasgow for London to join the house of Isbister as assistant editor of *Good Words* and other magazines. His most famous books were "The Invisible Playmate," a study of infant psychology, "Rhymes about a Little Woman," and "W. V. Her Book," and "Various Verses." His little daughter, Winifred Vida, born in 1890, was his inspiration. For her he wrote also "The Child's Book of Saints" in 1896 and other books, and on her death a volume entitled "In Memory of W. V." In 1902 appeared "The Comrades: Poems Old and New." Before this he had resigned his connexion with Messrs. Isbister and had become the historian of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Two volumes of its history were published in 1904, the jubilee year of the society, and in 1910 the three remaining volumes appeared. Canton was survived by a widow and an only son.

4. **Friedrich Rintelen**, the art critic, was born in 1881 at Berlin. He took his Munich doctorate in 1902, and in 1909 he was appointed to the Chair of the History of Art in the University of Berlin. In 1914 he became Professor of the

History of Art at Basle in succession to Burckhardt. Critical as he was of the commonplaces of extra-mural lectures, it was his habit to give lectures on art in various centres outside Basle. In 1911 his great work, entitled "Giotto und die Giotto-Apokryphen" appeared. This book dwelt on the frescoes at Padua, and described all the work of the great Florentine, laying down definite principles which supply a criterion for the testing of genuine Giotto's. Rintelen was also a classical scholar and a student of Dante. He was, too, an expositor of Albrecht Dürer. He was several times in Italy and died in Sicily.

6. **Humphrey Ward**, art critic and journalist, was born in 1845, the son of the Rev. Henry Ward, afterwards vicar of St. Barnabas, in London. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and won a scholarship to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself, becoming a Fellow in 1868 and tutor in 1870. In 1872 he married Miss Arnold, grand-daughter of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and sister of Matthew Arnold, a lady who later attained to great fame as a novelist. Even as an undergraduate Ward had shown his literary bent, and in 1880 he left Oxford for London to join the staff of *The Times*. He served long as art critic, but was also an all-round journalist with a ready and versatile pen. Ward's comprehensive work on the "English Poets" was published in four volumes in 1880 and re-issued in 1918 with an additional volume. Amongst his other works are "English Art in the Public Galleries of London" (1886); "The Reign of Queen Victoria: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress" (1887); and a monograph on Romney (1904). Mrs. Humphrey Ward died in 1920. Mr. Ward left one son, Arnold Sandwith Ward, who had a brilliant career at Eton and Oxford, and was formerly M.P. for West Herts, and two daughters, Mrs. G. M. Trevelyan and Miss Dorothy Ward.

8. **Stephen Paget**, aged 70, the distinguished surgeon and essayist, was the fourth son of Sir James Paget and the brother of the late Bishop of Oxford and of the Bishop of Chester. He was educated at Shrewsbury, Christ Church, Oxford, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and practised for many years as a surgeon, serving on the staff of various London hospitals. But his real métier was literature. He wrote biographies of his father, Sir James Paget; of Sir Victor Horsley; (with Mr. Crum) of his brother, the Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford; of Canon Scott Holland, and some others. Amongst his volumes of charming essays are "The Young People," "Confessio Medici," "Essays for Boys and Girls," and "I Sometimes Think." In 1908 he founded the Research Defence Society, to defend medical experiments on animals. He married, in 1885, Eleanor Mary, daughter of Dr. Edward Burd, and left two daughters.

9. **J. M. Dent**, the well-known publisher, who specialised in reprints and new editions, was the son of a musician of modest means, and was born in Darlington in 1849. As a youth he started for himself in London as a bookbinder, and in due course launched out into publishing. His first big success was "The Temple Shakespeare," which was started with "The Tempest" in 1894. The circulation rose as each play was published. Then followed the "Temple Classics," and afterwards came "Everyman's Library," with its hundreds of half-forgotten masterpieces. He published various other lesser series: "The Wayfarer's Library," "Mediaeval Towns," "Temple Biographies," and "Autobiographies." Mr. Dent was always interested in art, and published much work on Italian and other art. He was twice married, and left a widow, three sons, and four daughters.

— **The Rev. William Augustus Brevoort Coolidge**, the famous Alpine climber and author, was born in New York State in 1850, educated at Concord, Guernsey, and at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took a first class in Modern History. He was elected a Fellow of Magdalen in 1875. The teaching of history

was, for a time, his occupation, and he was also ordained and acted as curate of South Hinksey, Oxford, from 1883 to 1895. But the real interest and business of his whole life was Alpine climbing and Alpine literature. Short and sturdy in build he was an ideal mountaineer, and for thirty-four years all his long vacations were devoted to climbing and exploration. He explored every district of the Swiss, French, and Italian Alps, and was the first to climb the Wetterhorn and the Schreckhorn in winter. In 1909 he settled permanently at Grindelwald. Amongst his works are numerous volumes in the "Climbers' Guide" series; articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide Books," "The Alps in Nature and History." He was a notable historian, with a passion for accuracy. He was as well versed in the history of Switzerland as in its geography. He was a member of the Alpine Club for twenty years and an honorary member for six years.

11. **Sir Thomas Skinner**, a pioneer of modern Canada, was born at Bristol in 1840, and came to London as a financial journalist, soon making his mark in this sphere. He was founder and head of the firm of Thomas Skinner & Co., proprietors of "The Stock Exchange Year Book" and other financial publications. He became agent in London for the newly-formed Canadian Pacific Railway Co., and helped to raise in Britain the necessary money for its construction; in 1889 he was elected to a seat on the Board. In 1883 he established the *Canadian Gazette*, and was on the boards of various companies for the development of Canada. In 1912 he was made a baronet. He was twice married, and left three sons and two daughters (all of his first marriage).

15. **Mohamed VI, ex-Sultan of Turkey**, who died at San Remo, succeeded his cousin Mohamed V. in 1918 at the age of 57. After the Armistice, fearing the Committee of Union and Progress, he confined his activities to improving relations between the Turks and minorities such as the Armenians. In 1922 he raised a small army to drive the Kemalists from Ismed, but after the Treaty of Sèvres the troops would not support him against Kemal Pasha, who embodied the national resentment at the cession of Smyrna to Greece. Henceforth he was a "Caliph in a Cage." On November 3, 1922, the Grand National Assembly declared the Sultan deposed, and on November 17 he left Constantinople for ever in the British battleship *Malaya*. His body was buried in one of the mosques at Mecca.

17. **Dr. Bernard Pyne Grenfell**, the explorer of Oxyrhynchus, was born in 1869, the son of John Granville Grenfell. He was educated at Clifton College, where his father was a master, and went on to Queen's College, Oxford, where he took a double first in 1889, afterwards turning to the study of classical papyri. He was elected to the Craven Fellowship and also to a Fellowship at Queen's, and went out to Egypt in 1894 with Flinders Petrie. Petrie entrusted him with the editing of a long Greek roll containing revenue enactments of Ptolemy Philadelphus I. In 1895 Grenfell acquired in the Fayum fragments of a companion roll, and issued the whole text in 1896. He then went to the site of Oxyrhynchus, and in 1896 brought to light the tattered leaf with the "Sayings of Jesus." He went with his diggers to this site for several seasons, publishing the results of his labours and editing also other papyri found elsewhere. But he broke down in health in 1906 and afterwards his work was irregular. The most notable Oxyrhynchus volume contains Pæans of Pindar and a long fragment of Plato's symposium. He received many academic honours, and in 1913 the University of Oxford made him Honorary Professor of Papyrology.

20. **The Rev. Thomas Rees, M.A., Ph.D.**, Principal of the Independent College, Bangor, was a young collier at Aberdare who was educated at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen; University College, Cardiff; and Mansfield College, Oxford; and who, within a few years of leaving the mine to educate himself,



accepted the Chair of Dogmatic Theology and Philosophy at the Memorial College, Brecon. After ten years' work there he was appointed Principal of the Congregational College, Bangor. He made many contributions, chiefly in Welsh, to theological literature. The most important was the Welsh Encyclopædia on Religion and Ethics, which he edited and which was completed just before his death. He was interested in popularising the Welsh drama and in bringing general culture within the reach of the working classes. He was anxious also for the preservation of the Welsh language.

**24. Sir Thomas Erskine Holland**, a jurist of European reputation who occupied with distinction for thirty-six years the Chichele Chair of International Law and Diplomacy at Oxford, was born in 1835. In 1854 he proceeded from Brighton College to Balliol, Oxford, and in 1855 obtained a demysnip at Magdalen. He took a first class in Lit. Hum. and became a Fellow of Exeter. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1863, joining the Home Circuit. In 1874 he was appointed to the Vinerian Readership in English Law at Oxford, and to the Chichele Chair of International Law and Diplomacy. His inaugural lecture was an appreciation of Albergo Gentili, Professor of Civil Law at Oxford in Elizabeth's reign, and for this he received various honours in Italy. He became a member of the Institut de Droit International, and his attainments were such that his own Government frequently asked for his assistance. He drafted the Naval Prize Act and prepared the Admiralty Manual of Prize Law (1888), and re-edited "Laws of War on Land" (1904). He was a plenipotentiary at the Conference at Geneva in 1906. Retiring from his Chair in 1910, he remained at Oxford, taking part in University affairs till the end of his life. In 1917 he was knighted for his work in international legal matters during the war. His honours, academic and other, were multitudinous. Holland was twice married; first in 1871 to Louise Henriette Delessert, who died in 1891, and by whom he had four sons and a daughter; and again, in 1891, to Mrs. Edwardes, widow of the Rev. Stephen Edwardes, of Merton College.

**25. Simon Petlura**, who was assassinated in Paris, was a prominent representative of Ukrainian nationalism in the general confusion of Russia. Born in 1879 at Poltava (Gogol's region), he was educated in a theological seminary, but very soon became a Socialist and an Ukrainian nationalist. He edited the *Slovo* and contributed to the *Rada*, and during the war he worked for the Red Cross. In 1917 he took the lead in forming Ukrainian regiments. When the Bolsheviks established themselves he became Minister of War to the independent Ukrainian Government. In December, 1917, the Bolsheviks declared war on the Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Army broke up. Petlura made three more attempts to secure ascendancy in the Ukraine, in 1918, in 1919, and in connexion with the Polish offensive against Moscow, but never succeeded. After the final triumph of the Bolsheviks in Kieff he retired to Czechoslovakia and afterwards to Paris.

**27. Sir Paul Chater** was a notable figure at Hong-Kong in business, sport, and philanthropy. Born in Calcutta in 1846, the son of Mr. C. P. Chater, Catchick Paul Chater spent sixty-two years in Hong-Kong. He arrived as a bank assistant, became an exchange and bill broker, and in connexion with Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., the pioneer firm of the Far East, gradually established in Hong-Kong many businesses of the first importance. He inspired and carried through the reclamation of the harbour from Naval Yard to West Point, and in various ways kept adding land to the colony's limited acreage. As he prospered his generosity to churches and universities in Hong-Kong and Calcutta became famous. He was a member of the Executive Council of Hong-Kong and of the Legislative Assembly from 1887 to 1896. He was created C.M.G. in 1887 and knighted in King Edward's Coronation year. The French Government awarded him the Legion of Honour. Sir Paul was an enthusiastic sportsman. He was a cricketer, but racing was his hobby, and his horses won

many races, both in Hong-Kong and England. He left his residence, Marble Hall, and his valuable collection of porcelain and works of art to the Colony of Hong-Kong.

**27. William Stebbing**, aged 95, was the last survivor of *The Times* staff under Delane. The second son of the Rev. Dr. Henry Stebbing, F.R.S., a London clergyman, he was educated at Westminster School, King's College, London, and Lincoln and Worcester Colleges, Oxford, through successive scholarships. He obtained three first classes at Oxford, was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and practised as a conveyance and equity barrister. He joined the staff of *The Times* under Delane, and in 1870 came to be second in command, often being left with sole responsibility. He retired in 1878, but remained a regular contributor for many years longer. Stebbing wrote monographs on Raleigh and Peterborough, "Some Verdicts of History Reviewed," edited a memoir of C. H. Pearson, and contributed to various reviews. He was full of humour and originality. In his later days at Walton-on-the-Hill he wrote three volumes of urbane essays entitled "Truths and Truisms," and translated much Greek and Latin poetry into English verse. He married, in 1870, Miss Anne Pinckard Pidgeon, of Warley Elms, Essex, and left three sons and one daughter.

**28. Sir James Cantlie, K.B.E., F.R.C.S.**, aged 75, was in his youth an anatomist, later a surgeon, and afterwards devoted himself to the study of tropical medicine. At one time he spent nine years in China, where he made friends with Sun Yat Sen, whom he rescued in 1896 from imprisonment in the Chinese Legation in London when a political refugee. Cantlie was the founder and first president of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine, and was at one period Plague Officer of the London County Council. In 1883 he was a member of the Cholera Expedition to Egypt. In 1909 he became Commandant of No. 1 V.A.D. in London, and the College of Ambulance grew out of his classes. At the college 3,000 persons were taught every day at the opening of the war. In 1918 Cantlie was knighted. In his later days he set himself to increase health and strength in the middle-aged and elderly by means of suitable physical exercises.

**29. Philip Lyttelton Gell** was for many years a director, and eventually President of the British South African Co., and also the original chairman of Toynbee Hall. He was born heir of an old Derbyshire family, the Gells of Hopton Hall, in 1852, and was educated at King's College, London, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he went with a scholarship. He obtained a first class in Modern History and afterwards read for the Bar, but eventually he went into the management of Cassell, Petter & Galpin, publishers. Afterwards he was associated with the Clarendon Press at Oxford. On the death of Sir Starr Jameson he was appointed President of the British South Africa Co., of which he had been for twenty-one years a director. When he resigned, a few years later, he interested himself in Colonial undertakings and in Church Finance. He married a daughter of the eighth Viscount Middleton, who was well known as a religious writer, but left no children.

## JUNE.

**2. Lieutenant-General Sir William Leishman**, Director-General of the Army Medical Service, and an authority on tropical medicine, was born in 1865, the son of Dr. William Leishman, Professor of Midwifery in Glasgow University. After having been educated at Westminster School and Glasgow University, where he graduated in Medicine in 1886, he entered the Army Medical Service as surgeon and was gazetted Captain in 1887, Major in 1899, and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in 1905, having served in the Waziristan Expedition of 1894-95. In 1900 he was

made Assistant-Professor of Pathology at the Army Medical School, Netley, and in 1903 Professor of Pathology in the R.A.M.C. College at Millbank, London. He held this post for ten years. He was knighted in 1909. In 1910 he was elected a F.R.S., in 1911 he was President of the Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and in 1912 he was appointed Hon. Physician to the King. From 1913 to 1915 he was a member of the Yellow Fever Commission (West Africa), and he acted for a time on the Medical and Sanitary Advisory Committee for Tropical Africa, and for ten years he was a member of the Medical Research Council. He was appointed Director-General of the Army Medical Service in 1923, but still continued his scientific pursuits. Sir William Leishman's abiding claims to gratitude are his work on anti-typhoid inoculation, in which he was associated with Sir Almroth Wright; his work on diseases such as Oriental sores and boils (known now as Leishmaniasis), and his unceasing labours for the health of the British Army. He married in 1902 Maud Elizabeth, elder daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel E. Gunter, who survived him with one son and three daughters.

2. **Sir Stewart Stockman**, Chief Veterinary Officer of the Ministry of Agriculture, was the fourth son of Mr. W. J. Stockman, merchant, of Edinburgh and Leith. He was born in 1869 and educated at the Edinburgh High School and the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Edinburgh. He qualified in 1890 and proceeded to the Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire, Paris, returning to his Edinburgh College as Demonstrator and afterwards as Professor of Pathology. In 1900 he resigned his appointment to serve in the South African War, and then went to India to the Government Veterinary Department; while there he made valuable observations on the Cattle Plague. In 1902 he was made Principal Veterinary Officer to the Transvaal, and during the three ensuing years in South Africa he did much to mitigate the ravages of contagious diseases amongst animals. In 1905 Stockman was made Chief Veterinary Officer of the Board of Agriculture, to administer the Diseases of Animals Acts. A first-rate research laboratory was erected near Weybridge and he was then made Director of Veterinary Research to the Ministry. As a professional expert his work on anthrax, epizootic abortion, swine fever, and foot-and-mouth disease are well known. He was joint editor of the *Journal of Comparative Pathology and Therapeutics*, and amongst many activities was a member of the Council of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons; of the Managing Committee of the Tropical Diseases Bureau; and of the governing board of the Royal Veterinary College, London. He was knighted in 1913. In 1908 he married a daughter of Sir John MacFadzean, Principal of the Royal Veterinary College, and had two daughters.

3. **Rudolf Oeser**, General Director of the German Railways Company, and a member of the Democratic Party who exercised a steadying influence on the German Republic after the Revolution, was born in Anhalt in 1858 and became a journalist. In March, 1919, when the first Parliamentary Government was formed in Prussia, he became Minister of Railways, and later Minister of Public Works. In 1922 he became German Minister of the Interior in the Cuno Cabinet, and in the Stresemann Cabinet of August, 1923, he was Minister of Communications. Oeser represented Germany in the negotiations for reparations under the Dawes scheme, securing the control of railways retained by the German Republic, and when the International German Railways Company was formed he was chosen General Director.

4. **Sir Thomas Henry Elliot**, for 20 years secretary to the Board of Agriculture and afterwards Deputy Master of the Mint, was born in 1854, the son of Thomas Henry Elliot. He entered the Inland Revenue Department in 1872, became a principal clerk in 1887; and in 1892 he became secretary to the Board of Agriculture. He was made K.C.B. in 1902. In 1912 he was made Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint and he held this post till 1917. He

was a Public Works Loan Commissioner, a Boundary Commissioner and a Commissioner for the Experimental Application of Proportional Representation. He accepted in 1917 the Chairmanship of the Air-Raid Compensation Board. At the time of his death he was British Delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture, and Counsellor of Embassy in Rome. He married in 1880, Helen, daughter of the late James Rowe, and had one son and one daughter.

8. **Sir Frederick Walker Mott**, the neurologist who asserted the physical basis of many mental disorders, was born at Brighton in 1853 and educated at University College. He won many honours, was a F.R.S., a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, a LL.D. of Edinburgh University, and a consulting physician to Charing Cross Hospital. He served in the War as Lieutenant-Colonel, R.A.M.C., making a close study of shell shock. He was created K.B.E. in 1919. Perhaps his most important discovery was that G.P.I. (general paralysis of the insane) is syphilis of the brain. The post in which Mott did his great work was that of Pathologist to the London County Asylums. In this capacity he was associated with the late Mr. Maudsley, and played a prominent part in the institution of the Maudsley Hospital at Denmark Hill. He married in 1885, Georgiana, daughter of Mr. G. T. Soley. Lady Mott survived him with four daughters.

9. **Sayid Husain Bilgrami**, C.S.I., aged 83, was the first Indian to take his seat on the Council of the Secretary of State. Of a distinguished Mohammedan family, he was educated at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and became Professor of Arabic at the Canning College, Lucknow. He was next Assistant to Sir Salar Jung and came with him to England in 1876 to ask for the rendition of Berar to the Nizam. In 1884 he became the late Nizam's private secretary with various titles, and served for 20 years as Director of Public Instruction. Lord Curzon nominated him a member of the Universities Commission, and after the Universities Act of 1904 he joined the Viceroy's Legislature. He was a self-sacrificing supporter of the Mohammedan Oriental College of Aligarh, now a University. In 1906 he prompted the sending of a deputation to Lord Minto to represent the claims of the Mohammedan community. In this way he came to take his seat on the Secretary of State's Council in Whitehall in 1907, but the English climate was too much for him and after two years he retired to India and devoted himself to literature. He married first a Bengali lady, and secondly Miss Edith Boardman, M.D., and had a family of four sons and a daughter.

10. **Lord Stevenson**, aged 53, was the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, and the author of the "Stevenson Plan" for the restriction of the output of rubber. The son of A. S. Stevenson of Kilmarnock, he was educated at Kilmarnock Academy and became a travelling salesman. He was connected for a time with the firm of John Walker & Sons, whisky distillers, and increased the prosperity of that firm. In the war he was successively Director of Area Organisation under the Ministry of Munitions, Vice-Chairman of the Ministry of Munitions Advisory Committee, and member of the Central Reconstruction Committee, and of the Munitions Council for Ordnance. He was created a Baronet in 1917, and made G.C.M.G. in 1922. After the War he was Chairman of the Committee of Demobilisation and Reconstruction, and from 1919 to 1921 Surveyor-General of Supply to the War Office, member of the Air Council, and Vice-Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Civil Aviation. In 1921 he was made Personal Adviser on Commercial Affairs to the Secretary for the Colonies, and in that capacity he came to be Chairman of the Rubber Investigation Committee which produced the famous "plan." He was made a peer in May, 1924, in recognition of his work for the British Empire Exhibition. He was twice married—in 1897 to Jessie Baird Hogarth, who died in 1907, and in 1918 to Mrs. Stella Johnstone, sister of Sir Malcom Fraser, who survived him. He left no heir.

12. **Sir William Henry Dunn, Bt.**, in 1916-17 Lord Mayor of London, was born in 1856, the son of Mr. John Dunn of Clitheroe. He became head of the firm of Messrs. Dunn, Soman & Coverdale, auctioneers and surveyors, and acquired a lucrative business largely amongst his co-religionists, the Roman Catholics. In 1906-7 he was Sheriff of London, and was knighted when King Edward opened the new Central Criminal Court. In 1910 he was elected as Conservative member for the Northern Division of Southwark, but retained his seat for less than a year. For his services as Lord Mayor he received his Baronetcy. He married in 1885 Ellen, daughter of Mr. John Pewle, and had a son who succeeded him, and a daughter who married first the late Judge Philip Law-Smith, K.C., and afterwards Mr. A. A. Hartland.

13. **Frederick Harrison**, the lessee and manager of the Haymarket Theatre, began his association with that house as an actor in Sir Herbert Tree's company in 1887. In 1896 Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cyril Maude became joint lessees, until Mr. Maude migrated to the Playhouse in 1905. After that period Mr. Harrison held sole control of the Haymarket. He had a highly developed faculty for judging plays and a preference for fresh and wholesome comedies by native dramatists. He was educated at King's College School, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. In spite of his retiring disposition he was one of the most distinguished, as well as one of the most successful, managers of his time.

14. **Sir Henry Morris**, aged 82, the eminent surgeon, was the son and grandson of surgeons, and was educated at Epsom College and at University College, London, where he graduated M.B. in 1867 and M.A. in 1870. By 1877 he was consulting surgeon at the Middlesex Hospital. He was President of the Royal College of Surgeons in England in 1906, 1907, and 1908, and delivered the Hunterian oration in 1909. The same year he was created a Baronet. He was President of the Royal Society of Medicine from 1910 to 1912 and was conspicuous for his generosity to the society. He was the editor of a "System of Anatomy" which bore his name, and he wrote much on the subject of cancer. He had great business capacity and was treasurer of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, and of the General Medical Council. He married in 1878, Louisa Sarah, daughter of the Rev. William Bowman, but left no issue.

— **Lord Dunraven**, aged 85, took a prominent part in Irish affairs for over 50 years. He served as War Correspondent in Abyssinia and in the Franco-Prussian War; as Under-Secretary for the Colonies from 1885 to 1887; as Chairman of the Irish Horse Breeding Commission, and of the Irish Land Conference of 1902. He was also famous as a yachtsman. He was the only son of the 3rd Earl of Dunraven, was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and succeeded to the Earldom in 1871. He took up in turn many interests, such as a ranch in Colorado, a variety of business speculations, and yachting. He aimed at winning the American cup, but his yacht, *Valkyrie II.*, was beaten in 1893, and he withdrew *Valkyrie III.* from the contest in 1895. He went with the Sharpshooters' Corps of the Imperial Yeomanry to the South African War and gained the C.M.G. During the Great War he presented two hospital ships to the Government and maintained them at his own expense. In 1921 he was elected a Senator of the Free State. Lord Dunraven married in 1869, Florence, daughter of Lord Charles Lennox Kerr. She died in 1916. He left one daughter, and was succeeded by his cousin, Colonel Wyndham Quin, C.B., D.S.O.

19. **Sir Edward Bray**, aged 76, a senior member of the County Court Bench, was the second son of Mr. Reginald Bray, J.P., F.S.A., of Shere, near Guildford, and a younger brother of Sir Reginald Bray, a judge of the King's Bench Division, who died in 1923. After being captain of Westminster School he proceeded

to Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1875. In 1884 he published a legal work on "Discovery." Lord Halsbury appointed him Judge of the Birmingham County Court in December, 1905, and in 1908 he was transferred to London as Additional Judge. He was in turn appointed to Bloomsbury, Brentford, Uxbridge, Dorking, and Redhill. He was Chairman of the County Courts Rule Committee, and secretary to the Council of County Courts Judges, and was knighted in 1917. In his youth he was a well-known cricketer. He married in 1873, Edith Louisa Hubbard, and left three sons and one daughter.

**23. The Most Rev. Henry Lowther Clarke**, aged 75, at one time Archbishop of Melbourne, was the son of the Rev. W. Clarke, of Firkbank, Westmorland. He was educated at Sedbergh, won a scholarship at St. John's, Cambridge, and in 1874 was seventh wrangler. Having been ordained he spent the next 28 years in various Yorkshire parishes, with an interlude as a master at St. Peter's School, York. In 1902 he was consecrated Bishop of Melbourne, and in 1905 he became Archbishop of Melbourne and head of the five dioceses in the State of Victoria. In 1904 he was made one of the six episcopal canons of the Church of St. George the Martyr at Jerusalem. He resigned the Archbishopric in 1920 and returned to England, devoting himself to literary work. His principal works were the editing of "Anglican Essays;" "Constitutional Church Government in the Dominions Beyond the Seas;" "A History of Sedbergh School;" "The Last Things;" "Studies in the English Reformation;" "Synodical Government;" and "Death and the Hereafter." He married in 1876, Alice Lovell, daughter of Canon Kemp, who died in 1918. He left two sons, both in the church, and one daughter.

— **Karl Holl**, the Church historian, famous for his work on Luther, was a pupil and follower of Harnack. He wrote "Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus" and "Amphilochus von Ikonium;" and contributed to a volume on the early Greek fathers. His "Enthusiasmus und Buszgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum" proved that the doctrine of Absolution was kept alive by the monks. In the War he went to the East and examined Russian religious literature. He published "The Significance of the Great War with regard to German Protestantism," which showed vast knowledge of German religious history and literature from the end of the Thirty Years War till 1914. He contended in his writings that the Reformation was the re-discovery of the teachings of Jesus, and he insisted on a real division, other than evolution, between ancient philosophies and Christianity. His masterpiece on Luther showed that no one ever approached so near the understanding of the genius of Luther. In 1925 he was Rector of the University of Berlin.

**26. Aaron Watson**, author and journalist, aged 75, began his career as editor of a weekly paper called *The Critic* at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He became leader-writer of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, but in 1880 went to the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Evening News*, and afterwards edited the *Echo* and later the *Shields Daily Gazette*. He edited the *Newcastle Daily Leader* for seven years. He was Vice-President of the Institute of Journalists in 1885, and its hon. secretary in 1894-95, and was an original member of the London Press Club. In 1915 he attended the World's Press Congress at San Francisco as delegate for *The Times*. He contributed much to reviews and wrote novels and essays of all sorts. In "A Newspaper Man's Memories" he recalled many friendships with notable people. He married in 1871, Miss Gibling of Norwich, who died in 1915. He left three sons and a daughter.

**28. Sir John Baddeley**, Lord Mayor of London in 1921-22, was born in Hackney in 1842. On leaving school he entered his father's business of a wholesale stationer and printer in Cripplegate Ward, and remained in it for over sixty

years. In 1886 he became a member of the Corporation for his Ward. In 1908 he was Sheriff of the City of London, and was knighted on the occasion of the visit of the Tsar and Tsaritsa. In 1921, at the age of 79, Sir John was elected Lord Mayor. He wrote a history of and guide to the Guildhall, and a history of the Cripplegate Ward. He was a churchwarden of St. Giles' Church and erected in the churchyard a bronze statue of Milton. He was twice married, in 1868 to Miss Mary Locks of Hackney, by whom he had five sons and four daughters, and in 1912, to Miss Florence Douglass Matthews.

## JULY.

2. **Emile Coué**, whose demonstrations of his curative method of auto-suggestion made him famous, believed passionately in his creed, though much of the good that he accomplished was due to his kind and simple heart. He was a dispensing chemist by profession and one day gave medicine to a patient with incorrect information as to its probable effect. The medicine produced this precise effect on the patient, and M. Coué formulated the doctrine of the power of imagination and expectation to command the functions of the human body. He lectured in France, England, and the United States, and his clinic at Nancy became a place of pilgrimage for men and women of almost all nations. All one had to do in order to find recuperation was to believe and repeat a formula, the object of which was to lull both intellect and will into inaction—"Day by day, I grow better and better."

5. **Otto Wiedfeldt**, aged 54, managing director of Krupps and formerly German Ambassador at Washington, was a native of Saxony and began his career as manager of the Saxon Agricultural Co-operative bank. He became statistical officer at Essen, and coming into touch with Krupps, was a frequent arbiter in their labour disputes. He went to Tokyo as adviser to the Japanese Railway Company, but returned to Germany just before the War and placed his services at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior. He drew up the first German food rationing plan which remained the basis of the German rationing system, and in 1918 he headed the German Economic mission to the Ukraine. In November, 1918, he was offered a directorship by Krupps, but almost immediately after accepting it was sent as German Ambassador to Washington. Here he was successful in the main till he neglected to hoist the flag of the Embassy at half-mast at the death of President Wilson. He was soon after superseded and returned to Germany and Krupps.

8. **The Rev. Thomas R. R. Stebbing**, aged 91, though his training had been wholly classical, described himself as "a serf to natural history." His services to zoology were great, and he became one of the foremost authorities on the Crustacea. He was born in London, a son of the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D., and educated at King's College School and Lincoln College, Oxford, afterwards becoming a Fellow of Worcester College. He was ordained priest in 1859, and accepted a mastership first at Radley and afterwards at Wellington, returning in 1865 to Worcester College, where for two years he was Tutor. In 1867 he married a daughter of W. W. Saunders, F.R.S., and losing his fellowship, took pupils first at Reigate and later at Torquay. He joined the Torquay Natural History Society and a few years later retired from tuition and gave himself wholly to scientific research. In 1871 he published "Essays on Darwinism," and in 1873 the first of his famous papers on the Crustacea. To "Das Tierreich," a dictionary of all living animals, published in Berlin, he contributed in 1906 a volume on the Gammaridea. His "Naturalist of Cumbrae" (1891) is a biography of the late Dr. David Robertson; two years later he published his "History of Crustacea." Stebbing was a Fellow of the Royal, the Linnean, and the Zoological Societies. In 1919 he published a book entitled "Faith in Fetters," which excited comment as coming from the pen of a clergyman.

10. **The Very Rev. Dr. A. Wallace Williamson, K.C.V.O.**, a distinguished figure in the Church of Scotland, was born at Thornhill in 1856, and studied at Edinburgh University at the same time as J. M. Barrie and R. L. Stevenson. He became a licentiate in 1881, and stepped into fame as a preacher while still assistant in the parish of North Leith. In 1883 he was appointed to St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, as colleague to Dr. James Macgregor. In 1912 Dr. Williamson succeeded Dr. Cameron Lees as minister of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, attracting vast congregations by his eloquence. In 1913 he was made Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and Dean of the Order of the Thistle. Dr. Williamson was Chaplain-in-Ordinary successively to Queen Victoria, King Edward, and King George. He was made D.D. of St. Andrews in 1890; chaplain and hon. member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1910; C.V.O. in 1919; and in 1926 King George made him a Knight of the Royal Victorian Order, an unusual distinction for a Scottish clergyman.

11. **Sir Samuel Provis, K.C.B.**, aged 81, during his career in the Civil Service, witnessed and assisted in a complete revolution in the system of English Local Government, which through the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, establishing County Councils and Parish and District Councils, transferred local affairs from the control of justices to that of popularly-elected bodies. He was the eldest son of Samuel Provis of Bath, and educated at London University and Queen's College, Cambridge, where he was Junior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos of 1860. Forty-six years later he was made an Hon. Fellow of his College. In 1866 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and in 1872 he entered the Local Government Board. In 1882 he was made its Assistant Secretary, and in 1890 Permanent Secretary. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and signed the Majority Report. He was made C.B. in 1887, K.C.B. in 1901, and a Companion of Honour in 1918. Sir Samuel was unmarried.

— **Gertrude Bell**, traveller, writer, and Arabic scholar, was distinguished in the field of Oriental exploration, archæology, and literature, and was Oriental Secretary to the High Commissioner of Iraq, in Baghdad, where she died. She was born in 1858, the eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Bell, the Yorkshire ironmaster, and took a first class in history at Oxford in 1887. She proceeded to join her uncle, the late Sir Frank Lascelles, British Minister in Persia. She soon began to travel on her own account in Arabia, watching the political changes and studying the Arabian outlook. In 1906 she published "The Desert and the Sown," one of the outstanding books on Eastern travel, and in 1910 "Amurath to Amurath." In 1913, attended only by her Syrian servant, she crossed the Arabian peninsula, and for this she gained the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. When the War came, at the request of Lord Hardinge, she went out to Mesopotamia. Because of her knowledge of Arab and tribal politics she became an invaluable worker in administrative reconstruction after the expulsion of the Turk. From the time of the Paris Peace Conference a close friendship existed between Miss Bell and King Feisal of Iraq. After the ratification in 1925 of the treaty between Great Britain and Iraq, Miss Bell took a holiday, but returned too soon for her health to Baghdad to work as a labour of love at the development of the Iraq Museum. The results of the excavations at Ur of the Chaldees had for her a supreme interest. For all her masculine gifts and intellectual ability she was a lady of kindest heart and much loved both in the East and the West, and was deeply mourned in Iraq. In 1917 she was made a C.B.E. for her political services.

12. **Dr. Charles Wood**, the musician, was probably the best teacher of composition in Europe. He was born at Armagh in 1866, where his father was a lay vicar, and educated at the Cathedral School, and at Selwyn College, Cambridge. He was, in 1894, while organist at Gonville and Caius College, elected a Fellow, and henceforward his life was divided between Cambridge and the Royal College



of Music in London, where he was first Lecturer and subsequently Professor of Harmony. His work as a composer, though less voluminous, ranks with that of Stanford and Parry. It was remarkably diverse, including realistic-romantic songs such as "Ethiopia Saluting the Colours," Irish songs, choral preludes, music for voices in parts, hymnody, Passion music, a little one-act opera on an incident in the "Pickwick Papers," etc., etc. In June, 1924, he was elected to the Chair of Music in the University of Cambridge in succession to the late Sir Charles Stanford. In 1898 he married the daughter of Captain W. R. Wills-Sandford, of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon. One son and three daughters survived him.

12. **John W. Weeks**, aged 66, was by turns an officer in the American navy, a railway surveyor, a volunteer naval officer in the Spanish American War, a stockbroker, and a banker. He was an alderman of Boston, U.S.A., and in 1913 was elected to the Senate. As an authority on currency and an advocate of preparedness for war he became a conspicuous figure in the Republican Party, and in 1916 received a heavy vote for the Presidential nomination; but in 1919 he failed to be re-elected for the Senate. He was appointed Secretary for War by President Harding in 1921, but came into conflict with Congress because of his high demands for the peace strength of the army. In 1925 Mr. Weeks resigned office because of illness.

13. **Sir Thomas Dewey**, President of the Prudential Assurance Company, was born in 1840, the son of Charles Dewey of Cheshunt, and was educated at Broxbourne. He spent sixty-seven years in the service of the Prudential Assurance Society, being General Manager for thirty years before becoming Chairman. His actuarial knowledge was often enlisted by the Government and by national bodies. In 1916 he was a member of the War Office Expenditure Committee. He was also Hon. Colonel of the 4th (London) Howitzer Brigade, R.F.A., Territorial Force. In 1917 his many public services were recognised by a baronetcy, in which he was succeeded by his son, the Rev. Stanley Dewey. He left also a widow and four daughters.

15. **Dr. John Percival Postgate**, the eminent classical scholar, was born in 1853, the son of the late John Postgate, F.R.C.S., and was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham. He became a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and took a first class in the classical tripos of 1876. A Fellowship at Trinity followed, and in 1880 he became Professor of Comparative Philology in London University, a position he held for thirty years. From 1884 to 1909 he was also Classical Lecturer at Cambridge, and from 1909 to 1920, Professor of Latin at Liverpool. He was editor for several years of the *Classical Review* and the *Classical Quarterly*, and helped to found the Classical Association, of which he was President in 1925. His principal works were his great *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* (1905); his text-book on Latin Prose Composition entitled *Sermo Latinus*; and works on Latin prosody and Greek accents. His wife was a sister of the well-known Homeric scholar, Mr. T. W. Allen, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

24. **Friedrich Wieser**, aged 75, Professor of Political Economy at the Vienna University, was the last of the old Austrian School of Economists. Amongst other works his studies on food supplies and the weighty "Das Hauptgesetz des Wirtschaftlichen Staates" (1884) were celebrated. In 1914 he published "Die Theorie der gesellschaftlichen Wirtschaft" which gathered up the ideas he had set forth in books and periodicals. His philosophy of life was summed up in a book that was published posthumously, "Das Gesetz der Macht." Politically Wieser was on the side of universal suffrage. In 1917 he was made a member of the Austrian Upper House, and became Minister of Trade.

30. **The Right Hon. Sir John Edge, K.C.**, formerly Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, was the eldest son of Mr. B. B. Edge, of Clonbrook,

Queen's County. Born in 1841, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, called to the Irish Bar in 1864 and to the English Bar by the Middle Temple in 1866. He took silk in 1886 and the same year was appointed Chief Justice of the N.W. Provinces High Court in India, and knighted shortly after. He was appointed first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad and accepted command of the local Rifle Corps. He was president of the Famine Relief Committee in 1896. Sir John returned in 1898 and became Judicial Member of the Council of India and a Bencher of his Inn. In 1902 he was a member of the Royal Commission on the South African War. He retired from the India Office in 1908 and was sworn a member of the Privy Council and a member of the Judicial Committee in 1909. In 1867 he married the daughter of Mr. T. Loughborough, by whom he had three daughters and one son.

**31. Mrs. Archibald Little**, aged 81, traveller and writer, was born in Madeira, the daughter of Mr. Calverley Bewicke of Hallaton Hall, Leicestershire, and as Miss A. E. N. Bewicke she achieved success as a novelist. Amongst other novels she wrote "Marjery Travers," and "The Last of the Jerninghams." She married the late Mr. A. J. Little in 1886 and settled with him in China. She next wrote "A Marriage in China" on the subject of Eurasian marriages, but her claim to distinction rested on her efforts for the abolition of the distorting of the feet of Chinese female children. Other of her works were "Intimate China," "The Land of the Blue Gown," "Round About my Peking Garden," and "Li Hung Chang." At one time she lectured for the Geographical Society in the principal towns in England. She was a fearless traveller and accompanied her husband to Tibet. As a widow at the age of 74 she went to Macedonia and proceeded alone to Palestine. After her husband's death in 1908 she published a collection of his essays entitled "Gleanings from Fifty Years in China." She also edited his book "Across Yunnan."

## AUGUST.

**1. Israel Zangwill**, novelist, dramatist, Jewish publicist, and philanthropic worker, was born in London in 1864, the son of Moses Zangwill, who went to reside in Palestine in 1895, and died at Jerusalem, 1908. Israel was educated, first, at Red Cross Street Middle Class School, Bristol; and, brought to London again at about the age of 9, next at the Jews' Free School, Spitalfields; eventually becoming a teacher there, and taking his B.A. degree (with honours), at the University of London. He began casual contributions to the Press at the age of 16, and when he was 21 he had written—in collaboration with the late Louis Cowen—"The Premier and the Painter" (published eventually in 1888), which critics regarded, then and later, as one of the best political novels of the day. After some connection with the Jewish Press, he, in 1889, took over the editorship of *Ariel*, a rival to *Punch*, which ran for some years. "The Bachelors' Club" and "Old Maids' Club," afterwards united as "The Celibates' Club" now brought him into prominence and success by their whimsical humour and fantasy; and, in 1892, he accepted an American commission for a novel of Jewish life, in which field he had already shown his quality in shorter pieces, and wrote "Children of the Ghetto," the work on which rests his international literary fame. Delving into the same mine, he produced "Ghetto Tragedies," "Ghetto Comedies," "They That Walk in Darkness," and "The King of the Schnorrers," displaying in these works broad pathos, strong humour, and a marvellous insight into Jewish psychology. "Dreamers of the Ghetto" (1898) depicts, with fine artistry, the Jewish tragedy as shown in the lives of various great historical figures and thinkers, and has generally been considered his finest work. His three novels, "The Master," "The Mantle of Elijah," and "Jimmy the Carrier," deal purely with English life. As a dramatist, he had both lighter and more serious inspiration. "Merely Mary Ann" (1904), and "Too Much Money" (1917) represent

the former; his "Melting Pot" (1908), "The War God" (1911), "The Next Religion" (1914), banned by the censor, and "The Forcing-House" (1926), like his volume of essays, "The Voice of Jerusalem" (1920), represent his deeper aspirations and humanitarianism. His volume of poetry, "Blind Children," should also be mentioned. Besides being a man of letters, one of the foremost in his generation, Zangwill was also a Jewish publicist of world-renown. He was President of the Jewish Territorial Organisation, which at one time sought to settle Jews on an autonomous basis within the British Empire, and was also an adherent of the Zionist Movement for Palestine. He married, in 1903, a daughter of the late Professor W. E. Ayrton, and left two sons and a daughter.

2. **The Right Hon. John Xavier Merriman**, South African statesman and orator, was born in 1841. He went out to South Africa as a child when his father was appointed Archdeacon of Grahamstown in 1849, but was educated at Radley, in England, where he distinguished himself in classics. On his return to South Africa, he became a land surveyor. He entered Cape politics in 1869 and he became War Minister in the Gaika War. Two years later he went to the Diamond Fields, where he met and liked Cecil Rhodes, though they were usually on opposite sides in politics. In 1881 Merriman was back in office, about the time when the Afrikaner Bond was coming into prominence. In 1890, on the formation of the Rhodes Ministry, Merriman joined the Cabinet as Treasurer; but when this Cabinet was dissolved Merriman was not in the next Cabinet, and he forthwith joined the Opposition. He disapproved of the Jameson Raid, and from January, 1896, he denounced Rhodes' policy. In 1898 he strove to stave off the South African War, and the Prime Minister, Schreiner, called him into his Cabinet as Treasurer. After the war Merriman was bitterly antagonistic to Jameson. As the head of the Bond Party (now renamed the South African Party) Merriman became Prime Minister in 1908. He stood firm for the unitary, as against the federal principle in South African policy, and when union was achieved it was expected he would be the first Prime Minister. But Botha was chosen, and though Merriman declined office under him, he was always Botha's firm supporter.

8. **Albrecht Pagenstecher**, who invented the making of pulp for news-print paper out of wood, was born at Osnabrück, in Westphalia, in 1839. At the age of 20 he went to New York, and in partnership with a brother, exported petroleum and provisions to Germany. In 1866 he erected a mill in Massachusetts to make wood pulp, and in 1870 he turned entirely to this business. At first the paper-makers did not favour the pulp, but in the end wood pulp paper revolutionised newspaper production by enormously increasing the speed of printing, the process of drying the sheets being eliminated. Pagenstecher married, in 1866, Helene Westermann, and had three sons and four daughters.

12. **Sir William Ridgeway**, Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge, was born in 1853, the son of the Rev. J. H. Ridgeway, of Ballydermot, King's County, who was descended from one of Cromwell's settlers. He was educated at Portarlington School; Trinity College, Dublin; and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he graduated as Fifth Classic in 1880. In 1883 he was appointed to the Chair of Greek in University College, Cork, and in 1892 to the Disney Chair of Archæology in Cambridge, becoming also a Fellow of Caius. Ridgeway was a Conservative of the old school, and in the nineties waged war against women's degrees, and upheld compulsory Greek in University education. He wrote much, notably "The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards" (1892); "The Early Age of Greece," illustrating his contention that the culture of the early iron age was introduced by warrior folk, the Achæans of Homer, into Greece and Italy from north of the Alps (1901); "The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse" (1907); "Who were the Romans?" (1907); "The Origin of Greek Tragedy" (1910); "The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races" (1915). Many academic honours came to him,

and he was knighted in 1919. He left a daughter, the wife of Mr. J. A. Venn, of Trinity College, Gilbey Lecturer on Agriculture in the University of Cambridge.

**19. Horatio Brown**, historian of Venice and biographer of John Addington Symonds, was born in Nice (then Italian) in 1854, the son of Mr. Hugh Horatio Brown, of Newhall, Edinburgh, and Carlöps, Peebles, and of a daughter of the Macdonells of Glengarry. He entered Clifton College in 1864 and came under the influence of John Addington Symonds in his schooldays. Obtaining an exhibition to New College, Oxford, he read for the classical schools, and he took a second class in Lit. Hum. in 1877. His father having died while he was at school in 1883, he went with his mother to live in Venice, and before long began to write. "Life on the Lagoons" appeared in 1884, "Venetian Studies" in 1887, "The Venetian Printing Press" in 1891, and a volume of verse entitled "Drift" in 1900. In 1895 Brown brought out his "Life of John Addington Symonds" in two volumes. He supplemented it by a volume of "Letters and Papers" in 1923. Perhaps his most valuable writings from an historical point of view are "Venice, an Historical Sketch," and the volumes of the Calendar of State Papers (Venetian) edited by him. During the forty years he spent in Venice he knew most of the artists and men of letters who frequented this city. He came home to Scotland during the War, but afterwards returned to Italy. He was accorded many Venetian honours, and the LL.D. of Edinburgh. He was unmarried.

**22. Dr. Charles William Eliot**, aged 92, was for forty years America's most vigorous educational leader, revolutionising the methods at Harvard, and guiding the growth of a small college into a large university. Born at Boston, in 1834, of trader-merchant stock, he was educated at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard. After graduating he remained at Harvard for ten years, lecturing in the mathematical department, and then determined to study the educational systems of the European Universities. Starting in 1863, he pursued this purpose through England, France, Germany, and Italy. He went home to Boston to the Professorship of Chemistry in the new Institute of Technology. In 1869 the Corporation of Harvard elected Eliot to the Presidency, and in spite of criticism of this choice from, amongst others, Emerson and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Eliot proved that he was a unique President for following high educational ideals and for administrative power. In 1909, and again in 1913, he was offered the Ambassadorship to Great Britain, but declined on account of his advanced years. In 1911, however, he went round the world in the service of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was twice married, first to Miss Peabody, of Boston; and secondly, to Miss Grace Hopkinson. His son became a distinguished minister of the Unitarian Church in America.

**24. John Gordon Swift MacNeill, K.C.**, the historian and authority on constitutional law, was the son of an Episcopalian clergyman, and came of the family of Dean Swift and of the MacNeills of Burra. Born in 1849, he greatly distinguished himself at Trinity College, Dublin, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was called to the Bar in 1875, and for six years, before entering Parliament, he was Professor of Constitutional and Criminal Law at King's Inn, Dublin; and after 1909, Professor of Constitutional Law and of the Law of Public and Private Wrongs in the National University of Ireland. He was a great authority on Parliamentary history and procedure. He represented South Donegal as a Nationalist from 1887 to 1918, when the party was overthrown by Sinn Féin. His eccentricities and excitability caused him to be much caricatured, but he was much attached to the House of Commons. He opposed the cession of Heligoland to Germany; he secured the abolition of flogging in the Royal Navy in 1906; he urged the passing of the Titles Deprivation (Enemies) Act in 1917. He wrote "The Irish Parliament: What it was and What it Did," 1885; "English Interference with Irish Industries," 1886; "How the Union was Carried," 1887;

"Titled Corruption," 1894; "Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland," 1917; "Studies in the Constitution of the Irish Free State," 1925; and a volume of reminiscences, "What I have Seen and Heard," 1925. He was unmarried.

27. **Dr. Nazim Bey**, the "Young Turk" leader, was hanged with three others at Angora for conspiring against the life of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, President of the Turkish Republic. A doctor by profession, Nazim took up the cause of the "Young Turks" in early manhood. He donned the disguises of an itinerant dervish and of a leechgatherer and made converts against the Government amongst the soldiers in every garrison town in Anatolia and in the European Provinces. When Abdul Hamid granted Turkey a constitution, Nazim became a member of the Executive and of the Committee of Union and Progress. But the agitator proved a dangerous politician. He strove to Ottomanise the schools of Macedonia, to impose Arabic script upon the Albanians, and to kill off Bulgar, Greek, and Serb leaders who resisted the new *régime*. In the War he headed the Ottoman Red Crescent at Salonica, and was arrested by the Greeks for arranging the escape of prisoners. In the interests of his Neo-Turanian theories he organised the great massacres of the Armenians in 1915. After the War he fled to Berlin to return speedily to Constantinople and engage once more in intrigue and sedition.

— **Mehmed Javid Bey**, aged 50, who was hanged with three others at Angora for conspiracy against the life of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, President of the Turkish Republic, came of a poor Salonica family of crypto-Jews outwardly professing Islam. He was, in turn, a bank clerk in Constantinople, translator to a newspaper, professor of political economy in a Normal School, and a private schoolmaster in Salonica. On the proclamation of the Constitution Javid, who possessed great intellectual capacity and oratorical gifts, became a member of the Young Turk Committee. In 1909, after some trouble owing to his extreme views had died away, he became Minister of Finance, and rose to be one of the most prominent members of the Cabinet. He had several political ups and downs before the War broke out. Javid wished to keep Turkey out of the War, and mentioned this in his last oration in self-defence. He was Minister of Finance again in 1917 and in 1919, and fled to Lausanne when Izzet Pasha fell. In 1923 he returned to a new Turkey. His abilities were first employed by the Nationalists, but he soon made enemies. It was known he was suspect of the Kemalist Popular Party, and a meeting at his house in Constantinople of former members of the Committee of Union and Progress proved fatal to him.

29. **Dr. J. G. Adami**, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, was born in 1862 and educated at Owens College, Manchester; Christ's College, Cambridge; Breslau, and Paris. In 1887 he was made a demonstrator of Pathology at Cambridge, and in 1892 he was appointed Strathcona Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology in McGill University, Montreal. In 1911 he became President of the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, and President of the Association of American Physicians. On the outbreak of the War he was gazetted a Colonel in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, and became Medical Historical Recorder of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and Assistant Director of Medical Services. After the War he worked with zeal for Liverpool University, and was much interested in the treatment of cancer. He was elected F.R.S. in 1905, and made C.B.E. in 1919. He was twice married, and left a son and daughter.

— **The Rev. John Edward Stocks, D.D.**, Canon of Peterborough and sometime Archdeacon of Leicester, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury, was born in 1843, the son of Mr. Samuel Stocks, of Leeds. He took honours in Lit. Hum. in 1867 at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1871 he

took his first position as Vicar of Market Harborough. In 1891 he was made Rural Dean of Christianity (of Leicester), and in 1899 Archdeacon of Leicester. From 1902 to 1914 he was Rector of Misterton, and he became a resident Canon of Leicester when he retired, having been previously an hon. Canon. Canon Stokes was notable for his connexion with the Southern Lower House of Convocation. From 1903 he was editor of the "Chronicle of Convocation," and in 1913 he was elected Prolocutor and Referendary. He edited "A Chronological List of Reports of Convocation, 1847-1881," published in 1909, and a continuation of the same list carried up to April, 1921. He married, in 1871, a daughter of Mr. Thomas Mallam, and was survived by six sons and four daughters.

31. **Somers Clarke**, aged 85, the ecclesiastical architect, was the son of a Brighton solicitor. At the age of 23 he entered Sir G. Gilbert Scott's office, and turned to ecclesiastical design. He designed St. John's, Gainsborough, and St. Martin's, Brighton, and carried out much church restoration. He was appointed Surveyor of the Fabric of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1897, and was one of those who moved the incomparable monument to Wellington from a side chapel to the Nave. He co-operated with Sir W. B. Richmond in the internal decorations of St. Paul's, and designed the electric lighting. In 1900 he was made architect to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester Cathedral. In 1922 he retired and went to live in Egypt, and assisted in the repair of ancient temples. He wrote "Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley." He was for forty-five years a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and served on its Council.

— **Maharajah Sir Ugyen Wangchuck, G.S.I.E., K.C.I.E.**, was ruler of the mountain kingdom of Bhutan, on the north-east frontier of India. Born in 1861, he succeeded his father as a youth. Before his reign there had been in Bhutan both a spiritual rajah (supposed to be an incarnation of the deity) and a temporal rajah, but Ugyen Wangchuck showed a valour and a diplomatic gift that caused his subjects to do away with his rival, the spiritual rajah. He was very enlightened, and accompanied Younghusband's expedition into Tibet in 1904, aiding him in the negotiations with the Tibetans, and was awarded the K.C.I.E. In 1907 he was proclaimed sole Maharajah of Bhutan. In 1910 a new treaty was made between the British Government and Bhutan, and the Maharajah adhered faithfully to his obligations. He was made K.C.S.I. in 1911 and G.C.S.I. in 1921.

## SEPTEMBER.

9. **Herbert William Page**, the eminent surgeon and spinal specialist, was one of the four sons of Mr. W. B. Page, F.R.C.S., of Carlisle, and was born in 1845. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University, and proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in both Arts and Medicine, taking, in due course, the degree of Master of Surgery, and being elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. In the Franco-Prussian War he was sent to Darmstadt as Assistant-Surgeon in the Hessian division of the German Army. On his return Page practised for a time with his father in Carlisle. In 1876 he was elected Assistant Surgeon at St. Mary's Hospital, London, and he was attached to this hospital for the rest of his life, being its consulting surgeon at his death. He served as President of the Neurological Society, an unusual honour for a surgeon. He retired from active work in 1906, having raised St. Mary's Hospital to a very high position in the medical world. His principal books were "Injuries of the Back without apparent Mechanical Lesions in their Surgical and Medico-Legal Aspects," 1881, a second enlarged edition of which appeared in 1885, and "Railway Injuries," 1893. Page was twice married, and left two daughters.

— **Septimus Rivington**, aged 80, was senior partner in the publishing firm of Rivington & Co., and the great-great-grandson of Charles Rivington, who

founded the firm in 1711. His father, Francis Rivington, had fourteen children, and Septimus was his seventh son. He was educated at Tonbridge School and Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1868. On being taken into partnership by his brother, Francis Hansard Rivington, he proceeded to develop the publishing of educational books in a business previously noted for its theological output. In 1887 serious illness afflicted him, so that, two years later, he was forced to retire, and the business was sold to Messrs. Longmans in 1890. But he went back into publishing along with a son of the late Bishop of Hereford on his recovery, and built up a new Rivington & Co. on the same lines as the old. He married, in 1870, Miss Edith Elisabeth Morgan, who died in 1910, leaving two sons and three daughters.

**14. Dr. John Louis Emil Dreyer**, President of the Royal Astronomical Society from 1923 to 1925, was descended from a well-known Danish family of soldiers. Born in Copenhagen in 1852, the son of Lieut.-General F. Dreyer, he was educated at Copenhagen University, and from 1874 to 1878 was Astronomer at Lord Rosse's Observatory in Ireland. From 1878 to 1882 he was Assistant at the Dublin University Observatory, and from 1882 to 1916 Director of the Armagh Observatory. He specialised in the study of nebulae, and a Catalogue of Nebulae written by him was published by the Royal Astronomical Society in 1888, and twice afterwards he published supplementary catalogues. Dr. Dreyer wrote much on astronomical history, notably a work on "Planetary Systems from Thales to Kepler," published in 1906. He was on the committee which edited Sir William Herschel's collected works, to which he wrote the introductory memoir. At the centenary of the Royal Astronomical Society he wrote a large part of its history. He wrote a monumental work on Tycho Brahe, in fourteen volumes, ten of which were published and the rest ready for publication before his death. Dr. Dreyer retired to Oxford in 1916, and received an hon. M.A. from the University. He was already an hon. D.Sc. of Belfast. In 1916 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society. He married, in 1875, an Irish lady, Miss Katherine Tuthill, and left three sons and a daughter.

— **Frederick William Gamble**, Mason Professor of Zoology in the University of Birmingham, was the son of Mr. William Gamble, and was born in Manchester in 1869. He was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and Manchester University, where he graduated B.Sc. with first-class honours in 1891, and obtaining the Bishop Berkeley Fellowship in 1892, proceeded to Leipzig University. On his return to Manchester he became lecturer and demonstrator in zoology, and afterwards assistant director of the University Zoological Laboratories. He took the degree of D.Sc. in 1900 and in 1907 was made a F.R.S. In 1909 he became Professor of Zoology at Birmingham. He wrote "Animal Life" (1908), "The Animal World" (1911), and edited the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions of "Practical Zoology" by Marshall and Hurst.

**15. Dr. Rudolf Eucken**, aged 80, was for many years Professor of Philosophy at Jena. Born at Aurich, in Frisia, he studied at Göttingen under Lotze and Frendelenburg. After five years of school teaching he became, in 1871, Professor of Philosophy at Basel, and in 1874 he was called to the Chair of Philosophy at Jena, which he occupied till 1920. His attention was centred on ethics and their relation to religion. To clear the confused currents of the thought of to-day, he advocated neither religion, science, individualism, socialism, rationalism, nor education, but activism, the living of our lives fully so as to attain to a knowledge of truth and to a higher personality. He trusted to instinct and intuition rather than reason to solve the great mystery of life. Amongst other works he wrote "The Problem of Life," and "The Problem of Immortality." His earliest, and possibly his most valuable book was "A History of Philosophical Terminology," written in 1879. In 1914, before the war, he published a book bidding his countrymen realise that the true sources of national greatness

were spiritual, not material. He was made an hon. D.D. of Glasgow in 1901, and accepted also hon. degrees from Syracuse and New York Universities. He was awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1908.

**15. The Rev. J. M. H. Du Pontet de la Harpe**, aged 90, was for many years an outstanding figure in the religious life of London. Born in the Canton de Vaud of an ancient family, he studied at Geneva, taking the degree of B.D., and went to visit London. In 1861 he was persuaded by eminent persons of the evangelical school of religion of that day to start evangelising the French-speaking foreigners in London, and by 1865 he had founded the *Eglise Réformée Evangelique Française* of Bayswater, of which he remained pastor till 1920, when he retired. With the help of his highly-placed friends, he started and kept going, in connexion with his church, a Sunday School, a Day School of over 100 boys and girls, a Home for Governesses, a Medical Mission, and various clubs for young people. He was aided in the work of the medical mission by his brother-in-law, Baron A. de Watteville, M.D., the brain specialist. In 1867 Mr. Du Pontet married Ellen de la Harpe, and added her name to his own. She survived him with three sons and three daughters.

**18. Narayen Madhav Samarth**, member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, was the tenth Indian to serve in that capacity. Lawyer, journalist, and politician, he was a capable and tenacious worker, and practised in the Bombay High Court for thirty years. He first rose into prominence in Indian affairs when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were being evolved, and he came to this country to give qualified support to the general scope of the scheme. The deputation exercised a substantial influence on the conclusions of the Joint Select Committee on the Bill of 1919, presided over by Lord Selborne. Mr. Samarth organised an Indian Reforms Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Clwyd, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament; and he was the means of setting up a Committee which devised methods by which racial discrimination was removed from the Code of Criminal Procedure. He served also on the North-West Frontier Committee. He was one of the Indian members of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services which sat in 1924, and was elected shortly after to fill a vacancy on the Council of the Secretary of State at Whitehall. His wife, three sons, and three daughters survived him.

**19. Sir Evelyn Mountstewart Grant Duff**, British Minister at Berne during the first two years of the war, was the second son of the Right Hon. Sir Mountstewart Grant Duff, F.R.S. Born in 1863, he entered the Foreign Office in 1888, and served at Rome, Teheran, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and Berlin. He was in attendance on the Shah of Persia during his visit to England in 1902, and in 1903 was appointed Secretary of Legation at Teheran. He was transferred to Madrid in 1906. In 1910 he was made C.M.G. and appointed Consul-General for Hungary. In 1913 he was appointed Minister at Berne. In 1914 Berne became a key position, and it was Grant Duff's task to maintain good relations between England and the Swiss Government while German propaganda was at white heat in Switzerland. The Germans tried to embroil Grant Duff with the Swiss Government, but his fine tact and his perfect knowledge saved the situation. In 1900 he married Edith Florence, daughter of Sir George Bonham, former British Minister at Berne. Lady Grant Duff assisted her husband in establishing in Berne the British section of the *Bureau de Secours aux Prisonniers de Guerre*. Sir Evelyn was made K.C.M.G., but was compelled, in 1916, to resign office for reasons of health.

— **Dr. Edward Vernon Arnold**, well known as a teacher of Latin, was born in 1857, the son of the Rev. C. M. Arnold, vicar of St. Mark's, South Norwood. Educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge (where he won the Bell Scholarship), he took first classes in the Classical and in the Mathematical



Triposes. He was elected a Fellow of Trinity in 1880, and he studied for a while at Tübingen University. From 1884 to 1924 he was Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales. He was a vice-president of the Classical Association and one of the editors of the *Classical Quarterly*. Dr. Arnold wrote two books of great value, the first on Vedic Metre (1905), and the second on "Roman Stoicism" (1910). A third book, written along with Professor Conway, on "The Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin" went through four editions. His "War Time Lectures" and "Ferment of Revolution" were written to show the radical necessity of upholding the authority of the State. He married, in 1894, Violet, daughter of Lieut.-Colonel R. D. Osborn, and left three sons and two daughters.

27. **General José Maria Orellana**, President of Guatemala, was born in the town of Jicaro, in July, 1872, the son of Don Estaban Orellana and of Dona Leonor Pinto. At the age of 14 he entered the Escuela Politécnica, a famous military institution, where, owing to his natural abilities, he made such good progress that when he entered the army he was given speedy promotion. Having been elected a Deputy in the National Congress, General Orellana attained to many high political positions, the crowning point of which was his election, in December, 1921, to the Presidency of the Republic. The results of his wise administration were seen in the extension of roads, the stabilisation of the exchanges, and the establishment of the Central Bank of Guatemala.

28. **Mrs. Helen Allingham**, aged 78, the water-colour painter, was the daughter of Dr. A. H. Paterson, and married William Allingham, the Irish poet, in 1874. He died in 1889, leaving her with two sons and a daughter. In her girlhood, after a training at the Royal Academy School, she began to work professionally, drawing in black and white for the *Graphic* and the *Cornhill*. In 1890 she became a member of the Royal Water-Colour Society, and for about fifty years she was a regular exhibitor at its annual exhibition. She painted idyllic scenes of country life with some affinities in style to the work of the pre-Raphaelites, and she counted Ruskin among her enthusiastic admirers. She illustrated, amongst other books, "The Homes of Tennyson," written by her brother; and after her husband's death she edited three volumes of his correspondence.

## OCTOBER.

5. **Sir John Bucknill**, Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court since 1920, was born in 1873, and educated at Charterhouse and Keble College, Oxford, where he took honours in natural science, and was soon known as an ornithologist. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1896, and after practising at home for six years, held a number of legal and judicial appointments in the Transvaal, Cyprus, Hong-Kong, and Singapore. Sir John Bucknill was a Fellow of the Zoological Society, and wrote "The Birds of Surrey," published in 1901. In South Africa he edited the *Ornithologists' Journal*, and in Cyprus he wrote a book on the birds of the island.

— **Frank Wyatt**, aged 70, the comedian, was continuously before the London public from 1877 to 1897, and was specially distinguished in comic opera. As a young man he studied at the Royal Academy Schools, and successfully exhibited and sold his pictures. At that time he added to his income as an entertainer. He made his first stage appearance under Charles Wyndham as a funkey. Irving gave him the one classic part of his career, Sir Andrew Aguecheek. He then turned to comic opera, and took part in "Erminie" and "Paul Jones," and made an admirable Duke of Plaza-Toro in "The Gondoliers." He married Miss Violet Melnotte, owner of the Duke of York's Theatre. This theatre was opened in 1892

under the name of the Trafalgar Square Theatre. Wyatt wrote several plays, notably "The Two Recruits" and "Our Regiment," also librettos.

7. **Sir Charles Rivaz**, aged 81, formerly Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, was the son of Mr. John Theophilus Rivaz, of Watford Hall, Watford, who for thirty years served as a civilian in the United Provinces. Mr. Rivaz's four sons all went to the Punjab, either in the Army, the Law, or the Civil Service. Charles went to the Punjab in 1864, and steadily made his way in that province. He was superintendent of the Kapurthala State, later a divisional Commissioner, and subsequently Financial Commissioner. He represented the province in 1896 on the Vice-Regal Legislative Council, and in 1897 became a temporary member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, being confirmed in this appointment in 1898. His outstanding work was the promotion of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill, which was supported by Lord Curzon. In 1896 Rivaz received the C.S.I., and in 1901 the K.C.S.I. In 1902 he was made Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab. His administration saw the beginnings of great canal colonies. Sir Charles married, in 1874, Emily, daughter of the late Major-General Agnew, Bengal Staff Corps, and left three sons.

— **Arthur Bingham Walkley**, dramatic critic, was born at Bristol in 1855, the son of Mr. A. H. Walkley of that city. From Warminster School he won a mathematical exhibition to Balliol College, Oxford, whither he went at 17. The next year he migrated to Corpus Christi College, where he was cox of his college eight. In 1875 he obtained a first class in Mathematical Moderations, and in 1877 a first class in the Final School of Mathematics. A linguist as well as a mathematician, Walkley entered the Civil Service in 1877 and was appointed to a clerkship in the Department of the Secretary to the Post Office; by 1911 he had risen to the rank of Assistant Secretary. In 1919, though an exceptionally able civil servant, he retired from the Post Office to devote himself exclusively to letters. In the nineties he was one of the young men who made the *Speaker* famous, and he became dramatic critic to the *Star* when it was founded. In 1899 he was appointed dramatic critic to *The Times*, and to the day of his death his articles therein grew more and more famous. They showed Walkley to be a sane critic, a wit, a lover of Jane Austen, and a disciple of Anatole France. He married Frances Eldridge, who, with one daughter, survived him.

— **Emil Kraepelin**, a pioneer of psychiatry, distinguished himself as a medical student by writing a prize treatise on the influence of acute bodily illness on the mind. He was then a disciple of Wundt at Leipzig. Before graduating, he was made an assistant at the psychiatric clinic at Würzburg, and was there for two years. Later he held a similar post at Munich. After practising general medicine for some years, in 1886 he returned to his special subject, being made Professor at Dorpat. He had written much, and had become known by a work entitled "Ab-schaffung des Strafmasses," showing that punishment should aim at correction rather than penalisation, and by a "Compendium der Psychiatrie" which was "Kraepelinsche Psychiatrie" in embryo. Kraepelin spent four years at Dorpat, and set up a new clinic for the University there. From 1890 to 1922 he was Professor at Heidelberg. He published a collection called "Psychologische Arbeiten," a series of treatises on such subjects as the effects on the mind of poison, fatigue, alcohol, habit, tension, and the feeling of drawing to a conclusion in work. He worked out on a small scale what is now accepted as the technique of psychology. The work on which rests his widest fame was the "Klassifikation der Geisteskrankheiten," a classification never before this time attempted. He waged war against alcohol, a thankless task in Germany. In 1922 he went to live in Munich, and his last scientific work was the "Deutsche Forschungs-Anstalt für Psychiatrie."

9. **Sir Arthur Acland**, one of the last surviving "colleagues" of Mr. Gladstone, was born in 1847, the younger son of the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Dyke

Acland, eleventh baronet of Colomb John, and educated at Rugby and Christ Church, Oxford, where he was keenly interested in economics. In 1871 he was appointed Lecturer at Keble College; in 1883 he succeeded Arnold Toynbee as Senior Bursar of Balliol; and in 1888 was elected an Hon. Fellow. In 1885 he stood for the Rotherham Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and was elected by a large majority. Rotherham remained faithful to him until he retired from Parliament in 1899. At the Home Rule split he followed Mr. Gladstone, and in 1892 Acland was made Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. During his tenure of office, amongst other good work he saw to the structural improvement of schools, raised the age of compulsory attendance at schools, and gave Wales an Act for Intermediate Education. Acland wrote a handbook on the political history of England, a study of working men co-operators, and a life of his father, and made a selection from Wordsworth's patriotic poetry in 1915. He succeeded his brother as thirteenth baronet in 1919. In 1873 he married Alice Sophia, daughter of the Rev. F. M. Cunningham, Rector of Brightwall, Wallingford, and was succeeded by his only surviving son.

10. **Dr. Edwin Abbott Abbott**, scholar, critic, and schoolmaster, was the son of Edwin Abbott, Head Master of the Philological School, Marylebone. Born in 1838, he was sent to the City of London School, and left it in 1857 with a scholarship to St. John's, Cambridge. In 1861 he became Senior Classic and Senior Chancellor's Medallist. He then turned to the study of Hebrew and of New Testament Greek, and was ordained in the Church of England. He was elected Fellow of St. John's in 1862, and fifty years later Hon. Fellow, a distinction followed in the next year by his election as a Fellow of the British Academy. Abbott taught for a short time at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and at Clifton College; but at the age of 26 he was appointed Head Master of the City of London School. After twenty-four years of eminently successful work, during which his school became famous at the Universities, Dr. Abbott retired to Hampshire to give himself up wholly to critical and constructive authorship. His principal works were a Shakespearian Grammar (1870), "English Lessons for English People," written with J. R. Seeley, "Bacon's Essays" (1876), "Bacon and Essex," and later, "An Account of the Life and Works of Francis Bacon." In the theological group of his works are "Bible Lessons" and other school classics, "Through Nature to Christ, or Through the Illusion to the Truth" (1877), "Philochristus, or the Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord," written in Elizabethan English, "Onesimus" (1882), "Silanus the Christian" (1906), an article on "The Gospels" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Synopticon" (1881), and "Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels" (1884), written along with W. R. Rushbrooke, "The Kernel and the Husk" (1886), "The Spirit on the Waters" (1897), "Clue, a Guide through Greek and Hebrew Scripture," and "Diatessarica." In 1863 Abbott married Mary Rangeley, who died in 1919. They had a son and a daughter.

17. **Henri Edouard Naville**, aged 82, the Egyptologist, was born at Geneva and educated at King's College, London (of which college he was afterwards a Fellow), and at the Universities of Bonn, Paris, and Berlin. He was one of the first excavators for the Egypt Exploration Fund, directing an expedition between 1893 and 1896, when Mr. Flinders Petrie was also directing an expedition. Naville excavated two temples opposite Thebes; the results of both this and his second series of excavations which extended from 1903 to 1907, were published *in extenso* by the Egypt Exploration Society, and M. Naville frequently lectured on his discoveries. His third excavation was of the subterranean funerary temple of King Seti I. (1320 B.C.), known as the Osireion at Abydos. This work was interrupted by the war, and M. Naville was not able to resume it. He received academic and other honours in France, Italy, Sweden, Prussia, Britain, and other countries, and was made honorary Professor of Egyptology at Geneva University. He married, in 1873, Marguerite, daughter of Count Alexandre de Pourtalès, and had two sons and two daughters.

**20. Field-Marshal Sir Arthur Arnold Barrett** was born in 1857, the third son of the Rev. Alfred Barrett, D.D., of Carshalton. Appointed sub-lieutenant in the 44th Foot in 1875, he went to India, and took part in the operations at Kabul in 1879 and in the historic march to the relief of Kandahar. In 1882 he was transferred to the 5th Gurkhas, and took part in the Hazara expedition of 1888, and several other operations. In 1895 he was promoted Major, and when the frontier blaze of 1897-98 broke out he was appointed D.A.Q.M.C. of the largest force ever mobilised against tribesmen in India. In 1905 he was made D.A.G., Northern Command, and in 1907 promoted Major-General. For his part in the Bazar Valley Expedition and the operations against the Mohmands in 1908 he received the K.C.B. In 1909 he became Adjutant-General in India. During the war Barrett was given important commands in Mesopotamia; but having to return to India owing to ill-health, he held there a number of responsible appointments, including the command of the North-West Frontier Force, in 1919. At the age of 37 he married Mary Haye, of Fowey, Cornwall, who died three years later, leaving a daughter; and a second time, in 1907, he married Miss Ella Lafone, of South Kensington, who died in 1917.

**21. Eugene Debs**, aged 70, was a prominent figure in the American Labour Movement. Born at Terre Haute, Indiana, the son of two emigrants from Alsace, he was educated at the elementary school and at a commercial college, and at 15 began work at a railway paint shop. He became a fireman, then a grocer, and was subsequently chosen city clerk of Terre Haute on the Democratic ticket. In 1884 he was elected to the Indiana Legislature, but he refused re-election. Debs became President of the American Railway Union in 1893, and took a prominent part in the railway strikes of 1894 and the miners' strike of 1897. He was nominated by the Social Democratic Party as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1916, each time obtaining an increased vote. In 1918 he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for advising disloyalty and obstructing recruiting, but he was released by President Harding in less than three years.

**26. Sir James Weeks Szlumper, M.Inst.C.E.**, aged 92, was a prominent railway engineer, and was three times Mayor of Richmond. The son of Mr. Albert Szlumper, of Liverpool, he became an engineer, and was appointed assistant to Hamilton Fulton, the engineer of the Manchester-Milford Line. This line was abandoned, but Szlumper subsequently built various Welsh railways, including the line from Aberystwith to Carmarthen, a line to the Devil's Bridge, the Cardiff-Ogmore line, the Vale of Glamorgan line, and the Pontypridd, Caerphilly, and Newport Railway. Sir James married, in 1867, Miss Mary Culliford, of Bristol, who died in 1914, leaving a son and two daughters.

**28. William Joseph Hussey**, Professor of Astronomy at Michigan University, was born in 1862 at Ohio, and graduated B.Sc. at Michigan in 1889 and Sc.D. at Brown University in 1912. In 1892 he went as Assistant Professor of Astronomy to Leland Stanford Junior University, afterwards succeeding to the Chair. From 1896 to 1905 he was Astronomer at Lick Observatory, and in 1905 he returned to Michigan as Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory. From 1911 to 1917 he was also Professor of Astronomy and Geodesy at the University of La Plata, and Director of the National Observatory. Hussey discovered 1,650 double stars, and in 1906 was awarded the Lalande prize by the French Academy. He was a foreign associate of the Royal Astronomical Society, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.

**29. Sir Edward Henry Busk**, lawyer and educationist, was the only son of Mr. H. W. Busk, barrister-at-law. Born in London in 1844 he was educated at University College School, University College, London, and Manchester New College, and graduated in the University of London B.A. in 1863, and LL.B. in

1866. From 1868 to 1899 he practised as a solicitor, at the same time throwing himself into administrative work for several famous schools. He was made a Fellow of the University of London in 1892, and was knighted in 1901. He served as Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1905-7, and was Chairman of Convocation and a member of the Senate from 1892 to 1922. As an educationist he did much to mould the administrative policy of the University in London. He married, in 1880, Marian, daughter of the late Mr. Lewis Balfour.

## NOVEMBER.

4. **Henry Turner Waddy**, Metropolitan Police Magistrate at Tower Bridge Police Court, was born in 1863, the second son of the late Judge S. D. Waddy, K.C., M.P., and educated at the Leys School, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1885. In 1913 he was appointed Recorder of Scarborough, and in 1917 he was made a Metropolitan Police Magistrate. In 1925, in "The Police Court and its Work," he related what his experience had taught him about the law, the duties of a magistrate, and human nature. He was at his best in writing on the human side of his work in the chapters on the Children's Courts, the work of the police court missionaries and probation officers, judicial humour, difficult witnesses, and the social problems of the poor. He married, in 1890, Alice Maud, daughter of Mr. William Dingley, and had one son and four daughters.

— **Robert Newman**, Manager of the Promenade Concerts at Queen's Hall, was at once a business man and a musician. Born in 1858, he studied at the Royal Academy of Music, and had been for long an enthusiastic singer in oratorio when the opening of Queen's Hall, in 1893, brought him the opportunity of his life. He began management there, and in 1895 launched the first season of Promenade Concerts with Henry Wood as conductor. The success of these concerts was great, and Newman subsequently inaugurated the Saturday Symphony Concerts, and in 1897 the Sunday Afternoon Concerts. He organised, also, two important musical festivals in 1899 and 1902, bringing the *Lamoureux Orchestra* from Paris to collaborate with the Queen's Hall orchestra. When a syndicate was formed to carry on the Queen's Hall Concerts, Newman was retained as manager.

— **Dr. John Owen**, Bishop of St. David's, was one of the four surviving Welsh Bishops appointed before the disestablishment of the Welsh Church. Born in 1854, the son of Mr. Griffith Owen, of Ysgubor-wen, Llanengan, he was educated at a neighbouring grammar school, and at Jesus College, Oxford, whither he went with a scholarship. A Calvinistic Methodist by training, he joined the Welsh Church as a young man. In 1879 he was ordained deacon, and in 1880 priest, after having become Welsh Professor and Classical Lecturer at St. David's College, Lampeter. In 1889 he was made Dean of St. Asaph's, and took a prominent part in inducing Lord Salisbury's Government to pass the Tithes Act of 1891, making the tithe payable by landlord instead of tenant. In 1892 he returned to Lampeter College as its Principal, and was one of those who brought about the establishment of the Central Welsh Board of Education and of the University of Wales. In 1897 he was made Bishop of St. David's. In 1906, when the Welsh Church Commission was appointed, he compiled statistics and prepared memoranda to represent the case of the Church, and opposed Mr. McKenna's Welsh Church Bill with deadly effect, addressing meetings in both Welsh and English. When the Welsh Church was disestablished he was one of those who obtained the best terms from the Government. He married, in 1882, Miss Amelia Longstaff, of Appleby, and had four sons and six daughters.

7. **Frank Kildson**, musical and literary antiquary, wrote much in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians" on old Scottish and English songs and

their origins. He was one of the founders, in 1898, of the Folk Song Society, and was associated with Cecil Sharp in the production of the Journals of the Society. He inherited a remarkable library from his father, which he largely increased and housed in his home in Leeds. He wrote "British Music Publishers" and "Leeds Pottery," and collaborated with Miss Mary Neal in "English Dance and Song." He edited with Mr. Alfred Moffat and Mr. Martin Shaw respectively two of the best collections of English songs.

8. **James K. Hackett**, notable as an actor, manager, and producer, was at his best as Macbeth, in which part he first appeared at the Criterion Theatre, New York, in 1916. In November, 1920, he produced the play at the Aldwych Theatre, London, with Mrs. Patrick Campbell as Lady Macbeth. The French Government invited Mr. Hackett to play Macbeth in English at the Odéon Theatre, Paris, and this performance, on June 7, 1921, with Miss Sybil Thorndike as Lady Macbeth and Mr. John Drinkwater as Banquo became an inter-allied demonstration, it being the first time that American, French, and British artists had appeared together at a National Theatre by official invitation. He appeared as Othello at Stratford-on-Avon in 1922, and as Shakespeare at the Paris Opera at the tercentenary celebrations of Molière's birth. On his return to New York in 1924 he was made a freeman of the city, the first actor to receive that honour.

— **Edward Bell**, Chairman of the publishing house of George Bell & Sons, and the eldest son of the founder of the firm, was born in 1844. Educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered his father's business in 1867, taking an active part in its affairs till his death at 82. He quickly showed an aptitude for publishing, and helped to extend the business which had been built up through the famous Bohn Libraries. In 1872 the firm became George Bell & Sons, and in 1890 George Bell died and his sons moved the business to York House. Edward Bell had scholarly tastes, and was anxious for the advancement of learning. He issued the works of many poets and men of letters, and not a few distinguished works on architecture and archæology. Mr. Bell was an F.S.A., a member of the Classical Association, and of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and himself wrote much on the Origins of Architecture. He married, in 1873, Alice, daughter of the Rev. J. Van Rees Hoets, vicar of Mowbray, Cape Colony, who died in 1917. One son and three daughters survived him.

11. **Henry Elford Luxmoore**, aged 85, was for more than forty years a master at Eton College, and was revered and beloved by generations of Etonians. The second son of the Rev. Henry Luxmoore, Vicar of Barnstaple, of ancient Devon lineage, he entered Eton as a collegier in 1852. In 1859 he obtained a Rous Scholarship at Pembroke College, Oxford, and went up in 1860. He was placed in the first class in both the classical schools, and returned to Eton as an Assistant Master in 1864 when Dr. Balston was Head Master. He saw also the headmasterships of Dr. Hornby, Dr. Warre, and part of that of Dr. Lyttelton. In 1870 he became Master in College, and he afterwards had a boarding house. In 1908 Mr. Luxmoore retired and went to live at Baldwin's End. He was a man of fine perceptions, a painter in water colours as well as a writer of essays.

12. **Joseph Gurney Cannon**, aged 90, was the former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and for forty-six years a member of that House. Born in North Carolina, he was a boy of 16 when his father died, and while working in a country store he qualified for the law. He was called to the Bar of Illinois in 1858 and built up a practice in the town of Danville. From 1861 to 1868 he was a State Attorney. He entered Congress in 1873 and served there till 1923 with but two short breaks. He was Speaker of the House from 1903 to 1911, and ruled the House with an iron hand. He was a Tory of the Tories, and a typical rough and ready gentleman of the Middle West, great in debate and famous for "horse sense."

**12. Allen Upward**, novelist and writer, was born in 1863 at Worcester, the son of Mr. George Upward, J.P. He was educated at Great Yarmouth Grammar School, at the Royal University of Ireland, and also at the Inns of Court. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1887 and to the English Bar by the Middle Temple in 1888. In 1895 he contested Merthyr Tydfil as a Labour candidate but was defeated, and the same year he began, in a popular magazine, a series of articles on "Secrets of the Courts of Europe." He wrote a play called "A Flash in the Pan" which was produced in 1896, and after this many romances and spy stories and some religious works. In 1897 he fought as a volunteer in the invasion of Turkey by the Greeks. In 1901 he became British Resident in Northern Nigeria. His book, "Some Personalities" (1921), is said to be an autobiography. Upward committed suicide, the coroner's jury returning the usual verdict in such a case.

— **Coles Pasha**, aged 72, reformed the Egyptian prison system during his eighteen years' service as Director-General (1897-1915). Charles Edward Coles was the son of Major-General Gordon Coles, of Bath, and joined the Indian Police Department at Bombay in 1873. In 1883 he was lent to the Egyptian Government, and was made Deputy Inspector-General of Police in 1884. By his courage, perseverance, and administrative ability he entirely altered the prisons of Egypt. They were made sanitary, and the inmates were treated with justice and humanity, were given good food, and encouraged to learn an honest trade. He was created C.M.G. in 1900, and was made Pasha by the Khedive, receiving also Turkish decorations. He wrote several books, and in "Recollections and Reflections" (1919), he reviewed his own long service in Egypt. He married, in 1881, Miss M. F. I. Alston, of Odell, and had two sons and two daughters.

**14. The Right Hon. Frederick Leverton Harris**, aged 62, Conservative M.P. for Tynemouth, 1900-6, for Stepney, 1907-10, and for East Worcestershire 1914-18, was the son of Mr. F. W. Harris, of Combe House, Croydon, and was educated at Winchester and Caius College, Cambridge. In 1885 he became a partner in Harris & Dixon, coal factors and shipowners; he was also a director of the National Discount Co., and of the Metropolitan Electric Supply Co. Mr. Harris was appointed a member of Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Commission in 1904. When the war broke out he was attached to the Trade Division of the Admiralty as a commercial adviser. From May to December, 1916, he was Director of the Restriction of Enemy Supplies Department at the Foreign Office, and was sworn of the Privy Council, and was then till 1919 Under-Secretary of Blockade. In 1886 he married Gertrude, daughter of Mr. J. G. Richardson, the Irish philanthropist.

**16. John Swinnerton Phillimore**, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University, was the fourth son of Admiral Sir Augustus Phillimore, K.C.B., and was born in 1873. He was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, winning at Oxford two first classes, the Hertford, Craven, and Ireland Scholarships, and the Latin verse prize, and becoming President of the Union. He was made a Lecturer of Christ Church in 1895, and the next year Tutor and Student. In 1899, at the age of 26, he succeeded Professor Gilbert Murray in the Greek Chair at Glasgow University. In 1906, on the resignation of Professor George Ramsay, Phillimore was transferred to the Chair of Humanity at Glasgow, his influence as a teacher continually increasing. He played a large part in the social and intellectual life of the students. When, in 1905, he joined the Roman Catholic Church, the University Court declined to accept the resignation he tendered. In 1924 he attained his semi-jubilee as a Glasgow Professor, and his old students presented him with his portrait by Maurice Greiffenhagen, R.A. Though first rate as a Professor of Greek, he was even more remarkable as an interpreter of Latin. While his "Sophocles," with its introduction and version of "Œdipus the King," "Œdipus Colonus," and "Antigone" is masterly, he was a final authority on "Propertius," and edited the text of this author and

published also a translation of the greatest value. He brought out a volume of English poems in 1918. His last work was "The Hundred Best Latin Hymns." Phillimore married Cecily, daughter of the Rev. S. C. Spencer Smith, and had a son and a daughter.

18. **Sir Robert Peacock**, for twenty-seven years Chief Constable of Manchester, was born in Yorkshire in 1859, and began his career as a policeman. He was Chief Constable of Canterbury from 1882 to 1892, when he became Chief Constable of Oldham. After six years in Oldham, following a Home Office inquiry into the condition of the police force in Manchester, he was appointed Chief Constable of Manchester. His administration was most efficient, and his tenure was more than once extended after he had qualified for retirement. He was knighted in 1919, and created M.V.O. Sir Robert, by sheer force of character, rose from the lowest rung of the ladder, and always advocated full educational opportunities for all young men joining the police.

19. **Clement Shorter**, the journalist, was born in 1857, and in 1877 became a clerk at Somerset House. In 1890 he joined the staff of the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, but soon moved to the *Illustrated London News*, of which he was editor from 1891 to 1900. In 1893 he founded the weekly *Sketch*, which he also edited, as well as the *English Illustrated Magazine*. In 1900 he left the firm of Ingram and founded the *Sphere*, and in 1903 he founded the *Tatler*. Mr. Shorter was the author of many books of literary interest, particularly on the Brontë sisters, Borrow, and Boswell. He was one of the founders of the Omar Khayyám Club, and an ex-President of the Johnson Club. He made a great collection of valuable books and manuscripts, containing some unique specimens and many first editions. His first wife was Dora Sigerson, the Irish poetess, and he married secondly, in 1920, Miss Doris Banfield, who survived him with one daughter.

24. **Leonid Borissovich Krassin**, Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London, was born in 1870 in Kurgan, Tobolsk Province, Siberia, the son of a Civil Servant. As a student in Petrograd he took part in the revolutionary movement of 1890, and was sent back to his parents under police supervision in 1891. He became a close associate of Lenin. In 1897 he went to Berlin to complete his technical education, and established relations with the electrical firm of Siemens, who employed him later in Russia. He made powerful business friends, who protected him in 1907 and 1908, when arrested as a suspected revolutionary. During the war Krassin was at the head of the Siemens Co. in Russia, and acquired influence in Government circles. In the early revolution in 1917, until the Bolshevik *coup* in September, Krassin kept away from politics. He consented to become Commissary for Commerce and Industry when the new Government was firmly established. Lenin soon transferred him to the newly-created Commissariat for Foreign Trade, when he created the system of monopolising all trade relations with foreign countries. In 1920 Krassin was sent to London by the Soviet Government as the representative of Russian co-operative societies, to open relations with the British Government; in March, 1921, the Trade Agreement, recognising the sovereign status of the new Government, was signed. Krassin was appointed Ambassador in Berlin in May, 1922, in Paris in 1924, and in London in 1925. It has been claimed that while Lenin was the originator, creator, and leader of the Soviet System, Krassin actually brought into existence the new economic principles on which the Soviet Union is based.

26. **Ernest Belfort Bax**, aged 72, well known as a Socialist and writer on philosophy and economic history, was born of Puritan parentage, but went to Berlin to study music, turning more and more to the study of Kant and Hegel. On his return to England he was attracted by the various early Socialistic movements, and with William Morris he organised the Socialist League, editing with him the journal *Commonweal*. But he eventually left the League, and was



called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1894. He collaborated with Morris in "Socialism, its Growth and Outcome," but he will be remembered for his many philosophical and historical works—his "Handbook to the History of Philosophy" (1884), his edition of Kant's "Prolegomena" (1882), "The Problems of Reality" (1893), "The Roots of Reality" (1907), "Problems of Men, Mind, and Morals" (1912), "The Real, the Rational, and the Alogical" (1920). His historical writings included works on Jean Paul Marat, the French Revolution, and German Society at the end of the Middle Ages. In 1918 Bax published a volume of reminiscences, giving an authentic picture of his period.

27. **Charles Lethbridge Kingsford**, aged 63, the historian of the fifteenth century, was the third son of the Rev. Sampson Kingsford, Vicar of St. Hilary, Cornwall, and was educated at Rossall and St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1889 he joined the editorial staff of the "Dictionary of National Biography," and in the following year he was made an examiner in the Education Department, and was an Assistant Secretary from 1905 to 1912. During the war he was private secretary to Sir A. Boscawen at the Ministry of Pensions. Mr. Kingsford was Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1920 to 1923, Ford Lecturer on English History at Oxford from 1923 to 1924, and a Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society and the London Topographical Society. In 1924 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. In 1894, in collaboration with the late Mr. T. A. Archer, he published a book on the Crusades. Other of his works are: "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century," "Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England," "Henry V.," in the "Heroes of the Nations" series, articles on Sir Otto de Grandison and on the Grey Friars of London, and much in magazines and reviews. He married Alys, daughter of C. T. Hudson, LL.D., F.R.S.

— **John M. Browning**, aged 71, inventor of automatic weapons, was a member of the Mormon community, and was born at Ogden, Utah, the son of Jonathan Browning, a gunsmith. In 1879 he took out a patent for a breech-loading single shot rifle, and sold it to the Remington Company. His repeating rifle was patented in 1884; and in 1890 his machine-gun, known as the Colt, was adopted by the United States Army. His box magazine was patented in 1895. Browning designed many types of sporting rifles, such as the Winchester and the Stevens, and also the Colt automatic pistols. The Browning pistol, made at Liège, had reached its millionth example when the war broke out. In 1917, in the Test of guns to be used by the United States Army, the best was found to be a new gun designed by Browning which could fire 39,000 rounds before a breakage. Browning also designed an automatic rifle weighing only 15½ lb., which was adopted by the army, and in 1918, between September and the Armistice, 4,600 of these rifles were used in action.

29. **Harry Nicholls**, the comedian, was born in 1852, educated at the City of London School, spent a short time as a railway clerk, and began his stage career in 1870. From 1880 to 1893 he collaborated with Sir Augustus Harris in making famous the Drury Lane pantomimes, acting with the famous humorists, Herbert Campbell and Dan Leno. He played humorous parts in many plays, such as "A Run of Luck," "Human Nature," and "A Million of Money." From 1894 to 1899 he played at the Adelphi Theatre in such plays as "The Fatal Card" and "One of the Best." He married Miss Pettitt, the sister of Henry Pettitt, the resident dramatist of the Adelphi Theatre. Nicholls wrote a famous farce called "Jane," in collaboration with W. Lestocq. He collaborated with J. T. Tanner in "The Toreador," and with Seymour Hicks in "A Runaway Girl." He was a noted Freemason and a supporter of all theatrical benevolent institutions.

— **Carl Ethan Akeley**, hunter and artist, was obtaining specimens for the African Hall of the American Museum of Natural History when he died at Kabale,

**Uganda.** Born in Orleans County in 1864, he was educated at the State Normal School, New York, and turned subsequently from farming to taxidermy, and from taxidermy to big game hunting. He shot his specimens to study their structure as much as for sport. He was a talented sculptor and also a photographer, and he invented the camera which bore his name. His book, "In Brightest Africa," appeared in 1924. Before he began his connexion with the American Museum of Natural History in New York he had spent fifteen years with the Field Museum of Chicago. He was also for a time consulting engineer to the Investigation Research and Development Division of the United States Army Engineering Department.

**30. Sir Ellis Jones Ellis-Griffith, K.C.,** Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs from 1912 to 1915, was born in 1860, the son of Mr. T. M. Griffith, of Anglesey, and educated at Aberystwyth, and at Downing College, Cambridge, to which he went as a scholar, and of which he was later elected Fellow. He took a first class in the Law Tripos of 1883, and was President of the Union. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1887. In 1892 he was elected for Anglesey as a Gladstonian Liberal, and held that seat until 1918. In the meantime he took silk, and was Recorder of Birkenhead from 1907 to 1912. In 1912 he was made Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State to the Home Department. In 1909 he led a revolt among the Welsh Liberal members against the Government, demanding a promise of a Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which Bill he afterwards guided through the Commons. Sir Ellis Griffith was sworn of the Privy Council in 1914, and was created a baronet in 1918. He was absent from Parliament from 1918 to 1923, when he was elected for the Carmarthen Division, but he again retired in 1924. He married, in 1892, Mary, daughter of the late Rev. R. Owen, of Mold, and was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son, Ellis Arundell Ellis-Griffith.

## DECEMBER.

**5. Claude Oscar Monet,** the great Impressionist painter, was born in Paris on the same day as Auguste Rodin, November 14, 1840. His childhood was spent at Havre, and here he studied open-air painting with Eugène Boudin, and as early as 1856 Boudin and Monet held an exhibition together at Rouen. He next spent three years in Paris, but in 1860 left for Algeria to complete his military service in the Chasseurs d'Afrique. He returned to Havre invalided, and worked again with Boudin and with Jongkind, the Dutch artist. In 1863 Monet went again to Paris to enter the studio of Gleyre, and here he made the acquaintance of a group of painters who were carrying on the Barbizon tradition. In 1865 he exhibited two marine subjects at the Salon which showed his peculiar sensibility to the influence of light and atmosphere on the aspect of the objects painted. In 1867 Monet's "Women in a Garden" was rejected by the Salon, but was the means of introducing him to both Zola and Manet. There followed soon an informal association of artists which was called later the Impressionist School. It included Monet, Pissarro, Manet, Degas, Renoir, Cézanne, and others. During the siege of Paris Monet and Pissarro paid a visit to England, and Monet gained greatly in his art from his study of Turner and Constable. In 1874 the word "Impressionism" was coined from a work exhibited by Monet at the exhibition of the "Société Anonyme des Artistes, Peintres, Sculpteurs et Graveurs," entitled "Sunrise, an Impression." In 1889, when Monet shared an exhibition with Rodin at the Georges Petit Gallery, he had his first substantial success. Monet settled at Giverny in Normandy in 1883 and remained there for the rest of his life. He never received any honour from the State; he presented a series of "Waterlily" paintings to the French nation. At the age of 83 he went with his close friend, M. Clemenceau, to the Tuileries Gardens to visit the building specially set apart to contain them.

10. **Nikola Pashitch**, a famous Serbian statesman, was born in 1842 of obscure parentage, and was educated in Switzerland. He interested himself in politics from an early age, and came to the front in 1881, when he formed a Radical party which demanded the liberation of the Serb lands from Turkish and from Austro-Hungarian rule. Having stirred up an insurrection, Pashitch was condemned to death. He was, however, reprieved, broke prison, crossed the Bulgarian frontier, and fomented an agitation until King Milan was forced to abdicate. Early in King Alexander's reign he became Prime Minister, sometimes retiring from office to return to it almost immediately. In 1893 he was made Serbian Minister at St. Petersburg. Pashitch never condoned the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga in 1903. He returned to power in 1904, and in April, 1906, induced the regicides to abandon political life, thus making possible the resumption of political relations between Serbia and Great Britain. In 1909 Pashitch realised that Serbia could not risk war with Austria, but strengthened the Army and stabilised the position of the dynasty. He finally compelled the wild Prince George to renounce his rights in favour of his brother Alexander. In 1912 he supported the Balkan League, which effectually drove the Turk from the Balkans. Whether Pashitch was privy to the Sarajevo murder cannot, as yet, be said with certainty; throughout the war and during the peace-making, he was the representative politician of the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1921 he was once more Prime Minister.

11. **Sir William Tilden**, whose work on the specific heats of metals won wide recognition, was born in London in 1842 and educated at Bedford School and at the Royal College of Chemistry in Oxford Street. He was Demonstrator in Chemistry to the Pharmaceutical Society from 1864 to 1872, science master at Clifton College from 1872 to 1880, Professor of Chemistry and Metallurgy at Birmingham from 1880 to 1894, and in 1894 he succeeded Sir Edward Thorpe in the Chair of Chemistry in the Royal College of Science, South Kensington, retiring in 1909 as Emeritus Professor of the Imperial College of Technology. He served as President of the Institute of Chemistry from 1891 to 1894, and of the Chemical Society from 1903 to 1905, and received a knighthood in 1900. As a scientific investigator Tilden was known for his work on the constitution of turpenes, and he gave attention to the relation of specific heats of metals to atomic weight. His results were described in the Bakerian lecture for 1900 before the Royal Society, which awarded him the Davy Medal in 1908. He wrote many books on chemical subjects, and also a "Life of Sir William Ramsay" (1918), and "Famous Chemists: The Men and Their Work" (1921). Sir William Tilden was twice married, in 1869 to Miss Charlotte Bush, and in 1907 to Miss Julia Mary Ramie. Lady Tilden survived him, with the son of his first marriage.

13. **Jean Richepin**, aged 77, poet and playwright, was born at Medeah, in Algeria, and educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Paris. His "Chanson des Gueux" (1876) was his highest achievement in the way of revolutionary defiance, and he received for this volume of poetry a month's imprisonment. "Les Caresses," "Les Blasphèmes," and "La Mer" were other volumes of his poetry. Incidentally Richepin went to sea and worked as a dock labourer at Bordeaux. He wrote many brilliant dramas of which "La Glu" was the most remarkable. He wrote also "Le Filibustier," "Par la Glaive," "La Martyre," and "Don Quichotte," which were put in the repertory of the Comédie Française. In 1897 "Le Chemineau" was produced with the music of Xavier Leroux. He himself played with Sarah Bernhardt in his "Nana Sahib." He wrote several novels and many stories, but from 1900 onwards confined his literary efforts to journalism, and became known as an orator. But he was, before all things, a poet, a mixture of Hugo and Baudelaire; an insurgent against divine and social laws, but a great writer. In middle life he settled down and became an admirable *père de famille*. His last public appearance was as director of the Académie Française at the reception in 1926 of M. Georges Lecomte.

**13. Lord Emmott**, industrialist and politician, had built up a solid reputation as a leader in Lancashire industrial life before he entered Parliament. Alfred Emmott was born in 1858, the son of Thomas Emmott of Brookfield, Oldham, a cotton spinner, and his wife Hannah, daughter of John Barlow of Chorley. He was educated at the Friends' School at Kendal and at Tottenham, and took a London University degree in 1880. In 1881 he was admitted a partner in his father's firm, Emmotts & Wallshaw, cotton spinners, Oldham, and later he became its managing director. He became also President of the Oldham Chamber of Commerce, of the Master Cotton Spinners' Association for Oldham, and in 1891-92 was Mayor of Oldham. In 1899 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Oldham. In 1906 he was again returned by a large majority, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman made him Chairman of Committees. Emmott himself was a moderate Churchman, and in the education disputes of 1902 he exercised a moderating influence; in the excitement regarding Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909 and the Parliament Bill of 1910 he exhibited an equally single-hearted devotion to the responsibilities of his office. Lord Emmott's peerage was conferred on him on Mr. Asquith's recommendation in 1911 after his five years' work as Chairman of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker. In 1911 he became Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and from 1914 until the formation of the first Coalition Government he was First Commissioner of Works. He then became Director of the War Trade Department (an honorary position), and devoted all his energies to making this Department, so vital to victory, a success. After the war he took little part in party politics, but resumed his business interests. He became Chairman of Platt Bros. & Co., Oldham, and a director of Manchester Liners, Ltd., of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank, and of the National Boiler and General Insurance Co. In 1921 he was President of the World Cotton Congress held in Manchester and Liverpool. Lord Emmott was regarded as an ideal employer in Oldham. In 1887 he married Mary Gertrude, daughter of John William Lees of Oldham, who survived him with two married daughters.

**14. Dr. Hugh Campbell Ross**, famous for his researches into the causes and nature of cancer, was born in 1875, the son of General Sir Campbell Ross, K.C.B., and educated at the Isle of Wight College and St. Thomas's Hospital. Having qualified as M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. in 1898, he travelled for a while in Egypt and China. In the South African War he served as a surgeon and received five clasps to the Queen's Medal. From 1902 to 1906 he served as a surgeon in the Royal Navy, and from 1906 to 1908 he was medical officer of health at Cairo. There he started measures for the extermination of mosquitoes. In 1908 he went to Liverpool and became Director of Special Cancer Research at the Royal Southern Hospital. In 1910 Dr. Ross was appointed Director of the McFadden Research Fund at the Lister Institute, Chelsea, and advised the Home Office regarding industrial cancer and certain miners' diseases. He invented molybdenum-tungsten ultra-violet light processes, and introduced tungsten drugs and new medical tests. He wrote "Induced Cell Reproduction and Cancer" in four volumes (1914), and contributed the chapter on Egypt to his brother, Sir Ronald Ross's, "Prevention of Malaria" (1910).

**18. General Sir James Willcocks, G.C.B.**, a distinguished soldier, was born in 1857, the fourth son of Captain W. W. Willcocks, of the East India Company's service. He was educated privately, passed into Sandhurst in 1877, and in 1878 was gazetted 2nd lieutenant in the 100th Regiment, then quartered in the Punjab. After seeing a good deal of service in various parts of India, including frontier fighting in 1897, he was sent as second in command of the new Niger force to be raised in West Africa. With his Ashanti Field Force he relieved Kumasi where Sir Frederic Hodgson was beleaguered, and for this was created K.C.M.G., promoted Brevet-Colonel, and given the freedom of the City of London and a Sword of Honour. Colonel Willcocks served in South Africa in 1902,

and again in India, where, in 1910, he was appointed to command the Northern Army. On September 10, 1914, he was given command of the Indian Army Corps of the British Expeditionary Force, retaining command till September, 1915, and having become a full General in May. In 1917 he was made Governor of Bermuda and served the full term of five years. He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1887, created K.C.S.I. in 1913, K.C.B. in 1914, G.C.M.G. in 1915, and G.C.B. in 1921, and was also a grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Sir James Willcocks had brilliant literary gifts, and published three memorable books, "From Kabul to Kumassi" (1904), "With the Indians in France" (1920), and "The Romance of Soldiering and Sport" (1925). In 1889 he married Winifred, second daughter of Colonel Way, C.B., 7th Bengal Infantry, who survived him with one son, Major J. L. Willcocks, D.S.O., M.C.

22. **Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.**, aged 73, was the son of the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., minister and historian of the parish of Dunning, in Perthshire. He passed the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1873, graduated at Edinburgh University in 1874, and went up to Balliol College, Oxford. Here he obtained the Boden Sanscrit Scholarship in 1875, but did not stay to take his degree. He was posted to the Punjab and became, in time, Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government and Secretary to the Financial Commission. In 1900 Wilson became a member of the Punjab Legislature, and in 1901 he was made C.S.I. for famine work. From 1903 to 1907 he was Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department. In 1908 he became Financial Commissioner for the Punjab. At this period he conceived simultaneously with Sir Lionel Jacob the idea of the Triple Canal Irrigation project, which he lived to see add enormously to the economic wealth of the Land of the Five Rivers. He was promoted K.C.S.I. in 1909 and retired in 1911. Sir James settled in London and became Superintending Inspector under the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in Whitehall, and a Governor of the Agricultural Organisation Society. In July, 1914, he was appointed permanent delegate for Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, and became *Times* correspondent on the cereal crops of the world. Moving to Crieff, from 1917 to 1921 he was Chairman of the Central Agricultural Wages Committee for Scotland. He wrote "Farm Workers in Scotland," "Lowland Scotch as Spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire," and "The Dialects of Robert Burns," and published "Scottish Poems of Robert Burns in his Native Dialect." He wrote, also, works on tribal customs and dialects in India, and a grammar of Western Punjabi. Sir James Wilson married, in 1888, Anne Campbell, daughter of the Very Rev. Norman Macleod, D.D., who survived him. He lost his only son in the war.

25. **Yoshihito, Emperor of Japan**, the 122nd of the Imperial Line, was born in Tokio in 1879, in the twelfth year of his father's reign. The Prince was brought up to hardy habits in spite of his delicate health, and his education, though he remained always in Japan, was most diverse and enlightened. In 1886 he entered the School of Peers, where he was carefully instructed in military science, and in 1889 he entered the Army and was proclaimed Heir Apparent. In 1900 he was married to Masako, fourth daughter of Prince Kujo, aged 16. In 1912 the Crown Prince succeeded his father, Meiji Tenno, and was enthroned at Kyoto, the ancient capital, the era of Taisho ("Righteousness") being thereupon proclaimed. The Emperor ruled intelligently a nation which had just emerged from isolated national life into industrial and political association with the great nations of the world. He was a lover of French, spoke English, and was versed in the Chinese classics. His life was a struggle against the onslaught of lung disease. He moved freely throughout Japan and once he visited Korea. He allowed his eldest son to visit Europe in 1921, and his second son to proceed to Magdalen College, Oxford. He was invested as a Knight of the Garter in 1912 and appointed a Field-Marshal of the British Army in 1918.

28. **Canon Thomas Leslie Papillon**, aged 85, for sometime a leader writer to *The Times*, and a scholar and educationist of distinction, was born in 1841, the son of an Essex clergyman of the family of Papillon, of Crowhurst Park, Battle. From Marlborough he went up to Balliol College, Oxford, as a scholar in 1860, and obtained a first class in the classical school, the Hertford Scholarship, and the Latin verse prize. He rowed also in the Torpid and Eight. After holding a Fellowship at Merton College and teaching there and at Rugby for a year, he joined the staff of New College as a Fellow in 1870. He had been ordained soon after taking his degree, and for two years he was Whitehall Preacher. In 1884 he went to the College living of Writtle, in Essex, where he remained till 1909, when he retired to St. Albans, of which Cathedral he was an hon. canon. For years before this he had written for *The Times*, especially on educational problems, and he remained a contributor to the end of his life. He collaborated with the late A. E. Haigh in a commentary on Virgil, and wrote also "A Manual of Comparative Philology." In 1871 he married Miss Edith Mary Dalton, a daughter of the Rector of Lambeth, and had three children, two daughters who died young, and a son who died at Oxford. Mrs. Papillon died in 1908, and in 1909 he married Miss Laura Dickson, of Writtle.

29. **Rainer Maria Rilke**, the Czech-German philosophic and lyric poet, was born at Prague in 1875 and brought up in Bohemia. As a young man he lived in Russia, and was attracted by the contemplative life led in the monasteries. Subsequently he went to Paris and became secretary to the great Rodin. Rilke published little, and his work was the outcome of philosophical reflection on the destiny of humanity. He praised the riches of poverty, and towards the end became more and more a nature poet. His last book, "Sonette an Orpheus" (1923), is a series of twenty-nine short poems, with Orpheus as the creator and inspirer of beauty as their central figure.

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